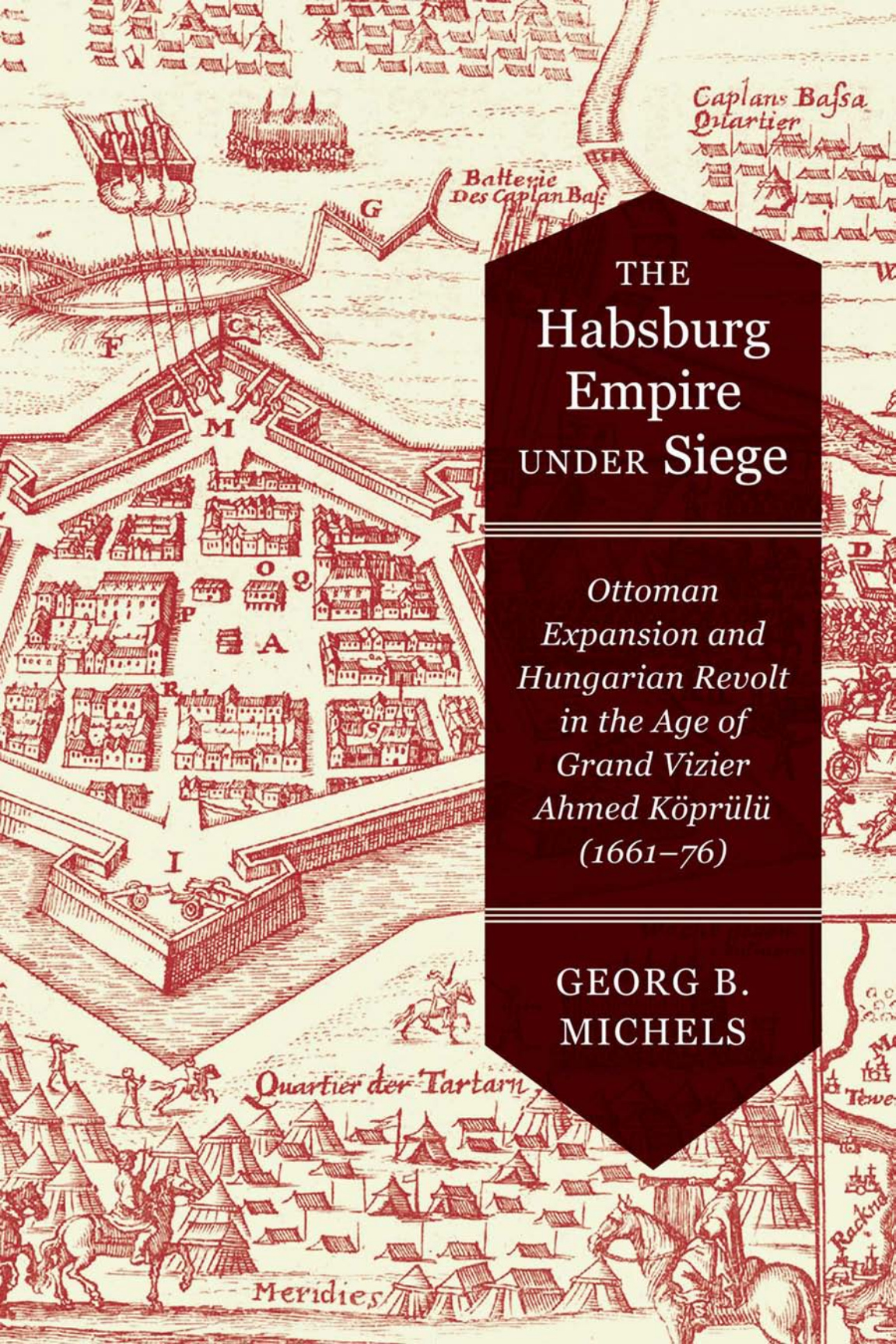

THE Habsburg Empire UNDER Siege

Ottoman Expansion and Hungarian Revolt in the Age of Grand Vizier Ahmed Köprülü (1661–76)

GEORG B. MICHELS

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Georg B. Michels

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To the memory of my teachers,
Edward L. Keenan
Dean S. Worth

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East Slavic first drew me to study in the United States, and later provided the basis for my research in Muscovite history. Ned introduced me to the intricacies of source analysis, paleography, and archival study. His engagement with my work over several decades – beginning with his unforgettable Harvard research seminars – will always be with me. I often heard his critical yet encouraging voice as I wrote this book. I feel great love for these two extraordinary scholars and dedicate this book to their enduring memory.

My late father-in-law, Irving Lefkowitz, provided the initial impulse for my learning Hungarian. His stories about his parents' origins in the vicinity of Kassa (now Košice) first brought my attention to historical Upper Hungary. I had no idea then that this region would become the focus of my subsequent scholarly work.

I very much miss my dear friend Andrei I. Pliguzov, who passed away much too early. I am happy that the publication of my book coincides with the posthumous issue of his monumental work on the Kievan Metropolitanate. To my beautiful wife Deborah I owe so much that my words fail me. Her enduring love over almost forty years has been the greatest blessing of my life.

Note on Seventeenth-Century Hungary

Seventeenth-century Habsburg Hungary, also known as Royal Hungary, constituted one of the successor territories of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary. Most of this kingdom fell to the Ottomans after the battle of Mohács (1526) when Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent (1520–66) inflicted a devastating military defeat on the Hungarians and their last king, Louis II (1516–26). Croatia had joined the Hungarian Kingdom by a personal union in 1102. After the battle of Mohács, Croatia remained within Royal Hungary. Another Ottoman military campaign in 1541 led to the seizure of Buda and the establishment of the Ottoman vassal state of Transylvania. Royal Hungary then became a highly militarized buffer zone to protect the Habsburg hereditary lands (Austria, Styria, and Carinthia) and the lands of the Bohemian Crown (Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia) against further Ottoman incursions.

The military buffer zone in Habsburg Hungary consisted of an elaborate system of border defenses with fortresses stretching all the way from Transylvania to Croatia and the Adriatic coast. The entire border defense system was directly administered by the Aulic War Council (*Hofkriegsrat*) in Vienna and subdivided into six military districts known as captaincy-generals. The most important of these military districts was the province of Upper Hungary (*Hungaria superior*, *Oberungarn*). This district roughly overlapped with Habsburg Hungary's thirteen easternmost counties that bordered on Transylvania and the Ottoman provinces (*vilayets*) of Eger and Varad. The western parts of Habsburg Hungary were commonly designated as Lower Hungary (*Hungaria inferior*, *Niederungarn*). Three central institutions administered

the territories of Upper and Lower Hungary: the Hungarian Chamber, Hungarian Court Chancellery, and Zipser Kammer (Chamber of Zips).

When I use the term "Royal Hungary," I am adopting the perspective of the Habsburg court, which claimed sovereignty over the counties of Lower and Upper Hungary. From the Ottoman perspective, however, significant portions of these counties had already joined the Ottoman Empire, either through direct occupation or the extraction of tributary payments. Habsburg claims of sovereignty over Upper and Lower Hungarian counties directly conflicted with a rapidly expanding Ottoman Empire.

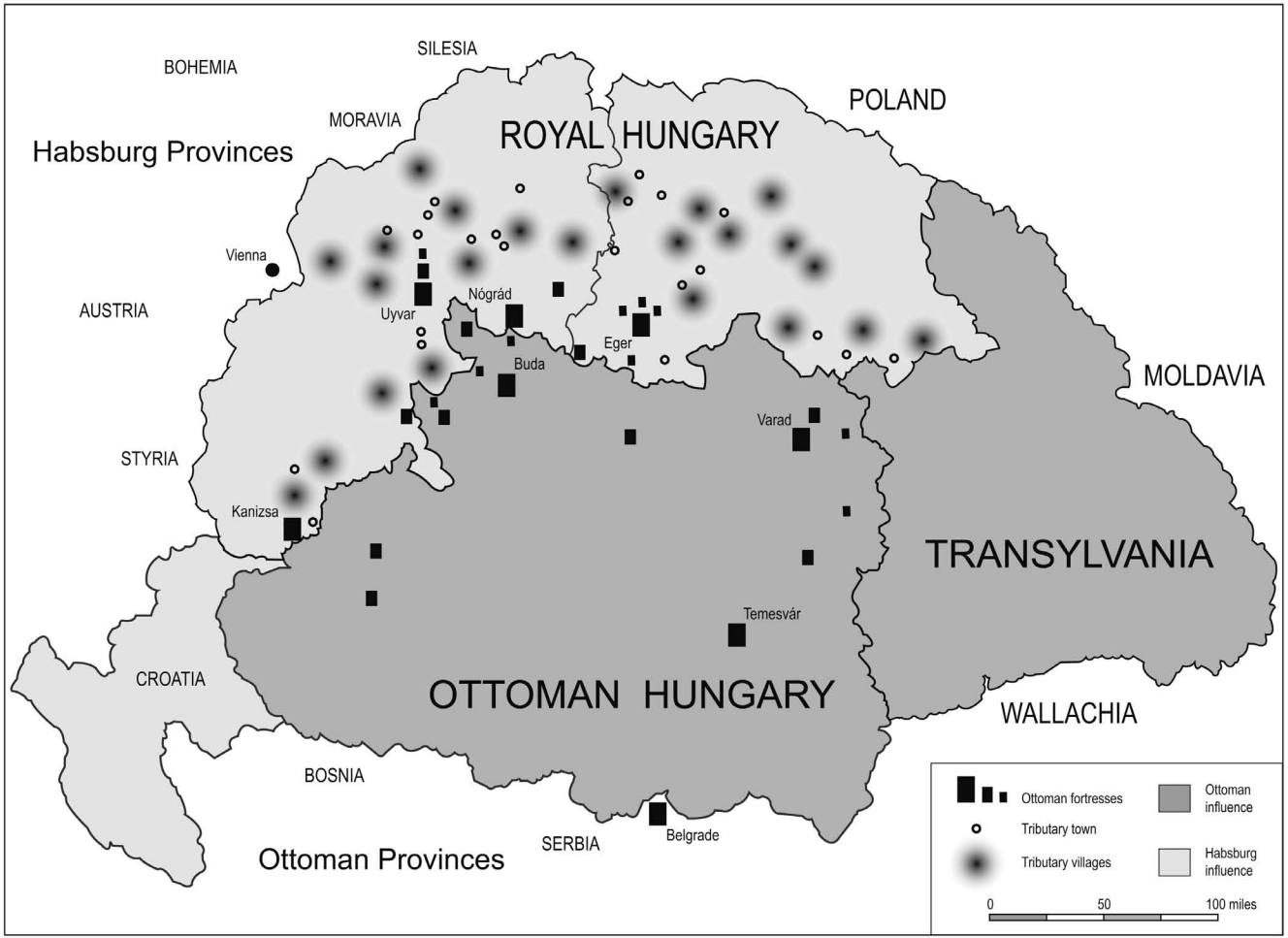
Today, the territory of Royal Hungary has long ceased to exist. This territory is dispersed over six modern nation-states: Slovakia, Hungary, Croatia, Ukraine, Poland, and Romania. As a result of changing national boundaries, place names used in early modern times are often linguistically quite different today. For example, Szatmár (Hungarian) has become Satu Mare (Romanian); Uyvar (Ottoman Turkish) is now Nové Zamký (Slovak). Even Hungarian designations sometimes have different modern equivalents (e.g., Kálló has become Nagykálló). Place names during the seventeenth century typically had at least two, if not three, linguistic variants. Pivotal fortresses and towns were additionally designated by Latin and Ottoman Turkish variants. This multiplicity of place designations is further complicated by the existence of competing variants in the *same* language. For example, German designations for Eperjes (Hungarian) included both Eperies and Preschau.

I have decided to use the designations that appear most frequently in my sources, for example, Neutra Fortress (not Nyitra, Nitra), but Nyitra County. A multilingual glossary lists the seventeenth-century place name variants for the most important towns and fortresses, and also correlates these names with their modern equivalents. I indicate place name variants in brackets at the first mention of villages, small market towns, and small fortresses that are not included in this list.

When designating people, I use the personal and family names found in the archival record. This includes Latinized names that often make it impossible to designate an individual's primary language affiliation. For the names of individuals who appear more than once, I chose the most frequently used Hungarian, Slavic, or German variants. Turkish names are presented in their contemporary Hungarian versions (e.g., Hungarian Huszein instead of Turkish Hüseyin) – with the exception of well-known Turkish dignitaries such as Sultan Süleyman.

Given the multiethnic, multi-linguistic, and multi-confessional character of Habsburg Hungary, I use the term "Hungarian" (*Hungarus*, *Ungar/Hungar*, *Magyar*) in two ways: first, as an omnibus category comprising the entirety of the realm's residents, and second, as a linguistic designation signifying "Hungarian speakers" as opposed to speakers of Slovak, German, Ukrainian (Ruthenian), and Croatian. Hungarian was the lingua franca of Habsburg Hungary. But many residents were bi- or tri-lingual and used their native tongue as well as Hungarian. Linguistic differentiation more or less overlapped with religious affiliation. German speakers were for the most part Lutherans. Slovak speakers were also predominantly Lutherans, although one finds Slovak Calvinists in Zemplén and Ung counties. Hungarian speakers were predominantly Calvinists, but the Hungarian nobles who dominated the politics of Sáros and Szepes counties were Lutheran. Ukrainian speakers, found mostly in the northeastern regions of Upper Hungary, followed the Eastern Orthodox rite. Attempts to draw these Eastern Slavs into union with Rome (Union of Ungvár, 1646) remained largely unsuccessful.

During the 1660s and 1670s, Eastern Orthodox "schismatics" (*schismatici*) and Protestants (both Lutherans and Calvinists) constituted the vast majority of Habsburg Hungary's residents. Most Catholics were concentrated in Lower Hungary. The Counter-Reformation had made significant progress in Lower Hungary during the first half of the seventeenth century, although its impact was primarily felt in urban and noble milieux. In Upper Hungary, Catholicization remained largely limited to the magnate class and its clients; the Counter-Reformation reached other strata of society only during the early 1670s. Efforts to impose the Catholic faith in Upper Hungary triggered the revolts that form the main focus of this volume.


BOHEMIA
SILESIA
MORAVIA
POLAND
Habsburg Provinces
ROYAL HUNGARY
Vienna
AUSTRIA
Uyvar
Nógrád
Eger
Buda
MOLDAVIA
Varad
STYRIA
Kanizsa
TRANSYLVANIA
Temesvár
CROATIA
OTTOMAN HUNGARY
WALLACHIA
BOSNIA
SERBIA
Belgrade
Ottoman Provinces
Ottoman fortresses
Tributary town
Tributary villages
Ottoman influence
Habsburg influence
0
50
100 miles

Map 1
Tripartite Hungary and Ottoman Expansion into Royal Hungary, ca. 1675

This map shows the three successor territories of the historical Kingdom of Hungary – Royal Hungary, Ottoman Hungary, and Transylvania – within the larger East Central European context of the late seventeenth century. It also highlights several features of the Ottoman expansion into Royal Hungary: Ottoman fortresses, tributary towns, and tributary village clusters. Ottoman pashas, beğs, and border commanders distributed so-called letters of submission (*Huldigungsbriefe*) to an increasing number of towns and villages in Royal Hungary. In return for paying tributary taxes, these towns and villages received promises of Ottoman protection. Clusters of such villages could be found in many regions of Royal Hungary (see glossary 3). They were often concentrated in the vicinity of major Habsburg border fortresses such as Kálló, Lewenz, and Szendrő. This map draws on data gleaned from Austrian and Hungarian archives but it is not a comprehensive mapping of tributary towns and villages. It serves to illustrate the significant expansion of Ottoman influence into Royal Hungary by the end of the Köprülü era. Map drawn by Deborah Lefkowitz.

ROYAL HUNGARY
Csaca
Árva
Bártfa
Késmárk
Kisszeben
Sztropkó
Eperjes
Leutschau
Kassa
Trencsén
Senica
Kremnica
Neusohl
Topschau
Rozsnyó
Ungvár
Murány
Torna
Leopoldstadt
Freistadt
Schemnitz
Neutra
Fülek
Jolsva
Sátoraljaújhely
Lelesz
Munkács
Pozsony
Putnok
Sárospatak
Huszt
Sempte
Uyvar
Lewenz
Korpona
Szécsény
Szendrő
Szerencs
Kisvárda
Diósgyör
MÁRAMAROS
Gutta
Nógrád
Eger
Ónod
Tokaj
Kálló
Ecsed
Szatmár
Sopron
Komárom
Győr
Esztergom
Hatvan
Károly
Nagybánya
HAJDÚ
Debrecen
Buda
Kövár
Pápa
Szoboszló
Hadad
Palota
Székesfehérvár
Szentjobb
Somlyó
Veszprém
Szolnok
SZILÁGY
Vasvár
Varad
Szentgrót
Kecskemét
BIHAR
Szentgotthárd
Kolozsvár
Keszthely
Nagyszalonta
TRANSYLVANIA
Kanizsa
Légrád
Jenő
Varasd
Gyulafehérvár
Mohács
Zagreb
Temesvár
Karlovac
Petrinja
OTTOMAN HUNGARY
CROATIA
Towns
Habsburg fortresses
Ottoman fortresses
0
50
100 miles

Map 2
Border Fortresses and Towns in Royal Hungary, ca. 1675

A band of Habsburg border fortresses stretched from the Transylvanian border to Croatia. These fortresses were designed to protect Habsburg lands, including Royal Hungary, from Ottoman expansion. Following the 1663–64 Habsburg-Ottoman war, the Ottomans established two new border fortresses within the territory of Royal Hungary: Uyvar Fortress (Nyitra County) and Nógrád Fortress (Nógrád County). These new centres of Ottoman power joined existing Ottoman fortresses in Heves County (Eger Fortress, established 1596), Zala County (Kanizsa Fortress, established 1600), and the historically Transylvanian county of Bihar (Varad Fortress, established 1660). The map also shows the counties (Bihar, Máramaros) and districts (Hajdú, Kővár, Szilágy) in Ottoman Hungary and Transylvania that offered refuge to thousands of rebels who fled from Royal Hungary after the suppression of two major revolts (1670, 1672). Map drawn by Deborah Lefkowitz.

UPPER HUNGARY
LOWER HUNGARY
ROYAL HUNGARY
Árva
Trencsén
Liptó
Turóc
Zólyom
Nyitra
Bars
Hont
Pozsony
Nógrád
Moson
Komárom
Győr
Sopron
Vas
Veszprém
Zala
Kishont
Szepes
Sáros
Zemplén
Gömör
Abaúj
Torna
Ung
Bereg
Borsod
Ugocsa
Szabolcs
Heves
Szatmár
0
50
100 miles

Map 3
The Counties of Royal Hungary, Second Half of the Seventeenth Century

The Habsburg court claimed sovereignty over the counties of Upper and Lower Hungary. The Protestant-dominated thirteen counties of Upper Hungary formed a confederation that aggressively opposed Habsburg military occupation, war taxes, and the Counter-Reformation. The dramatic events discussed in this book were centred in Upper Hungary. Throughout the 1660s and 1670s, the political leaders of the Upper Hungarian counties lobbied the Porte to accept their secession from the Habsburg Empire to become part of the Ottoman Empire. Map drawn by Deborah Lefkowitz.

THE HABSBURG EMPIRE UNDER SIEGE

Introduction

On 6 November 1676, Johann Christoph von Kindsberg, the Habsburg resident at the Ottoman Porte, dispatched an express courier to Vienna to announce the death of Grand Vizier Ahmed Köprülü. In his letter to Emperor Leopold I, Kindsberg gave fervent (*inbrinstig*) thanks to God Almighty "that this great enemy of Christendom has perished before carrying out his daily meditated retaliation against Hungary and Austria."[1] Kindsberg knew that his letter would be met with great relief by a Habsburg court that had fallen into a state of extreme fear (*fu estremo il timore*) after Köprülü had concluded a peace treaty with Poland on 17 October 1676. The panicked court anticipated that the grand vizier would now make good on his repeated promises to Hungarian rebel leaders, as recorded by Habsburg spies, that he would help them free Hungary from Habsburg rule as soon as the war with Poland was over.[2] A December 1675 Habsburg incursion to hunt down Hungarian rebels living under the sultan's protection had dramatically increased tensions. Köprülü considered this incursion an act of war that demanded retaliation, and he instructed the vizier of Buda and Hungarian pashas to prepare for war with the Habsburg Empire. By spring 1676 Ottoman soldiers were eagerly awaiting instructions to invade.[3] The timing of Köprülü's death on 3 November seemed therefore fortuitous – so fortuitous indeed that the Habsburg court was initially in disbelief at the news.[4]

Köprülü's death was perceived quite differently among the many thousands of Hungarian exiles who had fled from Habsburg Hungary under Ottoman protection to escape the brutal military occupation that had followed

two large-scale popular revolts in 1670 and 1672. In early November 1676, exile leaders had assembled a large invasion army and were only waiting for a signal from Köprülü to march into the eastern regions of the Hungarian Kingdom. A Habsburg spy who lived among the exiles reported that Köprülü's death had put a halt to the invasion and generated a sense of futility. As he put it in a dispatch to Vienna: "Their entire endeavour has now been reduced to nothing [*in nihilum rediit*]" and "they feel deceived in their hope." The exiles reacted with panic, confusion, and deep sadness (*nagy szomorúságunk*).[5] For more than a decade they had put their hope in Köprülü to overthrow Habsburg power in Hungary, and they were willing to become Ottoman subjects in exchange for military aid. But Köprülü was succeeded by Kara Mustafa, a man unknown to the exiles. Mustafa's ascension was presented by the Porte as presaging a new era of peace and military disengagement from Hungary. Many exiles gave up hope entirely. In January 1677, more than 1,200 men and women returned to Hungary from Ottoman territory and accepted offers of amnesty from the Habsburg imperial court.[6]

These episodes shed light on little-known historical realities. On the one hand, there was the fear that Grand Vizier Ahmed Köprülü, the de facto ruler of the Ottoman Empire, occasioned in Vienna. On the other hand, there were the great hopes for military intervention projected onto Köprülü by Hungarian exiles. This nexus of Habsburg fear of the Ottomans and Hungarian hopes for liberation by the Ottomans is the theme that runs throughout this book. Ottomans, Habsburgs, and Hungarians were intricately entangled in an intense triadic relationship during the grand vizierate of Ahmed Köprülü (1661–76). The world-historical and largely overlooked events of the Köprülü years that unfolded in the Hungarian borderlands, the so-called Bulwark of Christendom (*Antemurale Christianitatis*), can only be understood through a better understanding of this triadic relationship.

This book offers a revisionist account that questions several preconceived ideas about Habsburg, Central European, and Ottoman history. First, I demonstrate that Grand Vizier Ahmed Köprülü decisively shifted the balance of power in Hungary in favour of the Ottoman Empire. The standard view that the Ottoman army suffered a resounding defeat at the end of the 1663–64 Habsburg-Ottoman war cannot be maintained. I found that the legendary Habsburg victory at Szentgotthárd (St Gotthard) in August 1664, which is sometimes mythologized as a triumph that saved Christian Europe, did not weaken Ottoman military power or lead to Ottoman disengagement from

Hungary.[7] Rather, the war ended with the Ottoman army in an advantageous strategic position, and left both the century-old Habsburg border defense system and the Habsburg army in shambles. In fact, following this war the Ottomans established a large military garrison closer than ever before to Vienna and the Habsburg Empire's Austrian, Moravian, and Bohemian provinces. This development was accompanied by the unprecedented expansion of Ottoman pashas into the Hungarian hinterlands. By the early 1670s the Ottomans stood poised to push the Habsburgs out of Hungary.

These historical realities have been obscured by scholars' preoccupation with the 1683 siege of Vienna, the Habsburg Empire's subsequent victories over the Ottomans, and the empire's emergence as a great European power.[8] There is an endless stream of studies with titles such as *The Enemy at the Gate: Habsburgs, Ottomans, and the Battle for Europe* and *Hungaria Eliberata* (*Hungaria Set Free*) that emphasize – and sometimes glorify – the achievements of the Christian armies during the siege of Vienna and the so-called war of liberation that led to the collapse of Ottoman power in Hungary.[9] The superior military strength of the Ottoman army under Köprülü and the serious threat he posed to the Habsburg Empire does not fit into an interpretive paradigm that was originally shaped by the Europe-wide triumphalism over the Ottomans' expulsion.[10]

Second, I throw into question the view of Hungarian liberation by the Habsburgs after 150 years of suffering under "the Turkish yoke." In the words of a leading Hungarian scholar, "the expulsion of the Turks was a lawful postulate of historical development" because Hungary was deeply rooted in "universal [European] values" and Hungarians had strong "feelings of communality [*közösségérzései*] with Europe and the peoples of neighbouring states." The prolongation of Ottoman rule would have been disastrous, another eminent Hungarian historian maintains, because "as the sultan's vassal, Hungary would have experienced a bitter fate like that of the Romanian voivodes for decades or even centuries to come."[11] Contrary to such views, I found that large numbers of Hungarians actually preferred the Muslim sultan to the Christian emperor. Popular hopes of liberation from the Habsburgs by the Ottomans were widespread during the under-studied decades *before* the siege of Vienna.

The brutality of the Habsburg regime helps explain why many seventeenth-century Hungarians experienced the Habsburgs as much worse than the Ottomans. For example, the Habsburg court ordered its army to help priests

and bishops carry out what historian Tamás Esze has described as a "total Counter-Reformation" – that is, the ruthless Catholicization of Hungary's overwhelmingly Protestant and Orthodox villages and towns.[12] At the same time, Habsburg troops were given a free hand to carry out mass arrests and summary executions (including impalements). There were thus many reasons to turn to the Ottomans for protection.

Third, I discard the "clash of civilizations" narrative that still holds power among Central European and Habsburg scholars despite efforts by a new generation of historians to overcome the age-old paradigm.[13] Stereotypes about the deep animosity of ordinary people towards the Turks remain strong,[14] and it is not unusual to still find references to the Ottoman-Habsburg conflict as "a continental-scale clash of two religions, cultures and mentalities."[15] Rather than presenting a unidimensional East vs West or Christendom vs Islam confrontation, this book offers a trans-imperial perspective that reveals the complex entanglements of the Hungarian borderlands. In particular, I trace the emergence of Hungarian exile communities on Ottoman lands, the exiles' movements between Habsburg and Ottoman territories, their close contacts with Hungarian pashas and the vizier of Buda, and their persistent lobbying at the court of Grand Vizier Ahmed Köprülü.

This study has much in common with recent studies that reconstruct the fluidity of the Venetian-Ottoman and Russian-Ottoman borderlands as well as the complex identities of the trans-imperial subjects (including renegades) who negotiated these frontier regions. The best of these studies include monographs by Natalie Rothman, Tijana Krstić, Michael Khodarkovsky, and Tobias Graf. These authors refute the Orientalist notion of Christians and Muslims separated by clearly defined geographic, religious, and cultural boundaries.[16] Also of importance are recent studies on the so-called Triplex Confinium, that is, the region where the borders of the Habsburg Empire, the Venetian Republic, and the Ottoman Empire met. Wendy Bracewell and Drago Roksandić, for example, pioneered the study of everyday life along this triple frontier, demonstrating how ordinary Christians reached out across boundaries of faith.[17]

In a field strongly shaped by national historiographies that typically depict the Ottomans as negative actors, it is particularly important to reconstruct the actual interactions that transcended "the mental or psychic walls that separated the world of one's own from that of the alien Other." I fully agree with Ottomanist Daniel Goffmann's recent call for discarding long-standing

Eurocentric stereotypes according to which Islam "symbolize[s] terror, devastation, the demonic, hordes of hated barbarians."[18] Goffmann's call is especially timely as nationalist politicians in Austria, Hungary, and Slovakia have recently been promoting these Islamophobic stereotypes.[19]

Fourth, I diverge from the current dominant elite-focused approaches in Habsburg and Central European history by showing that the actions of ordinary people had world-historical significance. Most historians of this period have studied what Oxford historian Robert J.W. Evans called "the community of interest … between dynasty, aristocracy, and Catholic Church."[20] Typical are recent contributions by Gerhard Ammerer, Joachim Bahlcke, Géza Pálffy, Alexandro Catalano, Petr Mat'a, and Thomas Winkelbauer on nobilities, church elites, and institution building in various regions of the Habsburg Monarchy.[21] By contrast, only a few historians, such as Katalin Péter, Jaroslav Čechura, and Stephan Sander-Faes, have studied ordinary people.[22] Yet the crisis of Habsburg power and the ascendancy of the Ottomans in the Hungarian borderlands went hand in hand with major popular revolts and the mass flight of rebels under Ottoman protection.

I employ a microhistorical approach in the tradition of Natalie Davis and Carlo Ginzburg to uncover "the little peoples lost to European history."[23] In particular, I reconstruct the hopelessness and rage stirred up by the violent imposition of the Catholic faith onto Hungary's Protestant majority. The defense of Protestant religion became the primary touchstone for popular resistance, and in this sense the Hungarian revolts of the Köprülü years resemble better-known European revolts with religious overtones such as the Dutch Revolt against the Spaniards (1566, 1568) and the Irish Revolt against the British (1641). But the Hungarian revolts remain unique in the history of Western Christianity; there are no similar examples of Protestant rebels favouring Muslim overlords over Christian rulers.

Finally, this is the story of the fragmentation of Habsburg power in Hungary and desperate efforts by the imperial court to avoid total disintegration. The difficulties of Habsburg absolutism in Hungary are well known, even though they are typically ascribed entirely to the resistance of Hungarian magnates and county nobles.[24] Yet the extent of the Habsburgs' failure to centralize and integrate power in Hungary has been underestimated. My work sheds light on the actors who represented Habsburg authority locally; that is, the officials, military officers, commissars, undercover agents, Catholic nobles, and Catholic clergymen who were powerless against rebel raiding

from Ottoman territory and the hostile crowds that surrounded them. In addition, there was very little they could do against the accelerating Ottoman land grab of precious tax land.

The military situation along the Habsburg-Ottoman borders became increasingly tense. While Leopold I was celebrated as a victor over the "ferocious barbarians" in the Battle of Szentgotthárd in laudatory literature, court operas, and pictorial representations,[25] the Viennese court grew increasingly concerned about the Ottomans. Hungarian border commanders and military officers on the ground wrote ever-more alarming reports. By the end of the 1660s (coinciding with Köprülü's victory over the Venetians), the Habsburg court and emperor tumbled from one war scare to the next. There was great concern that the Hungarian Bulwark of Christendom no longer constituted an effective rampart against the Turkish Archenemy (*Erzfeind*).

THE CURRENT STATE OF RESEARCH

This study takes off from the pathbreaking research of a handful of Hungarian historians who highlighted the importance of popular history and Hungarian-Ottoman relations during the late seventeenth century. These historians included László Benczédi, Farkas Deák, Gyula Pauler, and Ferenc Szakály. Their studies were undertaken decades ago, and in two cases more than 100 years ago, but were subsequently sidelined. It has become accepted practice among Hungarian – as well as Slovak and Habsburg – historians of the late seventeenth century to assume that the Ottomans had nothing to do with the progress of the Habsburg Counter-Reformation, popular revolts within Hungary, or the Habsburg military occupation that followed the suppression of these revolts. Ottomanists, for their part, have not studied the Habsburg regions of Hungary, instead primarily focusing on the Ottoman-occupied regions.

The Grand Vizierate of Ahmed Köprülü (1661–76)

Ahmed Köprülü was, next to the sixteenth-century Grand Vizier Mehmed Sokollu, the most important of all Ottoman grand viziers. He ruled longer than any of them, pacified an empire that had been in turmoil throughout much of the seventeenth century, reformed its army and central administrative institutions, and achieved major victories over the Habsburgs, Vene-

tians, and Poles. However, Ottoman scholars have paid very little attention to his tenure as grand vizier. One looks in vain for a scholarly monograph on this seminal figure who was the de facto ruler of the Ottoman Empire for sixteen years. This scholarly silence stands in marked contrast to the considerable attention Köprülü received from his contemporaries: foreign diplomats admired him as a brilliant strategist, spies marveled at the impenetrable secrecy that surrounded him, the sultan and the Porte had him publicly celebrated across the empire for his military victories, and Ottoman chroniclers glorified him as a great warrior and statesman.[26]

For information about the Köprülü era's principal social, political, and military developments one has to look at the general surveys of Ottoman history by Turkish historians such as Ismail H. Uzunçarşılı and Yaşar Yücel, and at encyclopedia entries by M. Tayyib Gökbilgin.[27] There are also a number of monographs written for lay audiences, such as the 1915 (and recently republished) study by Ahmet Refik Altınay which draws on Ottoman chronicles. Refik Altınay presented Köprülü as a heroic figure who single-handedly defied the Habsburgs and French, leading the Ottoman Empire to unprecedented heights. Historian Vâhid Çabuk wrote two monographs in a similar vein about the Köprülü family, its rise to power, and its political achievements.[28]

It appears that Köprülü is gradually being rediscovered by a few contemporary Ottomanists: a recent Georgetown dissertation by M. Fatih Calişir sheds new light on Köprülü's patronage of scientific, artistic, and cultural activities; archival research by the Turkish historian Özgur Kolçak provides insights into Habsburg-Ottoman diplomacy surrounding the ratification of the Vasvár (Eisenburg) Treaty; a 2004 study by Mehmed Inbaşı focuses on the 1672 Ottoman campaign against Poland and its formidable logistical challenges; and a 2015 publication with commentary by Meltem Aydin presents a little-known eyewitness account of Köprülü's Candia campaign. Finally, an analysis of Ottoman chronicle accounts by Yasir Yılmaz emphasizes the unprecedented accumulation of executive powers in the hands of Köprülü.[29] To these Turkish contributions one must also add Merlijn Olnon's 2014 study of Izmir. This microhistory demonstrates how the Köprülü clan established effective controls over European merchants, to the extent that the latter worried about "one day wak[ing] up to find themselves Ottoman subjects."[30]

There is almost nothing available about the Köprülü period published by Hungarian Ottomanists. The vast majority of their research focused – and

continues to focus – on the sixteenth century, thus continuing a historiographic tradition developed by Ferenc Salamon more than 150 years ago. Salamon mentioned Köprülü only on a few pages in conjunction with the 1663–64 war. Similarly, a collection on Ottoman warfare in Hungary published in 2000 mentions Köprülü only twice, very briefly, in connection with the conquest of Ersékújvár (Neuhäusel, Uyvar). A 2002 synopsis of Hungarian works on Ottoman history does not mention him at all.[31] Some Hungarian Ottomanists such as Klára Hegyi and Ferenz Szakály have offered insightful observations about the modernization of the Ottoman border defense system, the drastic increases in taxation, and the challenges to the traditional institution of double taxation (the so-called condominium) in the Köprülü era. A 2010 survey of Ottoman history in Hungary during the seventeenth century synthesizing the *Stand der Forschungen* repeatedly noted increased service obligations, improved payments for troops, and other changes under Köprülü, but without connecting these changes with the administrative and institutional reforms that led to a revival of Ottoman power during the Köprülü period.[32]

The publications of Slovak and Czech Ottomanists reveal more about the impact of the Köprülü period on the Hungarian borderlands. Studies of the *vilayet* of Uyvar, the new Ottoman province established during the 1663–64 war, show the consolidation of Ottoman power around what used to be the epicentre of Habsburg border defense in western Hungary. They also demonstrate that Ottoman power emanated beyond the confines of the Uyvar *vilayet* into the heartlands of Habsburg Hungary. Most of these studies emphasize the destructive character of the Ottomans – with two notable exceptions.[33] Zdenka Veselá and Helena Markusková called on historians to discard preconceived notions about the Ottomans and engage in "thorough research on the relations between the Ottoman and domestic population." For example, Markusková pointed out that it would be a grave mistake to view Christian women primarily as victims of Ottoman rape and abduction. On the contrary, she found that many ordinary women intermarried voluntarily with Ottoman soldiers.[34] My own research proceeds from Veselá's and Markusková's open-minded curiosity about contacts between Ottomans and local residents, and I demonstrate that Ottoman-Hungarian interactions intensified during the Köprülü period.

Habsburg-Ottoman Relations during the Köprülü Years

There is currently no scholarly work by Central European or Habsburg historians focusing specifically on the changing power relations between the Habsburg and Ottoman empires during the grand vizierate of Ahmed Köprülü.[35] Two recent volumes on Habsburg-Ottoman relations containing articles by leading Habsburg scholars literally skip over the Köprülü years, although one author lent lip service to the grand vizier's strategic brilliance.[36] By contrast, Russian, Polish, and Ukrainian scholars have long recognized that the Köprülü era initiated a major shift in power relations in Eastern Europe following the Polish campaign of 1672. Nikolai Smirnov noted the Kremlin's alarmed response to the Ottoman advance into Podolia and Galicia, which led to urgent appeals to England, France, and Spain for military help.[37] Dariusz Kołodziejczyk viewed the 1672 campaign as part of a long-term Ottoman strategy to control the Black Sea region; establish fortresses flanking Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia; and eventually turn these vassal states into Ottoman provinces. Following Turkish scholar Metin Kunt and Ukrainian scholar Omeljan Pritsak, Kołodziejczyk argued that Köprülü's Polish campaign was not accidental, but rather was carefully designed to establish a new centre of Ottoman power in the north.[38]

The 1663–64 Habsburg-Ottoman war, the Battle of Szentgotthárd, and the Vasvár Peace Treaty persist as dominant themes in Hungarian, Slovak, and Habsburg scholarship. One of the central findings of this scholarship is that the Ottomans suffered a decisive defeat at the hands of the Habsburgs, leading to the weakening of Ottoman military power. This interpretation was most recently reiterated at an international conference dedicated to the 350th anniversary of the Battle of Szentgotthárd.[39]

Only the three Ottomanist participants at the conference called this interpretation into question: Gábor Ágoston demonstrated that the power of the Ottoman army was by no means broken in the Battle of Szentgotthárd; M. Fatih Calişir pointed out that the battle was barely, if at all, mentioned in Ottoman chronicles; and Hakan Karagöz illustrated that the Ottomans' sense of superiority did not decrease after the battle.[40] One could add to these Ottomanists' findings an earlier study by the Turkish historian Ahmed Muhtar Paşa, who maintained that the defeat at Szentgotthárd was only a temporary setback for the Ottoman army. Muhtar Paşa came to the conclusion that "what Ottoman chroniclers have written on the subject … annuls and refutes

the narratives and opinions that have been put forward in Europe for two centuries." His work is strongly supported by Austrian historian Georg Wagner, who more than fifty years ago used detailed archival analysis to demonstrate that the Habsburg army was in worse condition than the Ottoman army after the Battle of Szentgotthárd, and that Emperor Leopold I had no choice but to sue for peace.[41]

Although there are no specialized studies by Habsburg historians on the Köprülü era, there are a handful of general studies containing relevant data. Particularly noteworthy are the excellent studies by Hungarian historian Géza Pálffy on the Hungarian border defense system. Although largely focused on the sixteenth century, these studies repeatedly point out that the 1663 fall of Érsekújvár – the linchpin of Hungary's westernmost frontier castles – put Vienna, Lower Austria, and the Bohemian-Moravian provinces into jeopardy. Pálffy noted the panic of the Vienna court after the loss of Érsekújvár and its transformation into the Ottoman fortress town of Uyvar, the administrative centre of the Ottoman Empire's newest province by the same name. I agree with Pálffy that the Hungarian border zone became "extremely dangerous for the imperial capital and the hereditary provinces" during the Köprülü years.[42]

Another important study by the Hungarian historian István Czigány contains three chapters on the failure of Habsburg efforts to create a standing army in the aftermath of the Ottoman-Habsburg 1663–64 war. Czigány attributed this failure primarily to the resistance of the Hungarian estates, the high costs of maintaining fortifications, a chronic lack of financial resources, and corruption. But he also noted that "the presence of the Turk" and Hungarian rebels greatly contributed to the failure of attempted army reforms.[43]

Czigány's finding about the weakness of the Habsburg army must be read in conjunction with works by the Ottomanists Gábor Ágoston, Klára Hegyi, Mark Stein, and Rhoads Murphey. These latter scholars, while not directly focused on the Köprülü years, demonstrated the strength, if not the superiority, of the Ottoman army and border defense system during the second half of the seventeenth century. Ágoston showed that the Ottomans did not lag behind the Habsburgs in weapons technology and firepower. Thanks to an efficient armament industry, "stockpiles of weapons and ammunition greatly outnumbered (and often doubled) … the supplies of their Hungarian and Habsburg adversaries." Ágoston argued further that "Ottoman military superiority" was not broken before the 1690s, and then only by an interna-

tional coalition that included the Habsburg Empire as well as Venice, Russia, Poland, and the principalities of the German Empire.[44] Murphey similarly noted the superior ability of the Ottoman state to mobilize men and resources for war. He concurred with Ágoston that "there was no hope of a successful military challenge against the Ottomans" before the pan-European military alliances of the 1680s and 1690s.[45] Mark Stein and Klára Hegyi analyzed the financial and logistical arrangements that allowed the Ottomans to maintain an effective border defense system. Hegyi pointed out in particular that the establishment of four new *vilayets* after the capture of Eger (1596), Kanizsa (1600), Varad (1660), and Uyvar (1663) "strengthened the military position of the Ottomans along every section of the frontier." And unlike their Habsburg counterparts, Ottoman troops stationed in these fortresses were well supplied and paid.[46] In light of these recent Ottomanist studies, long-held assumptions that the Ottomans were too weak to be a threat to the Habsburg Empire, or that they simply disengaged from Hungary after the 1664 Vasvár Treaty, can no longer be maintained.

Hungarian-Ottoman Relations during the Köprülü Years

In 1985, pioneering scholar László Benczédi called on his colleagues to take a new, open-minded look at the relations between Hungarians and Ottomans during the late seventeenth century. In particular, he urged his colleagues to look beyond the well-known negative images of the Turks and Muslims that, in his opinion, led scholars to avoid examining day-to-day interactions straddling the border between the Ottoman and Habsburg empires. Benczédi, who died in 1987, blamed the silence of Hungarian historiography on the moralizing attitudes of his predecessors:

> Binary juxtapositions such as Transylvania vs. Vienna, East vs. West … good vs. bad Hungarians, patriots vs. traitors, smart vs. narrow-minded Hungarians, champions vs. enemies of Christendom – and we could enumerate others – have formed the coordinates of the traditional manner of asking questions and viewing [the Turkish orientation in Hungarian history] … We act properly as historians only if, instead of making … preconceived historicizing judgments, we uncover new facts and their [historical] contexts. … These are still monumental liabilities [*hatalmas adósságai*] of our historiography.[47]

More than thirty years after Benczédi's call for careful study of the historical evidence on cross-border relations, the national historiographies of Hungary, Slovakia, and to a lesser extent Croatia continue to focus on the purported horrors of the Ottoman expansion, anti-Turkish propaganda, and the so-called wars of liberation that followed the 1683 siege of Vienna.[48] Mutually beneficial interactions between Hungarians and Ottomans, especially during the decades before 1683, remain to this day underexplored topics of East Central European historiography.[49] One refreshing exception is a 2019 article by Sándor Papp. He found that Hungarian Protestant nobles were ready to secede during the early 1670s from "the Holy Crown of Hungary – therefore of Leopold I of Habsburg – to the authority of a rival – Muslim – power."[50] Papp's contribution hopefully will encourage other Central European scholars to further investigate pro-Ottoman attitudes within Hungary to generate more nuanced histories of late-seventeenth-century Ottoman-Hungarian relations.

A research group of Central European historians was convened at Leipzig University, Germany to study "the specific forms of interaction" between Ottomans and East Central Europeans.[51] The three volumes that resulted from their collaboration focused on the perceptions of learned elites, nobles, diplomats, travelers, and writers, as well as the literary and visual representations, anti-Turkish rhetoric, and memorial culture prevalent among these elites.[52] Little of this published research concentrated on actual encounters. The most helpful contributions in these volumes came from a handful of scholars including Éva Sz. Simon, Nataša Stefaneć, and Nedim Zahirović, who dug deep into the archives to reconstruct border interactions. Stefaneć, for example, showed that Christian warrior elites stationed along the Ottoman border had multiple "interactions with the Ottomans … [that] cannot be characterized as merely confrontational … The opposing sides were engaged in various types of rather complex interactions and thus challenged the paradigm of *antemurale Christianitatis*."[53]

Pro-Ottoman attitudes did not go unnoticed by Central European scholars. They are typically associated with the so-called Wesselényi Conspiracy. The story, based on an 1876 study by Gyula Pauler,[54] centres on four Catholic magnates who blamed the Habsburg court for not exploiting the purported grandiose victory at Szentgotthárd to chase the Ottomans out of Hungary once and for all. These magnates became so discontented with the Habsburgs, according to the story, that they offered the Hungarian crown to

King Louis XIV of France. When the French king rejected their overtures, they launched a conspiracy to replace Habsburg emperor Leopold I with Sultan Mehmed IV. This basic narrative can be found in all standard histories of the period. Hungarian historians typically present the actions of the magnates as misguided and shortsighted because "the liberation of Hungary from Turkish rule was postponed into the future."[55] Omitted from this story was what was happening throughout the rest of Hungarian society. I demonstrate that these magnates joined – and tried to take advantage of – a groundswell of popular discontent with Habsburg rule. This amorphous discontent was exploited by Hungary's Protestant nobility to go to war against the Habsburgs in defense of their religion. It was these nobles, and not the magnates, who orchestrated contacts with the Ottomans.[56]

A few scholars who studied the 1660s and 1670s observed that pro-Ottoman attitudes existed among the lower reaches of Hungarian society. The Slovak Ottomanist Jozef Blaškovič noted already in 1965 "that many of our compatriots knew Turkish well, many were acquainted with the Turks' customs, costumes, and religion … and knew the human sides of the Turks."[57] A recent study by Eva Kowalská featured the autobiography of the Lutheran pastor Sebastian Fabritius, who escaped the Habsburg Counter-Reformation into Ottoman territory and became convinced that Muslims treated peasants and women much more humanely than Christians did.[58] Béla V. Mihalik recently discovered a case involving a rural Calvinist community inside Habsburg Hungary that turned to the Ottomans to help defend its religion. He found it "extraordinary that Protestants asked the Ottomans of all people [*ausgerechnet die Osmanen*] for help," as he had assumed that the Ottomans "overall embodied the archenemy … for all of Hungarian society."[59] Finally, Hungarian historians Ferenc Szakály and István Sugar discovered archival materials demonstrating that ordinary people requested help from the Ottomans during the Köprülü years.[60]

Thanks to the Hungarian scholar Farkas Deák, who published important archival documents in 1883, it is possible to gain rudimentary insights into the little-known mass migration from Habsburg Hungary into the Ottoman *vilayets* of Eger and Varad and the Ottoman vassal state of Transylvania.[61] The Hungarian fugitives also attracted the interest of Turkish historian M. Tayyib Gökbilgin and Hungarian scholar Zsolt Trócsányi, who studied noble fugitives' correspondence with Transylvanian dignitaries.[62] The Hungarian exiles included hundreds of nobles as well as thousands of peasants, townsmen,

students, Protestant clergy, and soldiers. Their presence on Ottoman territory significantly contributed to weakening the Habsburg hold over Hungary.

Hungarian-Habsburg Relations during the Köprülü Years

There can be little doubt that the Hungarian county nobility was the driving force that ultimately defeated Habsburg absolutist policies – a historical fact demonstrated by László Benczédi's unsurpassed 1980 standard book *The Estates, Absolutism, and Centralization in Late 17th Century Hungary (1664–1685)*.[63] Yet, despite Benczédi's pathbreaking work, we still know very little about the principal actors and their motives for rebelling against Habsburg power.[64] Slovak scholar Peter Kónya pointed to mass arrests and incarcerations by the Habsburgs, and Hungarian scholar Attila Ulrich has begun reconstructing some of the confiscations of noble estates.[65] I shed additional light on the trauma and humiliation experienced by these nobles, pieced together from information contained in their letters or the testimonies they gave to Habsburg investigators.

While nobles played important roles in the revolts, the mass character of resistance against the Habsburgs remains significantly less studied. A pivotal 1869 article by the Hungarian archivist Gyula Pauler revealed the extent to which popular rebels participated in a major uprising against the Habsburgs in 1672. Pauler showed the active roles of peasants, soldiers, craftsmen, Protestant pastors, and petty nobles. He outlined the parameters for a microhistory of popular revolt in the province of Upper Hungary, that is, the easternmost Hungarian counties bordering on the *vilayets* of Eger and Varad. Pauler perceived this 1672 revolt as a chaotic and misguided national insurgency leading to civil war, but he identified the defense of Protestant religion as the principal force that drove popular rebels into action. Pauler also noted in passing that the rebels were assisted by Ottoman troops.[66]

More than a century later, László Benczédi underscored the importance of Pauler's findings. His own research confirmed that ordinary people rose in protest against the Habsburgs' violent imposition of the Counter-Reformation. He underscored that such protests had broken out spontaneously in many villages and towns even *before* the 1672 revolt. Benczédi lamented Hungarian historians' focus on the estate revolts during the first half of the seventeenth century and on the well-known Imre Thököly (1682–85) and Ferenc II Rákóczi (1703–11) revolts later, while neglecting any serious study of the 1670s.[67]

The earlier seventeenth-century revolts involved nobles and magnates led by the Transylvanian princes István Bocskai, Gábor Bethlen, and György I Rákóczi in efforts to extract political, financial, and religious concessions from the Habsburgs. Benczédi's study deepens our understanding of the dramatic but still very little-known Hungarian history without which – he argued – the subsequent Thököly and Rákóczi revolts would not have been conceivable.[68] According to Benczédi, Hungarian-Habsburg relations entered a new era of mass revolt during the pivotal decade of the 1670s. As he put it, "our historiography is lacking to this very day … an investigation of [this] thousand-faced popular resistance."[69]

There has been a plethora of publications on the Hungarian Counter-Reformation, many of them focusing on the Habsburg court's expulsion of the Protestant clergy and the so-called Pozsony Tribunal of 1674. The standard assumption of these studies – discussed in great detail by Katalin S. Varga – is that the pastors were neither rebels nor pro-Ottoman but simply unjustly accused.[70] The tribunal tried more than 300 Calvinist and Lutheran pastors for fomenting rebellion and colluding with the Ottomans. For example, some stood accused of praying in public for Ottoman military victories. The sources studied by these historians – the pastor's own writings and sermons – dwell on the pastors' incarceration, public humiliation, forced departure, and subsequent exile in Western Europe. Stories about the martyrdom of the so-called galley slaves, that is, a group of forty-two pastors sold into galley slavery in Naples, are particularly dramatic.[71] Yet can we assume that the condemned pastors did not participate in popular revolts? And can we exclude the possibility that at least some of them sided with the Ottomans?

More than forty years ago Tibor Fabiny and Sándor Ladányi called for new approaches to the study of the Hungarian Protestant clergy during the 1670s – a call that has largely remained unheeded.[72] They criticized researchers for obscuring pastors' involvement in popular resistance against the Counter-Reformation. In particular, they questioned two central tenets of Protestant identity in modern Hungary and Slovakia: the collective memory of the Protestant clergy's saga of great suffering and the ensuing "decade of mourning" (*Trauerdekade*, *gyászévtized*) during the 1670s.[73] According to Fabiny and Ladanyi, it was high time to "reliably uncover the details of a drama that remains still unknown."[74]

We know much more about the measures undertaken by the Catholic Church, Catholic magnates, and the Habsburg court to implement the

Counter-Reformation thanks to recent works by István György Tóth, Béla V. Mihalik, Antal Molnár, Peter Kónya, István Fazekas, and István H. Németh. These studies also repeatedly touch on the Counter-Reformation's impact on local populations. Tóth, for example, demonstrated the physical isolation and precarious position of missionaries working in remote Protestant hinterlands.[75] Fazekas examined the forced Catholicization of serfs by their Lower Hungarian lords between 1630 and 1670, and noted a variety of popular evasion strategies. Molnár observed the collapse of Upper Hungarian missions during the estate revolts of the early seventeenth century.[76] Kónya and H. Németh traced hardships imposed on Protestant towns and the forced Catholicization of magistrates during the early 1670s (with H. Németh showing the repeated failure of such Catholicization attempts).[77] And Mihalik meticulously reconstructed the expulsion of Protestant clergy and the subsequent imposition of Catholic priests by the Zipser Kammer, the most important Habsburg institution in Upper Hungary during the early 1670s. He recognized that significant popular resistance accompanied this forced substitution of religious leadership.[78] These recent studies must be credited with acknowledging lay resistance to the Counter-Reformation, although resistance remained tangential to their main arguments. For somewhat lengthier coverage of Hungarian revolts against the Counter-Reformation we must turn to older scholarship, such as that of Győző Bruckner, Tamás Esze, and Jankovič Vendelín, which highlighted that local revolts repeatedly led to the eviction of Catholic clergy, soldiers, and officials from Hungarian villages and towns.[79]

SOURCES

The most important sources used in this study are investigations conducted in areas reoccupied by the Habsburg army in the aftermath of two major popular revolts (1670, 1672) that led to the collapse of Habsburg power in Upper Hungary. The value of this rich inquisitorial record for studying popular sentiments and Hungarian-Ottomans contacts was established by Gyula Pauler 150 years ago, and reasserted by László Benczédi in the 1970s.[80] But these investigations remain unstudied by modern scholars. The present study draws on fifteen larger investigations with witnesses numbering from fifty to more than 250. These investigations are housed among the so-called

Neoregestrata Acta (E148) of the Hungarian National Archives, Budapest; the Hungarian Primate Archive (*Primási Levéltár*); the Veszprém Bishopric Archive; and most significantly, the protocol series of the Eger Bishopric Archive.[81] They are available on microfilm in the National Archives' Film Repository (*Filmtár*). I also consulted forty smaller investigations, each with less than fifty witnesses, including in-depth interrogations of single individuals. These latter materials are found in various collections of the Hungarian National Archives and Habsburg Court Archives in Vienna.

In all, the investigations contain more than 1,500 eyewitness accounts by participants, sympathizers, victims, and bystanders. Testimonies were collected by teams of officials who descended upon "rebel" communities in the company of Habsburg troops. It is important to emphasize that these teams did not rely on torture to extract information. Rather than using coercion, they drew primarily on volunteers who were eager to share their stories. Most forthcoming were victims and bystanders, but a surprising number of participants were also willing to talk – doing their best to disguise their own roles and instead put their fingers on known rebel leaders who had escaped. Investigators endeavoured to gather as much information from as many witnesses as possible because they were under instruction not to work "quickly and superficially" (*cito et perfunctorie*). But they also were eager to move on to the next community, as they never felt quite safe despite military protection.[82] All of these circumstances make it unlikely that the testimonies were consciously manipulated to conform to officials' expectations.

Nevertheless, the investigations pose a significant analytical challenge because they were guided by leading questions. The interrogation teams relied on so-called "points for interrogation" (*puncta interrogatoria*, *puncta examinis)* that had been prepared in advance at the imperial court. For example, *puncta* given to agents of the Aulic War Council in summer 1673 assumed a priori that Hungarian rebels and Ottomans were closely intertwined. Thirteen *puncta* out of twenty-nine were about contacts with the Ottomans, ties to the Ottomans' Transylvanian vassals, and the rebels' plans for Hungary after the expulsion of the Habsburgs. Most other questions focused on the logistics and tactics of rebels operating from Ottoman territory.[83] A quite different set of questions guided investigators of the Zipser Kammer and the Eger Cathedral Chapter, two institutions that worked closely together in Upper Hungary in the aftermath of the 1672 revolt. Here the underlying

assumption was that rebels were guided by strong anti-Habsburg and anti-Catholic sentiments stirred up by Protestant pastors. In particular, the officials were instructed to look for derogatory speeches against the emperor and to document acts of violence against the Catholic Church.[84]

I adopted three analytical strategies to address the preconceptions inherent in official investigations. First, I focused as much as possible on unedited records that were produced on site and when the events were still fresh. Such records were often compiled in great haste due to the dangers of conducting investigations in hostile territory, and are therefore more likely to reflect the unmediated – and unedited – utterances of witnesses. Second, when I relied on edited texts I carefully screened them for official formulae and frequently repeated stereotypes (e.g., the notions that *all* rebels were pro-Turkish and *all* Protestant ministers were rebels). Third, I carefully compared various eyewitness testimonies to confirm specific actions, statements, and events. Subjective bias and distortions by individual witnesses – such as memory lapses, exaggerations, or self-justifications – are inevitable. But the composite picture that emerges from so many different points of view has a good probability of capturing the prominent features of these historical events.

I have made every effort to corroborate the veracity of inquisitorial records by triangulation with other data sources. These include hundreds of letters and reports by local Habsburg officials, border commanders, military officers, and undercover agents to the imperial court, the Aulic War Council, and the Zipser Kammer. These materials provide insights into the daily frustrations of the Habsburg regime's local agents who were confronted with the constant danger of rebel raids, the loss of tax lands to Ottoman expansion, and the involvement of Ottoman troops in revolts and rebel raids. Perhaps most interesting are the secret dispatches of undercover agents who were embedded among county nobles and the soldiers of border fortresses. These agents commanded extensive information networks, and they described popular rumours about the imminent arrival of Ottoman troops and the readiness of ordinary people to rebel. There are also hundreds of appeals, complaints, and petitions that were dispatched by diverse individuals ranging from peasants to nobles. Prominent among them are letters by Catholic priests, missionaries, and bishops who called for the expulsion of the Protestant clergy, the confiscation of churches, and military protection against hostile village and town populations. Most of these materials can be found in the collections

of the Zipser Kammer Archive in the Hungarian National Archive and the Hungarica Collection of the Habsburg Court Archives.

Particularly valuable are the previously untapped holdings of the Court Archives' Turcica Collection. This collection contains a vast array of documents pertaining to the Ottomans both locally and globally, such as:

- Letters of submission (*Huldigungsbriefe*) issued by pashas
- Investigations of the dissemination of Turkish proclamations (*Türkenzettel*)
- Reports from Habsburg border commanders about Ottoman raids
- Letters from Hungarian pashas to Habsburg border commanders
- Intercepted letters and memoranda by Hungarian exiles addressed to Köprülü
- Correspondence exchanged between the Aulic War Council and the vizier of Buda
- Letters from Emperor Leopold I to Ahmed Köprülü and Köprülü's responses
- Debriefings and diaries of spies traveling through the Ottoman hinterlands
- Spy reports from the courts of Ahmed Köprülü and Sultan Mehmed IV
- Spy reports from the court of the vizier of Buda
- Reports from extraordinary emissaries to the Porte and the court of the vizier of Buda
- Dispatches from the Habsburg residents at the Porte
- Dispatches from Ottoman army headquarters in Macedonia and Poland

Interspersed among these materials one finds many documents related to the burgeoning crisis in the Hungarian borderlands: the dispatches of military officers, deliberations of the Aulic War Council, and protocols of Secret Conference or Secret Council meetings at the imperial court. Taken together with similar materials from the Imperial War Archive (*Kriegsarchiv*),[85] one gets a good sense of how closely the Habsburg court monitored Ottoman activities in the Hungarian borderlands as well as in distant places such as the Mediterranean, Poland, Arabia, and the Persian borderlands.

I have also drawn on diplomatic dispatches from the Viennese court by the papal nuncios, the Venetian ambassadors, and the Parmese residents. These emissaries not only had keen insights into the inner workings of the Viennese court,[86] but also into developments along the Habsburg-Ottoman frontier. The papal nuncios, for example, commanded an extensive information network among Catholic clergy inside Hungary. They also enjoyed the trust of Emperor Leopold I and were deeply integrated into Vienna's reigning circles. They were particularly interested in "the Turkish question" (*Türkenfrage*) and the plight of Hungarian Catholics.[87] The Venetian and Parmese emissaries received information from key players inside the imperial court.[88] They also relied on well-placed informants in Hungary – such as Italian officers in border fortresses[89] – and oversaw a highly developed Hungarian spy network. They typically wrote detailed and well-researched reports focusing particularly on the Hungarian borderlands.[90]

The mostly unpublished reports of the Dutch ambassador Gerard Hamel Bruyninx in the Dutch National Archives are of great value.[91] With the exception of the Brandenburg ambassador, whose reports I also consulted, no foreign emissary was more concerned about the plight of ordinary Hungarians.[92] As a fervent Calvinist, Bruyninx sympathized with his persecuted coreligionists and corresponded with them.[93] He predicted that Habsburg military rule in Hungary would push the Hungarian population into the Ottoman camp. He feared that the Habsburgs would be drawn into war with the Porte as a result, thus preventing them from defending the Netherlands against French aggression. Bruyninx therefore paid close attention to what was happening in Hungary. He had access to top officials and the court's secret councilors (*geheyme raden*), including Grand Master of the Court (*Obersthofmeister*) Wenzel Lobkowitz, Court Chancellor Johann Hocher, and the president of the imperial Court Chamber (*Hofkammer*).[94] Bruyninx also relied heavily on the court's leading Hungarian experts who gleaned their information from multiple sources inside Hungary.[95]

Finally, I drew on the voluminous correspondence of Hungarian nobles with their Transylvanian supporters, town chronicles, autobiographies and sermons by pastors who participated in popular resistance and/or lived under Ottoman protection, and reports by Catholic missionaries. These reports ranged from the annual reports of the Jesuits to ad hoc dispatches of Paulines and Franciscans in the Hungarian hinterlands. Most of these sources have been published but remain underutilized by historians.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

Chapter 1 explores three simultaneous developments: unprecedented expansion of Ottoman power inside Royal Hungary, the greatly diminished ability of the Vienna court to control Hungarian affairs, and growing fears at the imperial court about losing Hungary. Royal Hungary was then the buffer zone protecting the core regions of the Habsburg Empire. The chapter begins with Ahmed Köprülü's confrontation with the Habsburgs over Transylvania, a territory that his father Grand Vizier Mehmed Köprülü had only recently conquered in two invasions (1657, 1660). Wrongly assuming that the younger Köprülü was "more inclined to peace" than his father, the Habsburg court blundered into a war that resulted in the destruction of the Hungarian border defense system. An unequal peace treaty negotiated by Köprülü in 1664 left all important Ottoman conquests in place and Royal Hungary undefended against Ottoman pashas, *sipahis*, and border commanders who forced hundreds of villages and towns to accept the sultan's authority. The Vienna court was powerless to reverse the Ottoman advantage and gradually sank into a state of paralysis and fear.

Chapter 2 examines how this dramatic shift in power relations between the Habsburg and Ottoman empires affected the Hungarian borderlands. Nobles and townsmen from western regions adjacent to Austria and Moravia that had large Ottoman garrisons turned to the vizier of Buda for physical protection. Subject to intense Ottoman expansion and threats of violence (including slave raiding), they had appealed to Habsburg commanders before without success. Feeling angry and convinced that they had being abandoned by their king, these nobles and townsmen switched their allegiance to the sultan, even though many of them continued to publicly vow loyalty to Vienna. Nobles and townsmen from eastern regions that were less exposed to Ottoman expansion and still had intact Habsburg garrisons sided with the Ottomans primarily in order to escape religious persecution and the brutal regime imposed by the Habsburg occupation army. The mayor of Kassa, Upper Hungary's most important town, corresponded with the pasha of Eger, and Calvinist nobles approached the grand vizier with a plan to create a Protestant republic in these regions under the sultan's tutelage. Meanwhile, peasants accepted letters of protection from Ottoman pashas or migrated across the Habsburg-Ottoman border because it "was safer and more secure under the Turks."

Chapter 3 reconstructs a little-known Protestant noble conspiracy that resulted in a pro-Ottoman revolt in Upper Hungary in spring 1670. At the core were the so-called Thirteen Counties, a regional confederation that became the vehicle for overthrowing Habsburg power and electing a new king of Hungary. These overwhelmingly Calvinist and Lutheran counties went on the offensive against Catholic magnates and bishops who were forcing peasants and townsmen into the Catholic faith with the support of Habsburg troops. They turned to the Ottoman-appointed ruler of Transylvania for military assistance and then also contacted the pashas of Eger, Varad, and Temesvár as well as the vizier of Buda. By 1669 the counties were embroiled in a religious civil war. Increasingly, ordinary men and women participated in tense confrontations with troops, and Protestant clergy gave sermons praising the Ottomans for their military victories. In April 1670 rumours of an imminent Ottoman invasion and the sighting of large numbers of Ottoman troops led to a massive popular uprising that quickly brought on the collapse of Habsburg power in Upper Hungary.

Chapter 4 argues that the repressive measures imposed upon Royal Hungary after the 1670 revolt were largely driven by the Habsburg court's uncertainty about Ottoman intentions. Emperor Leopold I and his entourage learned from spies that the Ottoman failure to assist the rebels was due to Ahmed Köprülü's continued engagement in the Mediterranean after victory over the Venetians. But Ottoman war preparations were intensifying, Hungarian pashas were pushing for an invasion, and Janissaries returning from the Mediterranean boasted about their army's invincibility. Against this backdrop the Habsburg court decided to "completely exterminate" the Hungarian rebels before the Ottomans intervened. Actions taken by the court included randomly arresting masses of men and women, introducing garrisons into towns, pillaging villages, confiscating noble estates, and systematically seizing Protestant churches. To determine how much time remained to stabilize its control of Royal Hungary, the Viennese court stepped up espionage at the courts of Mehmed IV, Grand Vizier Köprülü, and the vizier of Buda. However, even the best spies provided few, if any, answers. Lacking a strong standing army to defend Hungary, the Habsburg court resorted to delaying tactics. These tactics vacillated between bribing Ottoman dignitaries and appeasing Köprülü by granting his demands, such as freedom from taxation and military recruitment for all Ottoman subjects living in Hungary.

Chapter 5 looks at the effects of the Habsburg policy of reprisal upon Hungarian villages, towns, and border fortresses. Instead of bolstering the Vienna court's authority, an increasingly out-of-control military occupation regime only consolidated and deepened popular alienation. People resented army terror, exorbitant war taxes, and religious persecution. Ordinary men and women more or less openly resisted Habsburg authority or fled into Ottoman territory. The discontents included Catholic peasants, Orthodox shepherds, Lutheran artisans and burghers, Protestant pastors, expelled students of closed Protestant schools and colleges, and most importantly, the Protestant soldiers manning Royal Hungary's border fortresses. The Habsburg commander in chief, General Paris von Spankau, spoke of an explosive mix that could easily be ignited by sparks (*scintillae*) provided by secret contacts with leaders of the 1670 revolt who had escaped into Transylvanian and Ottoman territories.

Chapter 6 demonstrates that escalating popular discontent inside Hungary cannot be separated from developments on Ottoman territory. I trace secret cross-border communication networks that reached deep into the Habsburg hinterlands and connected even remote villages in the Carpathian Mountains with exile communities that sprang up in the *vilayets* of Eger and Varad and the Ottoman vassal state of Transylvania. There was a regular exchange of couriers delivering letters, as well as back-and-forth travel of leading exiles in disguise, along remote mountain paths. These trans-imperial networks tied into larger networks within the Ottoman world, as the exiles actively lobbied Hungarian pashas, the vizier of Buda, Grand Vizier Ahmed Köprülü, and Sultan Mehmed IV to launch a military campaign against Hungary. The exiles gathered troops on Ottoman territory and prepared to invade Habsburg Hungary. And rumours that a large army of Hungarian fugitives, Transylvanians, and Turks was about to come to ordinary Hungarians' rescue from Habsburg oppression spread like a wildfire. By summer 1672 the Habsburg army was not only surrounded by a sea of popular hostility but also confronted with the danger of an imminent invasion from Ottoman territory.

Chapter 7 reconstructs the massive popular revolt that swept away Habsburg power in Upper Hungary in late summer 1672. In August 1672 a rebel army, assisted by Ottoman troops, entered Upper Hungary from Ottoman territory. Within a matter of days the rebel army had swelled to more than

20,000. Most of the recruits were peasants, townsmen, students, and soldiers expelled from the Habsburg army. They were led by the same nobles who had organized the 1670 revolt. On 14 September 1672, the rebels defeated the Habsburg army under Commander in Chief Paris von Spankau. In the ensuing events Catholic priests and missionaries became prime targets of revenge, which led to killings, public humiliations, and expulsions. The estates of Habsburg loyalists and informers went up in flames, and Habsburg officials who escaped capture became hunted refugees. Again Habsburg power survived only because the Ottomans declined to intervene in Hungary. Köprülü had decided to invade Poland instead. Loyal imperial troops hastily withdrawn from Germany, Bohemia, and Silesia fought their way into Upper Hungary and restored a semblance of Habsburg control in early 1673. Faced with brutal reprisals – including massacres and random executions – large numbers of Hungarian rebels fled to Ottoman territory.

Chapter 8 demonstrates that the military re-conquest of the rebellious provinces did not resolve the central dilemma of Habsburg rule in Hungary, or the threat of an Ottoman invasion (now likely from two directions, as Ottoman troops had gained a quick victory in Poland). Habsburg fears led in turn to more violent campaigns against the Hungarian population that only increased popular animosity, readiness to revolt, and mass flight to the Ottomans. Intensifying border clashes that pitted fugitive rebels and Ottoman troops against Habsburg garrisons threatened to engulf the empires in another war. A full-scale war was prevented because Russia and Poland drew Köprülü into a quagmire in Ukraine from which he was only able to extricate himself in October 1676. He died shortly afterwards, and a military clash between the two world powers seemed indefinitely postponed when Köprülü's successor, Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa, publicly abjured any hostile intentions towards Vienna.

I

Land without Borders

Ottoman Expansion in Habsburg Hungary under Grand Vizier Ahmed Köprülü (1661–70)

During the tenure of Grand Vizier Ahmed Köprülü (1661–76), the military power of the Ottoman Empire soared to unprecedented heights in Central and Eastern Europe. This is an important historical reality that has been overlooked by Central European and Habsburg historians – although not by Ukrainian, Russian, or Polish scholars.[1] Contemporaneous European observers erroneously perceived the Ottoman Empire to be declining. But in fact, Ottoman military power had been restored by Grand Vizier Mehmed Köprülü (1656–61), Ahmed's father. Not since the days of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent (1520–66) had the Ottomans wielded such military strength.

With enormous military resources at his disposal, Ahmed Köprülü moved aggressively against old enemies. In Eastern Europe, Ukraine had been languishing under the weight of Polish and Russian occupation troops since the Andrusovo Peace Treaty (1667). Köprülü put Warsaw and Moscow on notice that Cossack Ukraine would soon be liberated by the Ottoman army under Sultan Mehmed IV. The foundations for this invasion had already been laid in April 1666 when Köprülü promised Ukrainian Cossack leaders military protection in exchange for their obedience and submission. But an Ottoman military offensive was out of the question before the Porte had defeated the Venetians, another old enemy, in the Mediterranean.[2] When Köprülü seized the Venetian fortress of Candia in September 1669, he realized the dream of several generations of grand viziers before him. This victory was celebrated with pomp and circumstance throughout the Ottoman Empire. Köprülü was glorified as a great leader and military genius. Polish and Russian emissaries flocked to the Porte to prevent the seemingly inevitable Ottoman invasion

of Ukraine. But their efforts resulted in utter failure. Within a few weeks during August–September 1672, Ottoman troops crushed the Polish army. Then, in summer 1674, the Ottomans succeeded in chasing the armies of Poland and Muscovy out of Ukraine.[3]

These spectacular Ottoman military successes were closely watched by the Habsburg court, but perhaps with less surprise than by observers elsewhere in Christian Europe.[4] The Habsburgs knew from bitter experience that Köprülü did not issue empty threats. They had felt the brunt of Ottoman military power earlier than Venice, Poland, or Muscovy. In fact, as soon as Köprülü ascended to the grand vizierate it became clear that containing, and possibly breaking, Habsburg power in Hungary would become a top priority of his tenure. During the following three years, Köprülü systematically expanded Ottoman power in territories of the historical Kingdom of Hungary. He consolidated the power of a Transylvanian puppet ruler and pushed the Habsburg army out of Transylvania. He then destroyed the Habsburg border defense system, invaded the Hungarian heartlands, and finally, in August 1664, negotiated a highly advantageous peace treaty at Vasvár.

This chapter begins with Köprülü's confrontation with the Habsburgs over Transylvania, a territory that his father Mehmed had twice invaded (1658, 1660). The Habsburg court seriously underestimated the younger Köprülü, assuming that he was "more inclined to peace" than his father.[5] It blundered into a war that nearly ended in disaster – not in decisive victory, as Hungarian and most other historians have claimed.[6] Only luck, or divine intervention as contemporary observers were inclined to believe, prevented the Ottomans' seizure of Vienna and their advance into the Habsburg Empire's hereditary provinces. The Habsburgs were forced to accept an unequal peace treaty that greatly advantaged the Ottomans by leaving intact their most important conquests. As a result, the Habsburgs' ability to control Hungarian affairs was greatly diminished.

Ottoman pashas began to extend their authority farther and farther into formerly Habsburg-controlled Hungarian hinterlands. Ottoman raids kept Habsburg border garrisons in a constant state of alert. The Habsburg court had no effective strategy to stop the pashas' actions. In 1669 it became evident that Ahmed Köprülü's troops would soon gain victory over the Venetians. Few Habsburg courtiers doubted that Hungary would be the next target of the Ottoman war machine.

TRANSYLVANIA AND THE OTTOMAN INVASION OF HABSBURG HUNGARY

Invasions of the principality of Transylvania by Ahmed Köprülü's father, Mehmed, threatened to undermine the nearly sixty-year balance of power between the Habsburg and Ottoman empires. Previously, the principality of Transylvania had been an independent Ottoman vassal state. Vast regions of Transylvania were destroyed during Mehmed's two invasions; the principality's last ruler, György II Rákóczi, was killed in battle. News reached the Vienna court that the Porte was planning to replace Transylvanian princes with pashas and turn Transylvania into a Turkish province. In August 1660, a strategic border castle in western Transylvania, Varad Fortress, surrendered to the Ottomans. Varad had prevented the Ottoman advance into Royal Hungary since the early seventeenth century. After its surrender, the fortress became the administrative centre of a new Ottoman *vilayet* and the pasha of Varad began laying claim to surrounding areas. Borders that had been more or less stable since the Peace of Zsitvatorok in 1606 (renewed in 1650) disappeared overnight. European observers were shocked by the loss of this "gate to the Christian world" (*keresztény világ kapujá*) and feared "that a path had opened up for the barbarians to overrun Hungary, Moravia, Silesia and Poland."[7]

The Habsburg court was powerless to change this new status quo. Its army was much too small, underequipped, and underpaid. According to Habsburg resident Simon Reniger, the Habsburg army was in no condition to go to war against an enemy that could easily bring 200,000 troops into the field.[8] The Habsburgs warned Grand Vizier Mehmed Köprülü that the Porte would face an international coalition of Christian powers unless it gave up Varad and withdrew its troops from Transylvania. But these warnings rang hollow. No major European power was willing to help, despite Emperor Leopold's repeated appeals.[9] Unsurprisingly, these warnings only elicited the grand vizier's rage and further sabre rattling.

According to Resident Reniger, Mehmed Köprülü insisted that the Habsburgs had no business in the sultan's lands. If they wanted war, they could have it immediately: "The lion, his master, [is] not afraid of fire or water. May all the Christians unite and attack the Empire if they want to get to know its power." Mehmed Köprülü denounced the Habsburgs as "pagan dogs," and

threatened to "turn all of Transylvania and Hungary into ashes."[10] To lend credence to his words, he unleashed his troops in summer 1661. Their declared mission was to wreak havoc and defeat a Habsburg candidate for the Transylvanian throne. But the troops also devastated Szatmár and Ugocsa counties in the easternmost reaches of Royal Hungary.[11]

On 1 November 1661 at the age of thirty-two, Ahmed Köprülü became the de facto ruler of the Ottoman Empire. The young grand vizier gave explicit orders to the Ottoman commander in chief and plenipotentiary, Ali Pasha of Silistria, to coerce the Transylvanian estates to recognize the Ottoman candidate Mihály Apafi as their prince. Ali Pasha then defeated and killed a Habsburg counter-candidate, and forced German and Croatian troops who had backed this candidate into a hasty retreat. If this were not enough, Ali Pasha also declared that the Hungarian county of Szatmár would henceforth belong to the pasha of Varad.[12]

When Resident Reniger met with Ahmed Köprülü to complain about the Ottoman takeover of Szatmár County, the young grand vizier retorted with angry denial: it was not true because he had instructed the pasha of Varad to stop seizing lands. In any case, complaints of this kind were worthless unless they were documented in writing. Then Köprülü simply got up and left. The dumbfounded emissary turned to Köprülü's adjutant for clarification. He received a harsh reply: "Our [forces] have not done any harm but yours have done much; yet, we still have kept quiet and are not asking anything from you … I know that a formal war will come from this. You must not imagine that we will return any villages or anything else or allow the election of another Transylvanian prince. You still hold some places in your possession in Transylvania – we will not even mention them. But if you do not leave, we will expel you by force and will impose Turks."[13]

Ahmed Köprülü, like his father, was not in the least afraid of Habsburg power. He considered Vienna's interference in Transylvanian affairs an affront to the honour and reputation of the sultan. Köprülü had already made it clear that any further attempts to support a counter-candidate against Prince Apafi would be considered a casus belli. Reniger's protest against what he considered to be belligerent actions by the Ottomans did not seem to matter; it appeared fruitless to Reniger to engage in any further communication with Köprülü. He wrote pessimistically to Emperor Leopold in late April 1662: "Most excellent Emperor, I see that the situation is more dangerous than ever,

the Turk is determined to go to war and will not yield … Asian troops are continuously proceeding towards the borderlands [*confinia*]."[14]

In April 1662 Emperor Leopold I conjured up the disastrous situation that had resulted from the loss of Varad and Transylvania in a letter to the Hungarian estates in which he warned that "the natural enemy of the Christian name" now posed a direct danger to Royal Hungary. Turkish troops had already turned the kingdom's easternmost counties into their hunting grounds, and plundered and pillaged with impunity: "[The enemy] has depopulated the entire county of Szabolcs, and just as disastrously, has devastated the county of Szatmár with iron and fire." The Szatmár hinterlands had already been forced to recognize the authority of the sultan; the Habsburg army had only managed to hold onto the county's fortresses. Leopold I insisted that he would do everything in his power to save Hungary: he had already enlisted the hereditary provinces of the empire and implored "the other Christian princes" of Europe to join "in the defense of this Bulwark of Christendom" (*in defensionem huius Antemuralis Christianitatis*). Leopold expressed his confidence that God's power was "on the side of this just cause," and that "his Christian people … would turn its rage and revenge against the enemies and violators of the peace."[15]

Yet these turned out to be mere empty words. On 9 April 1662 the Venetian ambassador in Vienna observed that "the emperor was too weak to stand up to the overwhelming power of the Turks." Commander in Chief Raimondo Montecuccoli painted a pitiful picture of Habsburg troops withdrawing from Transylvania: most were in rags, hungry, and sick; suffering from exposure to wet winter weather; and in no position to put up a fight. Hungarian palatine Ferenc Wesselényi concurred: there was no way that the Habsburg army and its Hungarian allies "[would] be able to stand up to Turkish power." Ali Pasha, who oversaw Transylvanian affairs from Temesvár, was similarly aware of Emperor Leopold's bluster. In July 1662, Ali Pasha refused to meet with Vienna's special envoy. He insisted that either the envoy should go home, or proceed directly to the sultan's court in Edirne; perhaps someone would listen to him there. Ali Pasha expressed his utter disdain for the Habsburg emperor: "No one is any longer afraid of [your] emperor. [He] could not even defend Varad."[16]

In August 1662, Ahmed Köprülü gave the Habsburg court one last opportunity to avoid war by offering restitution of Szatmár and Szabolcs counties.

But he refused to budge on Transylvania: Varad would continue under Ottoman rule, any remaining Habsburg troops would have to evacuate Transylvania, and Habsburg fortresses were to be demolished. Why the Habsburg court hesitated to accept these terms remains unclear, especially in light of Reniger's increasingly alarming reports on the intense Ottoman military buildup along the Transylvanian and Hungarian borders.[17] Did Habsburg leaders underestimate Köprülü's resolve? Did they perhaps consider Reniger's warnings exaggerated? If so, they seriously miscalculated. A closer look at Reniger's reports would have revealed that Köprülü was, from the very beginning, intent on consolidating the geopolitical gains from his father's conquests.

Ten days before his death, the elder Köprülü had summoned Reniger to a final meeting and dictated the two crucial conditions for maintaining the peace between the two empires: first, complete withdrawal of Habsburg troops from Transylvania, and second, no intervention in the election of the Transylvanian prince. The elder Köprülü had insisted that the Habsburg emperor had no business in Transylvania because the principality was the sultan's hereditary patrimony (*patrimonio ereditario*). Ahmed Köprülü was present during this meeting; his dying father had requested him there as a witness. Not surprisingly, from day one of Ahmed Köprülü's grand vizierate he was intent on implementing his father's last wishes. As he pointed out in a letter to the sultan, to relinquish these wishes would be unworthy of Ottoman power. When Ahmed Köprülü finally went to war against the Habsburgs in spring 1663, he was fulfilling his father's legacy.[18]

There is no question that Ahmed Köprülü, like his father, considered Ottoman power superior to that of any other power on earth. He was convinced that the might of the sultan's armies could easily overcome Habsburg resistance. In a letter to the sultan from April 1663, he wrote that he was about to "undertake with the mercy of God a great and victorious campaign against the enemy which people will speak about to the end of times." As the Ottoman chronicler of Köprülü's Hungarian campaigns recorded, "our Lord girded himself with the sword in the name of Allah the Merciful and embarked on his campaign with the sacred zeal of a religious war which God would not deny victory." In mid-June 1663, Köprülü put the Habsburg court on notice that he would attack with an unstoppable force: "I have now already arrived in Belgrade with an army that the surface of the earth can hardly comprise. In addition, a striking force of [Crimean] Tatars is on its way, countless

as the stars in Heaven. What the Majesty of God the Almighty has determined from time immemorial will happen."[19]

It is indicative of Ahmed Köprülü's self-confidence vis-à-vis the Habsburg court that he rejected all last-minute concessions – including offers to relinquish all Transylvanian fortresses and to demolish Serinvár Fortress. Serinvár was an unauthorized citadel built by the Croatian magnate Miklós Zrínyi that had been a great annoyance to Mehmed Köprülü.[20] Instead of being placated, Köprülü raised a new demand: the Austrians were to pay the sultan a yearly tribute of 30,000 ducats "as was imposed on you in the times of Sultan Süleyman when you concluded peace with us." Habsburg resident Reniger protested that "the closer you approach our territory the more you demand! … The emperor will never, under any circumstances, agree to pay [the tribute]. Our Sovereign, the emperor, is not obliged to pay tribute to the Ottomans." Köprülü retorted, "don't ever again allow this emissary in front of my eyes, otherwise I will do something nasty to him." On 17 July 1663 Köprülü arrived in Buda, the centre of Ottoman administration in Hungary, where he oversaw a parade of 100,000 troops. The Habsburg emissary was hauled out of prison to witness this spectacle, at which, according to the Ottoman chronicler, the emissary broke down in tears.[21]

As Ottoman troops approached the Hungarian border, Vienna fell into a state of panic. The Venetian ambassador Zuaune Sagredo, an eyewitness, described the following scene: "Everything was full of fear, confusion, and disorder. Vienna was as if abandoned. More than 70,000 residents fled with the best of their possessions to farther removed and secure places. Large numbers of people withdrew to Linz where the streets were filled with frightened crowds that lacked food so that people fell down along the roads exhausted from hunger." The emperor stayed behind. Able to muster only 6,000 troops, he observed helplessly that "the Turkish danger [was] increasingly daily and even hourly."[22] In the German Empire, pamphlets and newspapers conjured up the spectre of Turkish atrocities, and everywhere the so-called Turkish bell (*Türkenglocke*) was rung to call people to prayer. Christian Europe, which had been spared a large Ottoman campaign for more than two generations, began to anticipate disaster.[23]

When the fighting began, one disaster after another befell the Habsburg army: a devastating defeat and the massacre of hundreds of captured soldiers at Párkány; failure to stop the breakthrough of Crimean Tatars into Moravia, Silesia, and Lower Austria (which allegedly resulted in the enslavement of

ACHMET BASSA, TURCARUM TYRANNI ARCHISTRATEGUS.

Dieses ist der Groß Vezier die gerüste Christen Geisel: Wo[illegible] wird wider werden gut, Glimmt noch atte[illegible] auch in Teutschen.
Dessen Grimm geführten Streich neülich hat gefühlt Neuhäusel. Es soll unsre dapfre Faust diesen Wütrich wieder peitschen.
Hungarn tritt er alters drohet, Gott standt uns durch diese Hand. Rüten endlich müssen brennen, wann die Hand ist worden mürb.
Künde seinen Zorn entzündet: Rust wird löschen diesen Brand. Flieht ihr Türcken hie: ist Christus, der verlast die Seinen nit.

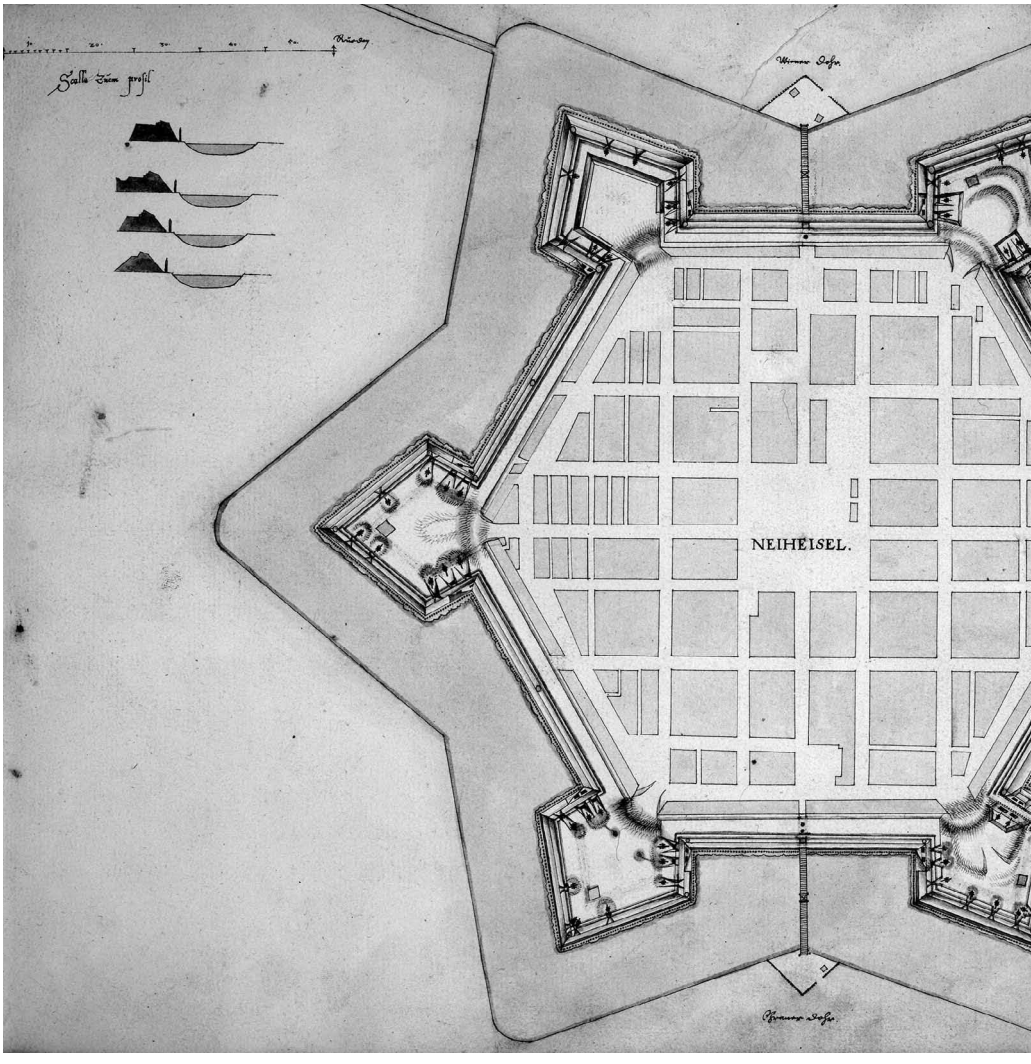
In Nurmberg zu finden bey Iacob Sandrart.

more than 10,000 people);[24] and the loss of pivotal fortresses such as Nógrád and Érsekújvár (Neuhäusel; Turkish Uyvar) which Köprülü had astutely identified as the linchpin of Habsburg border defenses in western Hungary.[25] According to the Venetian ambassador, only the piety of Emperor Leopold I saved the Habsburg Empire: responding to Leopold's prayers, God had sent severe rain storms and delayed the invasion army in Buda by more than forty days. And He had also closed the Turks' eyes: "If the vizier had advanced within sight of Vienna instead of attacking Naiasel [sic] he would have found the city without soldiers, full of fear, terror, and panic, and entirely at his disposition."[26] Perhaps Sagredo was right when he added that Köprülü could never have imagined that the defenses of the capital were in such a state of neglect. Indeed, contemporary Ottoman sources confirm that the target of Köprülü's campaign was Hungary, not Vienna.[27]

A pause in hostilities in November 1663, due to the withdrawal of Köprülü's troops to winter quarters, was probably what saved Vienna. This pause allowed for mass recruitment of new troops, including significant contingents from the German Empire and France. When fighting resumed in April 1664, the Habsburg army was in much better shape. The newly assembled troops prevented further important Ottoman conquests and even recaptured a few minor fortresses. Nevertheless, the army's strategic situation did not improve.

Figure 1.1 *Opposite*
Portrait of Grand Vizier Ahmed (Achmet) Köprülü during the siege of Érsekújvár

The fall of Érsekújvár (Neuhäusel) in September 1663 awakened anxiety throughout Europe. The engraver from Protestant Nuremberg (Nurmberg), Germany, depicted Köprülü as a triumphant but ruthless conqueror whose fury (*Grimm*) posed a menace to Christendom. The Turcophobia of the accompanying text stands in marked contrast to the pro-Turkish sentiments of many contemporaneous Hungarians. This text reads: "Ahmed Pasha, Commander in Chief of the Turks' Tyrant [in Latin, remainder of the text in German]. This is the Grand Vizier, the greatest whip of Christendom, whose furious lash Neuhäusel has just felt. He hits Hungary and threatens us. God throws dust in our face [*stäupt uns*] with this hand. Sin inflames [God's] wrath: penance will extinguish this conflagration. God will again become benevolent. Old courage still smoulders in the Germans: our courageous fist shall whip this tyrant. Birch rods must burn at last when this mob has become tired. Flee, you Turks! Here is Christ, He does not abandon His people."



Under these circumstances, the Habsburg court used a surprising victory over parts of Köprülü's army at Szentgotthárd (Vas County) on 1 August 1664 as an opportunity to sue for peace.[28] Emperor Leopold justified this decision in a memorandum to the German Reichstag in October 1664:

> According to the consistent opinion of many, this [battle] was a matter of great danger; the well-being of our fatherland … was hanging by a thread [*an einen seidenen Faden gehangen*]. How close the hereditary enemy came to victory! God predetermined [our victory]! But who would have stood up to [the enemy] to prevent him from breaking through into the bowels

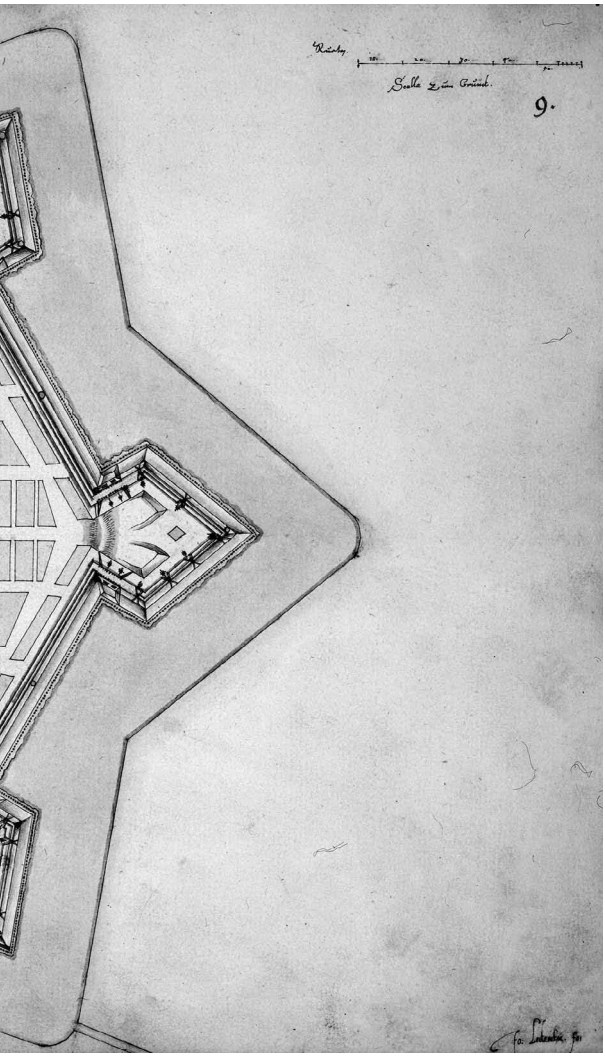
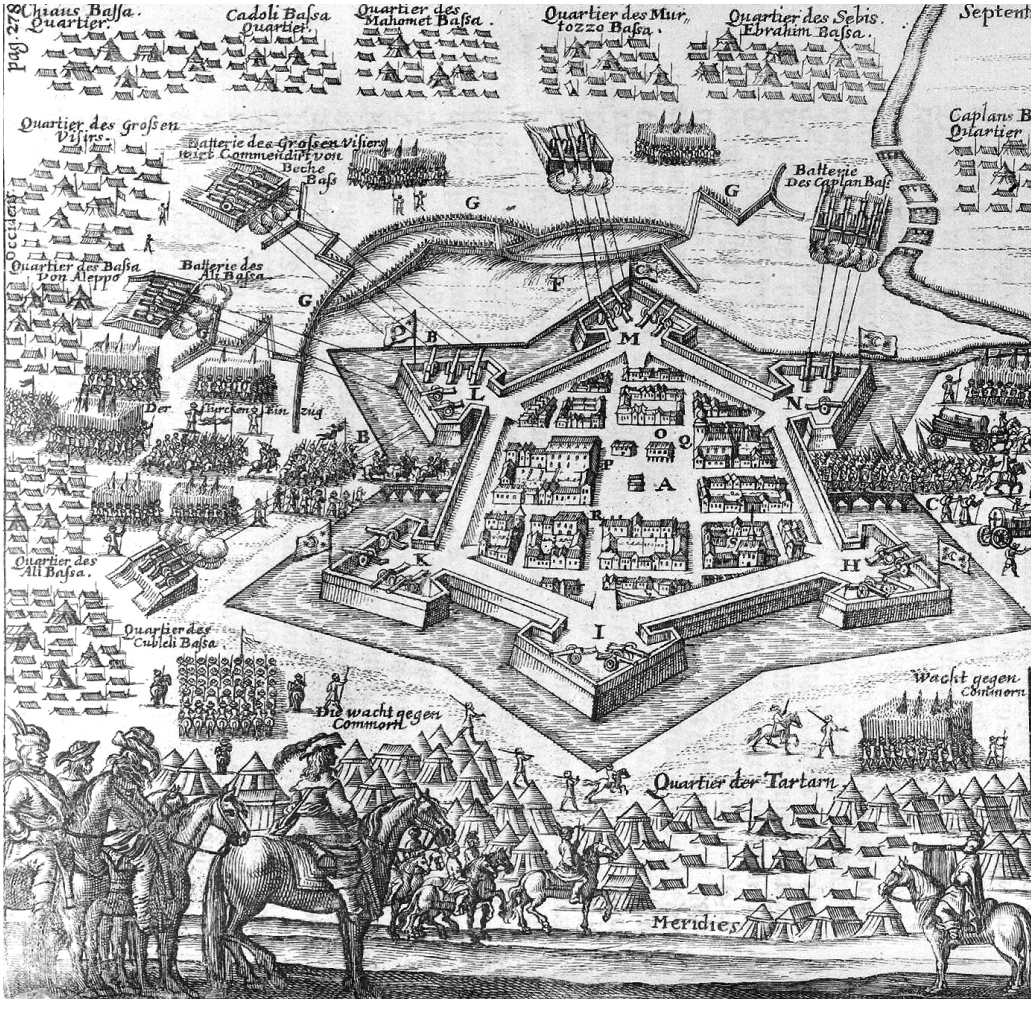


Figure 1.2
Ground plan of Érsekújvár (Neiheisel) Fortress, 1639

Érsekújvár (Neiheisel/Neuhäusel, Nové Zámky, Uyvar) was built as a state-of-the-art renaissance fortress during the 1570s. It functioned as the epicentre of Habsburg border defenses in Lower Hungary. Érsekújvár served as the headquarters of the Cisdanubian Captaincy-General, charged with defending Hungary's mining towns. It also provided security for the Habsburg Empire's Austrian, Bohemian, and Moravian provinces.

> of the Empire [*viscera Imperii*]? Few regiments … were still intact and only some reserves or backup forces [*Hinterhalt*] could be found in a few districts; it was impossible … to assemble an army that could have stood up to the enemy.[29]

There is considerable evidence confirming the exhaustion of the Habsburg army while Köprülü was determined to continue the campaign.[30] It is curious to note that current Central European (Slovak, Hungarian, Croat) and Habsburg scholarship ignores this evidence. The dominant consensus, recently summarized by Arno Strohmeyer, is that the Ottomans were badly defeated



on 1 August 1664. Hungarian scholars continue to claim that an unprecedented historical opportunity for pursuing and destroying the Turkish enemy was wasted. While most historians would not agree with the Austrian Ottomanist Joseph von Hammer that the battle resulted in "the greatest and brightest victory … that Christian troops achieved against the Ottomans in three hundred years," few doubt that this "decisive battle" signified "the end of heavy Ottoman military superiority which had reigned since the fifteenth century."[31] Dissenting voices such as Prussian scholar Wilhelm Nottebohm,

Figure 1.3
Withdrawal of the Habsburg imperial army from Érsekújvár

Érsekújvár (Neuhäusel) Fortress (position *A*) was surrounded by the Ottoman army under the command of Köprülü on 17 August 1663. The fortress's garrison was battered from all sides by Ottoman artillery, as illustrated in the engraving (position *G*). With low supplies and without hope of any outside relief, the garrison capitulated and was granted an honourary withdrawal on 26 September 1663. The remaining ca. 2,500 Habsburg troops withdrew in military formation ("Aufzug der Belägerten") to Komárom Fortress ("Weg nach Comoren") on the right. The quarters of Grand Vizier Köprülü ("Quartier des Grossen Visirs") can be seen among the tents at the top left. This former linchpin of Habsburg border defense became the epicentre of the Ottoman Empire's newest *vilayet*. Its proximity to the Habsburg Empire's capital in Vienna aroused considerable consternation at the imperial court.

Austrian librarian Georg Wagner, and Turkish historian Ahmed Muhtar Paşa have not entered the dominant historiographic discourse; they argued many decades ago that the Ottoman defeat was at worst a temporary setback for Köprülü's army. As I demonstrate throughout this book, the Ottoman-Habsburg war of 1663–64 hardly ended in victory for the Habsburg side: the imperial army was in shambles, large parts of the Hungarian border defense system had been destroyed, and the Vasvár Peace Treaty enabled the Ottoman army to occupy strategic positions closer to Vienna than ever before.[32]

THE VASVÁR TREATY AND OTTOMAN EXPANSION IN HABSBURG HUNGARY

After destroying several Habsburg fortresses in Lower Hungary during the height of the 1664 campaign, Ahmed Köprülü told the Habsburg resident that he demanded a new kind of peace. This new treaty would have to be different from the 1606 Peace Treaty of Zsitvatorok; it would have to reflect Ottoman victories and conquests. The return of conquered fortresses such as Uyvar was out of the question. In fact, when Reniger raised this possibility in front of Köprülü's military commanders, they burst out laughing: did he ever hear of such a thing as the Ottomans voluntarily returning a conquered fortress to the Christians? Köprülü and his inner circle maintained this position even after the Battle of Szentgotthárd, providing further proof that they considered their defeat only a temporary setback.[33] The Vasvár Treaty, hastily concluded on the battlefield in mid-August 1664 and ratified by Emperor Leopold on 9 September, satisfied Köprülü's demands and gave the Ottomans a superior strategic position. The Habsburg emperor, not surprisingly, remained very ambivalent about the treaty. As he confided to one of his ministers, "he felt no particular joy about it … and would not mind if it became water again because he could not digest that Uyvar would remain in Turkish hands" (*daß Neuhäusl den Türken bleiben solle, können sie nicht digerieren*).[34]

The Vasvár Treaty had numerous flaws from the perspectives of both the Habsburg court and the Hungarians. Most importantly, it greatly weakened the strategic position of the Habsburg court. By recognizing all Ottoman conquests – especially the seizure of Uyvar and Varad – the Habsburgs found themselves confronted with dangers not experienced since the mid-sixteenth century. Venetian ambassador Sagredo observed in May 1665 that Uyvar was becoming a heavily fortified staging ground for the Ottoman army and a direct threat to Vienna: "One day this parade ground [*piazza d'arme*] will be in a position to serve for the conquest of Vienna which was attempted in vain by Süleyman during the last century. Should this happen in the future it would be fatal for all of Christendom."[35] Fortunately, Mehmed IV was less determined than Süleyman to deal Christendom such a blow (*colpo*), but the Ottoman army was a formidable force with highly disciplined, courageous, and well-fed soldiers. By contrast, the imperial army was in a state of crisis: soldiers lived in utter poverty "reduced to the extreme by the lack of bread," or were wasting away in debauchery and drunkenness.[36]

Sagredo observed further that the Vasvár Treaty left the Ottoman army in a stronger strategic position than ever before. Large Ottoman troop contingents could now stay on "the vast lands occupied during the last war," especially in the fertile plains of Transylvania (which were protected on all sides by steep mountains). These troops no longer had to withdraw to faraway winter quarters in Asia as in past campaigns, but now found logistical support nearby: vast reservoirs of grass; an abundance of strong horses; mineral deposits and mines; and plenty of food and other goods needed to maintain an army (and easily provided by Transylvanian towns).[37] Sagredo feared the worst for the future: the shortness of time (*brevitá di tempo*) needed for mobilization combined with the speed of Ottoman military operations put the Habsburgs in unprecedented danger: "Since they do not get help without long and contentious diet meetings they will be overcome before receiving proportionate assistance in time." In fact, Sagredo anticipated a disaster not just for Austria but all of Christendom, particularly the German and Italian states (warning the Venetian leadership that an Ottoman breakthrough via Friuli was conceivable).[38]

Did Sagredo exaggerate? Perhaps, because he added that there would be no real danger for the moment. The Ottoman leadership was focused on defeating Venice in the Mediterranean: a basic geopolitical fact that was also noticed by the Habsburg court, the Polish Crown, and the Kremlin. For example, in summer 1665 the Porte ordered large parts of the Uyvar garrison to assist in the siege of the Venetian fortress of Candia on Crete. The total number of Uyvar soldiers which had peaked at about 3,000 in early 1665 sank considerably during the next two years before it recovered – and even surmounted – its original strength in late summer 1667. The Vienna court took this temporary weakening of Ottoman military power in Lower Hungary as an opportunity to build several new fortresses to restore the destroyed border defense line and thus make an attack on Vienna more difficult.[39] This development went hand in hand with a noticeable decrease of fear in Vienna: during the year 1666, for example, the emperor and his entourage discussed the dangers of a possible Ottoman attack on Italy via Dalmatia, but no word was lost about any imminent danger to Vienna.[40]

The central flaw of the Vasvár Treaty was not that it left Vienna undefended. Rather, the main problem was that the treaty left borders between the two empires almost completely undefined: in Lower Hungary the Vág (Waag, Váh) River was mentioned vaguely as a potential border line (article

8), and in Upper Hungary the still-intact fortresses of Szatmár, Károly, Kálló, and Ecsed were to give the Habsburg Empire control over the disputed counties of Szabolcs and Szatmár (article 3). But article 3 failed to provide any information about where the borders of these two counties were precisely located. Other treaty articles also avoided specific references to borders, instead broadly referring to the diffusion of potential sources of conflict: Transylvania should become a demilitarized zone (article 1); none of the Hungarian counties should be subject to any Turkish tributes (article 2); both sides should abstain from "offering refuge and support to enemies of the two emperors" (articles 4–5); supporters of the Habsburg side in the Transylvanian civil war should be allowed to return home (article 7); and Ottoman and Habsburg garrison soldiers should be subject to severe punishments if they conducted cross-border raids and harassed ordinary people (article 9).[41]

This obvious failure to define borders helps to explain why the Ottomans continued to expand their territory at the expense of the Habsburgs *after* the Vasvár Treaty.[42] This expansion can be observed particularly in the vicinity of newly conquered fortresses such as Uyvar and Varad, but also in many other places. In fact, Ottoman penetration into the hinterlands of Habsburg Hungary raised fear even in relatively secure areas such as Árva and Szepes counties, which were situated along the Polish border – that is, many miles removed from Ottoman border fortresses and protected by high mountain ranges. The Árva County Diet discussed the great dangers posed by Ottoman raids and decided to ask Vienna for military protection. Such protection was not forthcoming. But it appears that Polish troops were ready to move into Szepes County to secure towns that the Habsburg court had pawned to the Polish Crown. Only the mobilization of the Szepes County militia seems to have prevented such a move. Polish fears of Ottoman expansion in Árva and Szepes counties were captured by a delegate to the Sejm who observed that "the pasha of Buda could easily spy out Cracow from his perch in the [Carpathian] mountains."[43]

How far did the Ottomans actually penetrate into Habsburg Hungary? A look at developments in the vicinity of Uyvar provides some answers. Shortly after the Habsburgs surrendered the fortress in September 1663, the pasha of Uyvar and the vizier of Buda started issuing "letters of protection" (*amān kāğidiler*) to the population living along the Vág and Nyitra rivers. In popular parlance the letters were known as *hitlevelek* or *literae salvi conductus* ("letters

of safe conduct"), but Habsburg officials called them "letters of submission" (*Huldigungsbriefe*). Such letters were disseminated not just outside Uyvar (that is, in southern Nyitra County), but more than 80 kilometers north in Trencsén County and at least 60 kilometers northeast in Bars County. Recipients of such letters received promises that they "could safely remain in the their homes and sow [their fields]," and a local chronicler noted that residents of his town who had not yet received such letters sent messengers to the Ottomans to ask for them.[44] By the time the Vasvár Treaty was concluded in August 1664 Ottoman scribes had assembled a "detailed tax register of the province of Uyvar" (*Defter-i mufassal-i eyelet-i Uyvár*) that listed 750 taxable villages, towns, and other inhabited places. While the bulk of these properties were located in the neighbouring counties of Nyitra (county 313), Bars (195), and Komárom (61) quite a number of others were much farther away in the counties of Hont (93) and Turóc (41).[45]

This was only the first such register, as Slovak historian Jozef Blaškovič established some time ago. It and later registers in the Istanbul archives strongly demonstrate that the Ottoman rulers of Uyvar aspired to expand their taxable domain rather aggressively.[46] In January 1665, the Transylvanian magnate Mihály Teleki learned during a meeting with Johannes von Rottal, the Habsburg plenipotentiary for Hungary, that the pasha of Uyvar was not satisfied with controlling all the lands that belonged to the former Habsburg fortress. He was now threatening to subjugate important mining towns in neighbouring counties. In fact, *Huldigungsbriefe* had been disseminated in every direction (*mindenfelé*) all the way through Trencsén County to the Moravian border.[47] In late summer 1665 the author of an anonymous memorandum, who drew information both from the Habsburg court and local nobles, confirmed this report: the Uyvar Turks had issued threats to all kinds of settlements "to submit and come with tributes." The author demanded an addendum to the Vasvár Treaty that would spell out "which villages, cities, and small towns must be under Turkish authority and which not." Without such specifics it was only a question of time before all of Lower Hungary became a Turkish province; Austria and the empire's hereditary provinces (including Bohemia) would inevitably become the next targets of this Ottoman advance.[48]

How effective were these attempts to subjugate regions that had formerly been held by the Habsburgs? The English scientist Edward Brown who visited

Lower Hungary twice in August 1669 and March 1671 has left us some clues. He noted that Uyvar fortress "commandeth contribution from a good part of the Country between the Vág and Nyitra (Neutra) rivers, and between the Nyitra and the Garam (Gran) rivers: and in places, where we lodged in those parts, the Master of the house told us, he was obliged to give notice unto the Turks, who, and how many were in the house."[49] Brown became aware that he was in "the [Turkish] Contribution Country" just after crossing the Vág River as he entered the town of Freistadt (Galgóc, Hlohovec), "a large fair town but lately burned by the Turk." The population was now paying a tax "for every head, whither of Man, Woman, Children, Sheep, Oxen, or Horses." As Brown passed further inland he noticed that towns and villages went about their normal business; he was particularly fascinated by the hot baths visited by women and children in cold weather. Only occasionally did he come across evidence of Ottoman violence, such as a small town where all inhabitants had been sold as slaves during the 1663–64 war. After five days of travel Brown arrived in the mining town of Schemnitz (Hont County) – about 10 miles to the east of the Garam River – and became aware that he had reached the outer limit of Uyvar Province. Unlike other towns he had traversed, Schemnitz did not recognize the authority of the Uyvar pashas. Brown noted, however, that the town lived in constant fear of Turkish raids.[50]

Clearly, Brown had limited insights into the realities of Ottoman rule in Uyvar Province. He had no clue that Hungarian nobles who tried to reclaim confiscated lands or tax revenues were subject to brutal punishment including incarceration, torture, and execution. He also knew little about punitive expeditions against towns and villages that refused to pay their tribute. No one told him about the disastrous fate of the towns of Bilice (Bilitz, Bélic) and Žabokreky (Zsámbokrét) in northeastern Nyitra County that were raided while he was traveling nearby.[51] He also did not report anything about attempts by Habsburg army units to reassert authority over some lost areas. This was a regular occurrence, but usually without much success – particularly when Köprülü began appointing trusted confidants like his brother-in-law Seidi Ahmed Pasha (1671–73), who aggressively engaged Habsburg troops and threatened peasants with death if they gave these troops any provisions. Depleted of any reliable protection, the region around Uyvar Fortress became a hunting ground for Ottoman troops. The experience of an imperial major (*Hauptmann*) leading an armed detachment to villages paying tribute to the

pasha was quite typical: his troops were promptly ambushed and the major himself barely escaped with his life.[52] And the commander of the Habsburg garrison of Neutra (Nyitra, Nitra), a town surrounded on all sides by territory recognizing the pasha's authority, was seized by Ottoman troops and beaten so badly – he was said to have received 2,000 blows – that he probably did not survive.[53]

Thus, the pendulum of power was swinging in the direction of the Ottomans in Uyvar Province. Similar observations can be made about the easternmost provinces of Habsburg Hungary, particularly the contested counties of Szatmár and Szabolcs. Though formally given to the Habsburgs in the Vasvár Treaty, these counties continued to be targets of Ottoman expansion. In early January 1665 Rottal, the Habsburg plenipotentiary, confided to Mihály Teleki during a meeting in Szatmár Fortress that he was rather pessimistic about the situation along the eastern borders: "[I] certainly know that the Turk will never, or only reluctantly, give up what he can take; here in Szabolcs and Szatmár counties he will carry out whatever he can. Just now they have pillaged a village, cut down its residents, and carried away captives into the interior. There are also several hundred Turks in the vicinity of Kálló Fortress, [we] do not know what they want."[54] In mid-January the Transylvanian magnate Dénes Bánffy learned from an official of the pasha of Varad, who was then engaged in a systematic land grab in Transylvania, that the Ottomans considered Szabolcs and Szatmár counties legitimate targets for expansion. The official showed Bánffy a register (*regestrum*) that contained the names of villages in both counties; he added that orders had just been issued to these villages to provide 400 wagons.[55] Bánffy and other Transylvanian nobles knew from experience that it was useless to complain. In fact, it was commonly assumed that Ahmed Köprülü had given a blank check to the pasha of Varad: he only was to "inform the grand vizier how many lands had been subjugated by Varad; after that [Köprülü] would give orders by whom and how the border should be arranged."[56]

What this expansion meant for Hungarian elites in eastern counties can be captured in the letters of the magnate László Károlyi. In 1670 Károlyi wrote to the Habsburg court that all of his troubles had started with the loss of Varad Fortess ten years earlier: "When Varad was lost they [Turkish troops] plundered my castle in Adony (Bereg County) with many of my beautiful properties … The Tatars burnt my castle in Erdőszáda (Szatmár County) to

ashes, robbed my serfs of almost everything or cut them down. I lost my entire harvest and in my two villages not ten houses remained. To prevent my land from going to waste completely I had to rush to the villages with twelve orderlies [*naposokkal*] instead of my serfs but the land lay fallow for three years." Károlyi added that the situation had not much improved after the end of military operations: his estates remained a target of constant raids and "only God could count the losses [the residents of my estates] have suffered." Károlyi's once-magnificent estates were on the verge of becoming Ottoman: in fact, Ottoman troops had invaded and pillaged his properties at least nine times and forbade the local population to recognize the authority of the Habsburg emperor (*tilalmazták, hogy be ne hódoljanak*).[57] Only the presence of Habsburg troops in Károly Fortress and their strict warnings to peasants not to join the Ottoman side had kept Károlyi on his estates. But he seriously considered leaving because he had ten children and was no longer sure that he could protect them.[58]

According to the Vasvár Treaty, four Habsburg fortresses were to guarantee the borders of Szabolcs and Szatmár counties. The Ottomans considered these fortresses legitimate targets for occupation.[59] Ali Pasha, Ottoman commander in chief in Transylvania, boasted that the fortresses of Kálló and Károly were old Turkish possessions since they had already been occupied by Ottoman troops once after the conquest of Eger in 1596. He told Habsburg resident Reniger that he did not believe the Austrian emperor would be able to defend them.[60] Both Károly and Kálló remained in a very precarious position indeed after the peace treaty: the hinterlands of Károly were frequent targets of Turkish and Transylvanian troops killing Habsburg soldiers, driving away herds of cattle, and forcing villages to recognize the authority of the pasha of Varad. In November 1669 Emperor Leopold personally gave orders to evacuate cannons and other heavy weapons (*tormenta bellica*) "so that they would not fall into the hands of the Turks."[61] Kálló Fortress was similarly exposed after failing to prevent half of Szabolcs County from falling under Ottoman control (*hódoltság alá*). In October 1669, the pasha of Varad almost took the fortress: bribed garrison soldiers ordered Turkish prisoners to dig a large tunnel ("a subterranean road") and unlocked the gates in the middle of the night. Only bad coordination and a last-minute discovery prevented the plot from succeeding.[62]

Ecsed and Szatmár fortresses were considered crucial for "closing and opening the gate for an attack of the Infidel against the Kingdom [of Hun-

gary]," and the commander of Szatmár was "like a general in chief [*presidente general*] over that region."[63] Yet, Ottoman pashas and border commanders considered these mighty citadels no obstacle for expansion inside eastern Hungary. Agha Huszein, the commander of Varad Fortess, wrote to his counterpart in Szatmár shortly after the Ottoman conquest of Varad that "Szatmár [County] belongs to the undefeatable padishah [sultan] … [and] anyone who flees under the padishah's mercy will remain without harm. Consider that … Munkács, Patak and Tokaj are also His [properties] … How are you? How do you sleep? We will soon come to visit you. Commander of Szatmár, you blind dog, you are sitting there without your head."[64] Similar threats emanated against Ecsed Fortress, which the pasha of Varad considered a legitimate target, claiming "that Szatmár and Ecsed belong to [the sultan]." The Habsburg court was well aware of Ecsed's contested status and when the Aulic War Council finally secured the fortress against Ottoman intervention in July 1670 an official visiting the region gave thanks to God.[65]

None of these fortresses managed to prevent the penetration of eastern Hungary by Ottoman Janissaries, *kadıs*, *sipahis*, and pashas. The pashas of Varad and Eger aggressively disseminated "letters of submission," and even villages and towns assigned to the upkeep of Szatmár Fortress – so-called "possessions of his Sacred Imperial Majesty" (*possessiones Sacrae Caesareae Maiestatis*) – were paying taxes to the sultan. Places refusing to do so faced punitive raids that could result in the killing of men and the abduction of women and children.[66]

Only a few years earlier the Porte had refused to recognize counties "beyond the Tisza River" as part of the Hungarian kingdom; now not only these counties but also counties further west were affected by Ottoman expansion.[67] For example, the pashas of Eger claimed tax authority in every village of Gömör County. In 1665 and 1668 decrees, they informed nobles and peasants "that all legitimate tributes [must] be delivered on time" (*igaz adatok azt ideievel be szolgaltassa*). The pashas acknowledged that the population had no protection against pillaging Ottoman soldiers and *sipahis* who imposed higher taxes than permitted. Even the lands of Palatine Ferenc Wesselényi were targeted: the beğ (bég) of Szécsény (Nógrád County) demanded "with great dishonour and harm to us … the subordination (*hódolást*)" of his Murány castle estates.[68] Similar observations can be made about Abaúj, Borsod, and Zemplén counties.[69] And General Paris von Spankau, commander in chief of the Habsburg army, reported from Kassa (more than 40 miles from

the nearest Ottoman border fortress) that Turkish troops were imposing tribute on nearby villages, and that Turkish agents "dressed like Hungarians" (*in Hungarischen Habit*) had infiltrated Kassa.[70]

Only further studies of Ottoman tax registers (*defterler)* from the *vilayets* of Eger and Varad can reveal the full extent to which the Ottomans expanded their sphere of influence inside eastern Hungary after 1664.[71] Until then the 1960 dictum of Hungarian historian Edit Izsépy remains valid: without Ottoman sources "the history of the Turkish dominion beyond the Tisza River [*a Tiszántuli hódoltsági története*] will remain extraordinarily sketchy … because the data [in Austrian and Hungarian archives] are small in number and widely dispersed." Still, the data studied here show that local Ottoman strongmen did not abide by article 2 of the Vasvár Treaty which clearly stipulated that "the counties belonging to His Holy Imperial Majesty … should in no way and under no pretext … be troubled [*belästigt*] by claims, tributes, or contributions." This historical reality was understood by Habsburg commanders on the ground. For example, Captain-General István Csáky wrote shortly after the 1664 Vasvár peace that the treaty had not changed anything. He believed that from the perspective of Ottoman pashas, villages and towns that had submitted themselves to the sultan in the past – particularly during the 1663–64 war and earlier Ottoman campaigns against Transylvania – had become part and parcel of the Ottoman Empire.[72]

It appeared that the Ottomans increasingly pushed Habsburg authority aside. They made themselves masters of an ever-larger territory inside Royal Hungary, evidently usurping all assets attached to newly subjugated lands in clear violation of the so-called condominium, that is, the old custom of sharing taxes and labour services in the borderlands.[73] Commander in Chief Raimondo Montecuccoli, an astute observer of this development, described the consequences in a protest note to the vizier of Buda dated 13 August 1668: "Through your much too common subjugation [of our lands] you surreptitiously take away little by little and piece by piece the possessions belonging to my Most Compassionate Lord and make yourself their unjust owners … We do not in the least approve of [these] excursions [into our lands] and will not tolerate them in the future." But rather than threatening retaliation or any form of military action, Montecuccoli pleaded with the vizier to understand that "excesses of this kind are committed in violation of the peace that we have concluded." He called on the vizier to end the expansionist drive and punish those responsible. It is noteworthy that Montecuccoli wrote this note

Figure 1.4
Portrait of Raimondo Montecuccoli (1609–80)

Montecuccoli was an Italian-born professional officer in the Habsburg army. He became commander in chief of all imperial armies in 1664 and president of the Aulic War Council in 1668. In these capacities he participated in numerous meetings of the Secret Conference and the Secret Council. Montecuccoli also wrote several treatises on the military situation in Hungary, most famously *Della Guerra col Turco in Ungheria* (1670). In this treatise he advocated a major military reform to modernize the Habsburg army. But this reform effort failed to significantly strengthen Habsburg border defenses in Hungary against Ottoman incursions. This engraving by Francesco Rosaspina dates from a later period after Montecuccoli's death.

only a few days after assuming the presidency of the Aulic War Council. Was he not in a position to take more rigorous actions? Did the court have no other means at its disposal other than to appeal to the vizier of Buda and, through the Habsburg resident, to Ahmed Köprülü?[74]

HABSBURG PARALYSIS AND FEAR

There are good indications that the Habsburg court did not know how to respond to the massive expansion of Ottoman territory in Hungary. In fact, for at least two years courtiers seem to have looked the other way. Discussions at the Vienna court focused on planning and financing the construction of a new border defense system to ensure that Hungary could again function as the *Antemurale Christianitatis*. Commanders of border garrisons were under instruction to avoid skirmishes with Ottoman troops in order not to provoke a major conflict; and if skirmishes occurred, special emissaries were immediately sent to Buda, Belgrade, Edirne, Larissa, Salonika, or Istanbul to curb tensions.[75] The Venetian ambassador in Vienna, Giorgio Carnaro, believed that Emperor Leopold and his entourage were in denial. News of Turkish troop movements in border regions were either ignored, or downplayed; warnings by Hungarian magnates about the dangers of "having abandoned Hungary to the discretion of the Turks" were not taken seriously. As Carnaro conveyed in a dispatch dated 25 April 1666: "The court does not pay any attention and is secure of the Turk" (*non bada, sicura del Turco*).[76] According to Canaro, the Habsburg leaders did not realize that they were entirely at the mercy of Grand Vizier Köprülü. If he changed his mind and focused on Hungary instead of Candia, the peace would quickly come to an end.[77]

Other evidence confirms that the Habsburg court was, at least initially, not much concerned about Ottoman actions. There was a strongly held belief that potentially dangerous situations could be defused by negotiation: for example, two high-ranking courtiers met with the vizier of Buda and the pasha of Belgrade in April 1666 with the intention of stopping the aggressive land grab of the pasha of Uyvar.[78] Similarly, when Habsburg garrison soldiers attacked a caravan of 200 Muslim merchants in early September 1666 – killing several and robbing them of their goods – Emperor Leopold met personally with the vizier's emissary at the Hofburg to avert potential reprisals.[79] And when news arrived in early February 1667 that Prince Apafi of Transylvania stood poised to invade the easternmost Hungarian counties of Szabolcs and

Szatmár, no one appears to have worried about it at court. There seemed to be a good reason for this indifference: Köprülü was still focused on the siege of Candia and was very unlikely to allow Apafi to provoke another war with the Habsburg court. And indeed Köprülü demonstrated his commitment to maintaining the peace by reining in Apafi shortly afterwards and releasing Habsburg officers captured during the last war from the notorious Yedikule Prison. He also issued an invitation to Viennese merchants to come and trade in the Ottoman Empire.[80]

Yet, there are also indications that the Viennese court never really trusted these ostensibly good relations. Already in May 1665 the Venetian ambassador Sagredo observed that Emperor Leopold and his ministers had a rather ambiguous attitude towards the Venetian-Ottoman war over Candia. While praising the Venetians in public for their heroic efforts, they spoke amongst themselves about ways of prolonging the war as much as possible. The Habsburg court's master spy at the Porte, Ahmed Köprülü's chief advisor and translator (*dragoman*) Panaiotti,[81] was given instructions to spread word "that it was against the dignity of the sultan to make peace with the [Venetian] Republic and not compatible with the reputation of the Porte." And when the Venetian grand chancellor initiated peace talks, couriers from Vienna immediately appeared at Köprülü's camp in Candia "to divert the progress of these negotiations" and remind the Turks that "the peace with the Emperor was more decorous than the peace with Your Excellency." Sagredo had no illusions about the intentions of the Habsburg emperor and his entourage: "The worst news that could reach Vienna will be that peace has been concluded between Your Serene Highness and the Turk … They are very much convinced [*sono molto impressi*] that their own peace [with the Turk] will last only as long as the [Turks'] war with Your Serene Highness and that once the diversion [in the Mediterranean] has ceased the insolences of the Turks on the ground will become intolerable."[82]

It also must be noted that there was considerable awareness about Ottoman actions among officials of the Aulic War Council. These officials did not trust the optimistic report by Walter Leslie, the leader of the Great Embassy (May 1665–March 1666), who – after ratifying the Vasvár peace in Istanbul – relayed to Emperor Leopold that the Ottoman army was weak and no match for the Habsburg army.[83] Instead, the Aulic War Council tried its best to assemble every bit of information to stay on top of Ottoman troop movements along the Hungarian borders. Reports of military commanders, testimonies

of Christian slaves who had escaped from Ottoman captivity, Hungarian complaints about Turkish advances, and Ottoman complaints about Hungarian counterattacks were all recorded, processed, and repeatedly presented at court.[84] And it was largely due to the urging of the Aulic War Council that Emperor Leopold dispatched Plenipotentiary Rottal and other emissaries to gather more information about the state of border regions particularly threatened by Ottoman incursions, such as the exposed counties of Nyitra and Szatmár. Leopold and his courtiers also began to solicit information from a handful of Hungarian magnates such as Count Ferenc Nádasdy, the Hungarian palatine, and church leaders such as Archbishop György Szelepcsényi, the primate of the Hungarian Catholic Church.[85]

Emperor Leopold later dated the end of peaceful relations and the beginning of serious troubles with the Ottomans to the year 1666. He may have been referring to a crisis that lasted from May to July 1666 when Ottoman troops launched a series of devastating raids all the way to the Moravian border and the outskirts of Pozsony, the coronation capital of the Hungarian kingdom. The Vienna court immediately assumed that these raids signified that the Porte was about to conclude a peace treaty with Venice.[86] But then there was a lull that lasted until late 1666 when evidence of increased Ottoman aggression began to accumulate in the files of the Aulic War Council. Parts of the Hungarian confines became engulfed in active warfare as Ottoman troops started hunting down border soldiers who left the protection of their fortresses. According to a January 1667 report from the commander of Fülek Fortress, Turkish troops had recently butchered forty-two of his soldiers. Among them were two Hungarian hussars whom he had just dispatched to transport grain to a nearby mill. Two hundred hussars from the same fortress who had ventured out to collect foodstuffs and taxes from peasants in nearby villages suffered a similar fate. Many were cut down, others were taken prisoner, and the few survivors later told harrowing stories about their experience. Similar reports came from Hungarian nobles who could no longer access their estates because Ottoman troops killed off the soldiers they had hired for protection. It appeared that the customary condominium – that is, the more than century-old practice of letting Hungarian nobles tax estates located in territories under the sultan's authority – was breaking down.[87]

The Habsburg-Ottoman confines became so volatile during 1667 that an Italian military observer warned the court that it was already involved "in a war that is happening at the present moment in Hungary [*attualmente si fa*

in Ongheria]."[88] The unknown author was likely referring to the troubles that arose when Habsburg soldiers began to strike back in summer 1667. For example, while the pasha of Uyvar was busy subjugating villages and towns near the Vág River, the garrisons of Neutra and Lewenz Fortresses ambushed core areas of the Uyvar *vilayet*. Their campaign of plunder, pillage, and murder infuriated the pasha so much that he threatened all-out war between the two empires.[89] Similar threats came from the vizier of Buda who demanded categorically that the Habsburgs rein in their garrison soldiers. He was particularly upset when soldiers murdered unarmed travelers on their way to Buda, among them a Muslim cleric who apparently was one of the vizier's favourites. The vizier threatened that he would take drastic action if the Aulic War Council did not stop these crimes: "If [you] do not have sufficient power to punish [these out-of-control raiders] [I] will do it myself and find the necessary remedies. After all the entire world knows how great is the power of the Most Invincible Ottoman Emperor." He warned that "a small spark could soon generate a large fire." The vizier's angry response led to an emergency meeting in the Hofburg where it was resolved to issue orders to all border captains "to punish the malefactors, to observe strict discipline, and not to molest the Turks contrary to the peace treaty." The emperor's determination to take drastic punitive measures against loose border soldiers was then repeatedly relayed to the Porte by the Habsburg resident. A similar meeting in late August 1667 affirmed that harsh punishments, including the decapitation of soldiers, were needed to avoid "giv[ing] the Turk the least pretext [*almeno dar soggetto*] to break the peace."[90]

A concerted effort by the Habsburg court to avoid military confrontations and appease the Ottomans seems to have defused the deepening tensions at least temporarily. For example, when the pasha of Kanizsa (Zala County) prevented the rebuilding of Kiskomárom, a destroyed Habsburg fortress nearby, the court initially protested and insisted that the peace treaty allowed restoration of the fortress. But Köprülü strongly advised the Habsburg resident against rebuilding, "because the Turkish border soldiers were greatly resenting it" (*gar sehr darwider strepitierten*). Even though the grand vizier explicitly recognized the legitimacy of the Habsburg claim he urged the court to wait. And rather than standing up for their legal right, Emperor Leopold and his advisers accepted Köprülü's advice, lamely adding "that, of course, they would keep their options open" and order reconstruction at a later point. In the meantime the pasha of Kanizsa took the Habsburg failure to confront

him militarily as an opportunity to dismantle the foundations of the fortress and confiscate all the building materials to the last stone.[91] Similarly, when merchants of the Viennese Oriental Company came under attack on Ottoman territory the court did not send troops to protect them but rather negotiated with the vizier of Buda to create new safeguards for their security.[92] And when the court became aware of a stealth campaign by Ottoman border commanders to systematically dump huge amounts of counterfeit money in the Hungarian, Austrian, and other nearby Habsburg provinces, the Aulic War Council merely appealed to the Ottomans to come to their senses: the debasement of the currency would be economically detrimental to both sides as it jeopardized the revival "of the [inter-imperial] commercial exchanges that used to be practised during times of peace."[93]

The year 1668 started out unusually quiet but it soon became clear that efforts to appease the Ottomans had been in vain.[94] The pashas of Varad, Uyvar, and Kanizsa continued aggressively with subjugating villages and towns to their authority. They were joined by the beğ of Nógrád – an important Habsburg fortress until 1663 – whose soldiers invaded "estates belonging to the [imperial] mining towns" and forced peasants into obedience. A handful of villagers who refused to accept the beğ's *Huldigungsbriefe* were seized and taken to Buda. And in another incident several boys and a girl were taken hostage, apparently with the intention of coercing the Bars County mining town of Königsberg (Újbánya, Nová Baña) into accepting the beğ's authority. Similar violence was reported from the free Heyduck (Hajdú) towns which the Vasvár Treaty had explicitly granted to the Habsburg emperor.[95] Repeated appeals by the Aulic War Council and its president to Vizier Mahmud Pasha of Buda, as well as letters by Leopold I, did not achieve any noticeable results.[96] In fact, the vizier either denied or downplayed his subordinates' excesses and reminded the Vienna court that not the Habsburg emperor but the sultan "Mehmed Khan [sic], the Prince of Princes in the Orient and Occident … [was] the master of the universe [*soggiogatore dell' universo*]." The implicit message was to not challenge the continuing Ottoman expansion: otherwise the Habsburg emperor would get into trouble with "the Most Powerful and Most Valiant Emperor … the Monarch of the Empires of Greece, Persia, and Arabia who had gained heroic victories over all the parts of the Earth."[97]

It was under these circumstances that the Habsburg court became painfully aware that the border defense system was still in shambles four years after the Vasvár Treaty. One problem was certainly that Ottoman pashas re-

peatedly prevented the reconstruction of smaller border outposts. For example, in February 1668 an Ottoman military squadron – apparently from Uyvar – dismantled Gesztes Castle (Komárom County) on the Danube and "carried away [*avexerit*] several wagon loads of stones"; and in September 1668 the pasha of Kanizsa strictly forbade the rebuilding of the border castle of Pölöske (Zala County), warning that he would consider any attempt to do so a hostile breach of the peace treaty and unleash his cavalry (*turmatim obequitando*).[98] The Aulic War Council resented this kind of interference and rejected Ottoman demands that even the rebuilding of minor forts and palisades (*Palanken*) had to be authorized by the vizier. But the real problem was much deeper: the rebuilding of smaller fortresses had been delayed since 1664 due to lack of funds, and the Ottomans now considered any reconstruction activity to be an effort to build fortifications in places where they claimed no military outposts had ever existed. The Aulic War Council discerned a vicious cycle: the longer the reconstruction of razed border forts was delayed, the less willing the Ottomans would be to accept it.[99]

The state of Habsburg border fortifications was indeed dire. Most of the funds allocated by the imperial treasury appear to have gone to the building of Leopoldstadt (Lipótvár, Leopoldov), a huge state-of-the art fortress that was supposed to rein in the pasha of Uyvar and secure the Vág River line. Even the fortresses of Győr and Komárom, pivotal for preventing an Ottoman breakthrough to Vienna, faced "damage and ruin [*schaden und ruin*] that were growing daily." An Italian engineer who inspected Győr in October 1667 was in shock: "This old fortress has suffered so much that it notably hurts my eyes. It is now four years since any money has been allocated to it." He feared that it was impossible to make up for lost time due to the imminence of the next Turkish attack (*per l'imminenza dal Turco*).[100] According to Hungarian palatine Ferenc Nádasdy, the Turks had destroyed the entire border defense system south of the Danube: no wonder they could so easily cross into the hinterlands of the Hungarian kingdom and impose tribute on the emperor's subjects. The few garrisons that were still holding out found themselves isolated, starved, "reduced to poverty and disgusted." According to the commander of Keszthely Fortress (Zala County), a remote outpost in the line that was supposed to contain the pasha of Kanizsa, "foot soldiers were without weapons and horsemen without horses."[101] On 21 and 23 September 1668, Marshal de Souches, the commander of Komárom, appealed urgently to Count Montecuccoli to do something about the disaster. Many outposts

stood empty, bridges were collapsing, communications interrupted, and the local munitions and weapons depot (*Zeughaus*) was so dilapidated that neither de Souches nor anyone else dared to go near it. Meanwhile the Ottomans were "applying such great diligence" to the repairs of fortresses they had seized in the 1663–64 war. And not only that: Ottoman troops were closing in on Habsburg posts by establishing palisades in ever smaller distances. De Souches also had received trustworthy intelligence that the vizier of Buda would soon personally inspect Uyvar Fortress; he had already visited Nógrád Fortress and nearby fortifications. Money was desperately needed. If the treasury could not provide enough, His Majesty should give orders that the money levied on the Jewish community (*Judengelt*) be used for the repair and modernization of fortresses.[102]

There was a growing sense in Vienna that the Habsburgs were only buying time and that everything depended on the outcome of the war in Candia. It is indeed stunning to see how fixated the Habsburg court became on receiving even the least bit of news from faraway Crete (with communications taking up to four months to reach Vienna).[103] Starting in March 1668 reports arrived that the defenders of Candia were running out of gunpowder and munitions, several had already defected to the Turks, and Köprülü was confident that he would be able to seize the fortress in the summer. In fact, he had plenty of soldiers and weapons at his disposal. In June more hopeful news arrived: the enthusiasm of Ottoman soldiers about the imminent fall of Candia had become muted; in fact, some of the Janissaries were refusing to fight.[104] But then suddenly there was no news from Candia whatsoever: not one courier carrying messages from Habsburg spies at Köprülü's court appears to have made it across the Mediterranean to Habsburg resident Giovanni Baptista Casanova in Edirne.[105] This silence was only broken in October and December 1668 with pieces of news that were uncertain and ambiguous: corsairs from the Barbary Coast were sinking Venetian supply ships, the defenders were putting up unexpected resistance (even though there were only 6,000 left), and the Ottoman besiegers were getting desperate. But at the same time, reinforcements from Istanbul kept arriving, and in October they cut through a part of fortress walls. A spy close to Köprülü expressed the opinion "that it would be a miracle if the Venetians will hold on to Candia."[106] On 10 December 1668 the leaders of the Aulic War Council met to discuss these reports. As Montecuccoli put it in notes he took during the meeting, there

would undoubtedly be another war, "if not here then somewhere else [*se non qui quivi altrove*]."[107]

But even without conclusive news from Candia and uncertainty about Köprülü's intentions, events quickly developed a momentum that suggested war's imminent return to Hungary. On 23 September 1668 the court learned about the plans of the pasha of Uyvar to build a new fortress. On 30 September news arrived that the number of Janissaries stationed in Uyvar had increased. On 7 October an Ottoman emissary appeared in Vienna confronting Count Montecuccoli, the Habsburg commander in chief, with grievances about the building of unauthorized fortifications near Komárom Fortress. And on 14 October news arrived that 2,000 soldiers from Uyvar were demanding a tenth of the wine harvest from vineyards on Habsburg territory. The Vienna court assumed that the incursions could be stopped by sending a complaint to the Porte, which turned out to be correct: the Uyvar troops withdrew immediately, seemingly confirming the Habsburg strategy of appealing to higher Ottoman authorities in Buda and Edirne to avoid military confrontation.[108] But on 5 November an emissary of the vizier of Buda arrived in Vienna to meet with Montecuccoli. He gave a belligerent speech complaining about "innovations along the borders" introduced by Marshal de Souches, the commander of Komárom, and the robbery of 12,000 talers of the sultan's money by Hungarian hussars. But the main focus of the speech was a tirade against the new line of fortifications the Habsburgs were building along the Vág River to contain the westward expansion of the pasha of Uyvar: "If they are not dismantled the vizier of Buda will demolish them."[109]

The papal nuncio who was privy to conversations at court suspected that the Ottomans were switching towards a more aggressive policy in Hungary. On 18 November 1668 he wrote to Rome that the Porte was eager to increase its tax revenues (especially from Hungarian lords) by further advancing inland. In fact, the remaining land bridges between Lower and Upper Hungary were about to be cut and the Ottomans stood poised to gain victory over what remained of Hungary without having to go to war.[110] On 25 November the court fell into a state of great anxiety (*grand apprensione*) when news arrived that the nobles of Nyitra and Sopron counties, two of the westernmost Hungarian counties bordering on Austria and Moravia, seriously contemplated accepting the sultan as their overlord. Delegates whom these nobles had dispatched to the Habsburg court explained: "The absence of His Majesty's army

and threats by the Turks are the motives that oblige [us] to seek an accommodation with them in the best form possible." Convinced that the counties were determined to secede, if they had not already seceded, Emperor Leopold called several Hungarian lords to an emergency meeting in the Hofburg on 2 December.[111] The outcome was the dispatch of two special envoys – one to the western counties and another one to Upper Hungary – who were to record "the evils that threaten them from the Turkish side and to offer some satisfaction in the name of the court."[112] This response, however, could hardly succeed in stopping Ottoman pressure. On 23 December the court received a warning from the Habsburg resident in Edirne that the Porte was determined to advance further into Hungary and even beyond into the empire's hereditary provinces. He confirmed rumours that had been circulating in Vienna since mid-November that 20,000 Tatar troops were now in Transylvania and about to unite with Ottoman troops.[113]

The year 1669 was no less eventful. In fact, one observes an increasingly accelerating spiral of Ottoman actions – both military and non-military – that clearly violated the Vasvár Treaty. In early February 1,000 troops from Uyvar launched plundering expeditions in the hinterlands of Nyitra County. Similar news came from Upper Hungary, where Ottoman soldiers launched raids across the Tisza River. On 16 February General Strassoldo, the commander of Szatmár Fortress, reported huge Ottoman troop movements (*in numero grosso amassando*) along the eastern borders. However, they had not tried anything and eventually disbanded. The same day a report arrived from the ban of Croatia, Count Péter Zrínyi, that "the country has been hit by a troublesome raid of Turkish border soldiers; it seems they had the intention to pierce completely [*pungere per tutto*]." Meanwhile delegates dispatched by the Upper Hungarian counties of Szatmár, Szabolcs, and Zemplén were meeting in the Hofburg with Emperor Leopold and imploring him to protect them against the contributions demanded by the Turks. The papal nuncio observed the meeting and reported to Rome that the three counties "had already committed themselves in writing to swear an oath of allegiance to the Turk." On 17 February the emperor started meeting daily with loyal Hungarian magnates to address the situation. On 3 March the gathering disbanded inconclusively.[114]

With every month news became more alarming. In mid-March 1669 unspecified rumours began to circulate at court that the pashas of Eger and Varad were mobilizing their troops. In addition, a report from Edirne sug-

gested that Sultan Mehmed IV was on his way to Belgrade to summon his troops. At about the same time the Venetians appealed for urgent help in Candia but the court refused to send any troops with the argument that the sultan's presence in Belgrade was ominous: an attack on Hungary might be imminent and the emperor needed all the troops he could possibly summon.[115] Also in March news arrived that the vizier of Buda was mustering his troops in a show of force (*ad ostentation*) and a Hungarian-speaking agent, who was overseeing a network of Habsburg spies in Transylvania vowed "to inform [the court] day and night" about possible troop movements in the direction of Hungary.[116] On 21 April letters dispatched by the commander of Győr Fortress alerted the court of an Ottoman reconnaissance operation inside Moravia. The pasha of Uyvar had been sighted in disguise in the town of Ungarisch-Hradisch (Uherske Hradište), an important military centre more than 30 miles from the Hungarian border. He had carefully reviewed the entire region.[117] In May a series of letters from Upper Hungary warned that the counties were on the verge of seceding to the Ottomans.[118] In June Ottoman military successes in Candia became more commonly known and the Habsburg resident at the Porte called on the Vienna court to do something immediately to stabilize the Hungarian borders.[119] In July Ottoman troops launched attacks on fortifications near Komárom. Even Leopoldstadt, the magnificent new citadel and crown jewel of the rebuilt border defense system along the Vág River, was no longer safe. After beating back a surprise attack Habsburg commanders feared that 5,000 troops assembled by the pasha of Uyvar and well equipped with artillery were getting ready for a siege.[120]

It is unclear when exactly the Vienna court received confirmed news about Köprülü's victory in Candia.[121] On 15 September the papal nuncio reported that fear was growing about a new Turkish war – apparently after news of ongoing negotiations about the Venetian surrender.[122] Spy reports and intercepted letters from the sultan's court in Larissa (Thessaly) were not reassuring: a French attempt to break the siege had failed, nobles from Upper Hungary were in direct communications with Köprülü, and Köprülü himself boasted in an intercepted letter that he would attack Hungary with a powerful army during the next year. The Venetian resident tried to convince the Vienna court that Venice would under no circumstances make peace but continue the war to the bitter end. But no one believed him. On 28 September he reported the following: "This government concludes from such circumstantial

evidence that the end of the war with Your Excellencies is near and that the [grand] vizier will employ his furious drive [*l'impetto suo furioso*] and choose miserable Hungary as his [next] target even before withdrawing from Candia … I did not in the least succeed in destroying these deeply-rooted sentiments [*questi radicati sentimenti*]."[123]

News from Hungary was also not reassuring. The pasha of Uyvar was getting ready to build a new fortress; the sultan was demanding the demolition of Habsburg fortifications near Komárom Fortress; the pasha of Varad was assembling troops near Kálló Fortress and its soldiers were plotting surrender; Hungarian lords were warning that Köprülü was moving his "victorious arms against [their] greatly exposed and abandoned country"; large Turkish troop contingents were gathering near the Moravian border and Szatmár Fortress; and flooding along the Danube had badly damaged Győr Fortress. With such key fortresses jeopardized, the Vienna court fell into a state of paranoia. Emissaries from the Crimean khan who were visiting the imperial capital were seen as secret agents gathering information to prepare the next Ottoman invasion. And spy reports from Belgrade, from which Köprülü had launched his attacks on Hungary in 1663 and 1664, seemed to confirm the coming disaster. Inspired by the glory of his victory at Candia – which was celebrated everywhere in the Ottoman Empire – Köprülü was preparing a new campaign against Hungary. However, he would not repeat the mistake of the previous campaigns; the next invasion would start much earlier in the year, presumably to leave enough time for the conquest of Vienna.[124]

How did the Vienna court respond to these growing tensions? As before, the Aulic War Council sent protest notes to the Porte, and Emperor Leopold himself appealed on several occasions directly to the sultan.[125] Also as before, the court continued to dispatch plenipotentiaries into the Hungarian kingdom with the task of convincing Hungarian nobles not to join the Ottoman side.[126] And also as before, it was considered wise policy to appease the Ottomans by making concessions, such as granting the sultan's demands for the destruction of newly built fortifications.[127] But the real solution was quite obvious and frequently suggested during meetings at the Hofburg, especially by Habsburg commander in chief Montecuccoli: to stop the Ottomans it was absolutely necessary to put border fortresses on a war footing and increase the number of troops in territories still under Habsburg control.[128] Yet, these military necessities were not easily implemented, for the simple reason that the Habsburg treasury was empty.

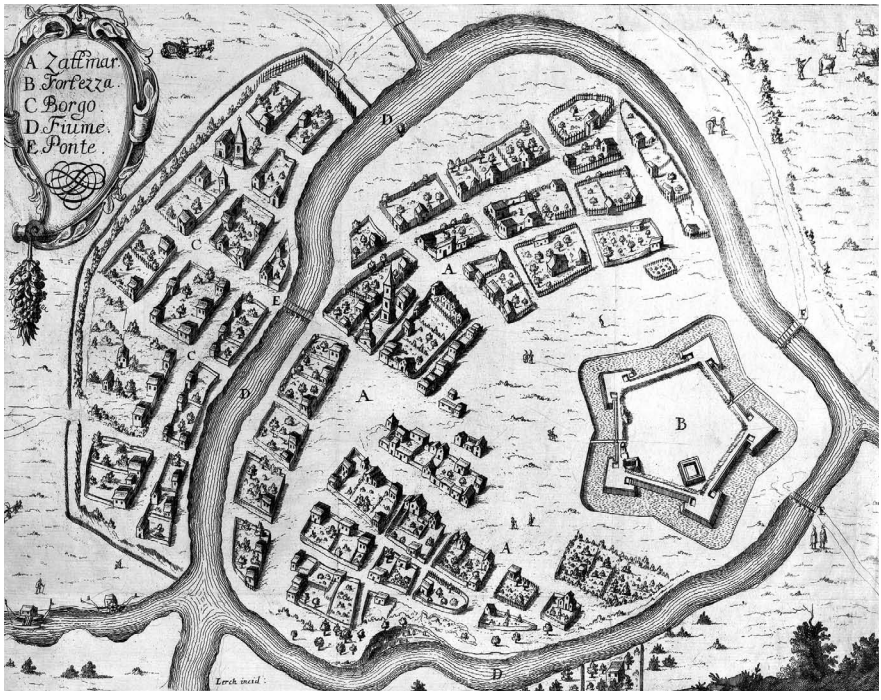


Figure 1.5
Ground plan of Szatmár Fortress and town, 1670

Szatmár was the most important Habsburg border fortress in Upper Hungary. Under constant threat from the Ottomans, it barely survived the 1670 and 1672 revolts. The mostly Calvinist townsmen of Szatmár suffered from the excesses of the Habsburg garrison soldiers and repeatedly rebelled against them. The ground plan shows the town of Szatmár (position *A*) and Szatmár Fortress (position *B*) encircled by the Szamos River (position *D*). Ottoman tributary lands extended along the southern bank of the Szamos River throughout much of Szatmár County.

This financial dilemma is illustrated in numerous reports dispatched by border fortress commanders.[129] For example, on 6 January 1669 General Carolo Strassoldo, who was in charge of Szatmár Fortress (the most important Habsburg citadel in eastern Hungary), complained bitterly that he had no money to pay his soldiers or to repair damaged fortifications. How could he be expected to defend his fortress? Bad news was continuously arriving from the Ottoman province of Rumeli (*ex Daciae parte*); it was obvious that the Turks were gearing up for action.[130] During the following weeks Strassoldo wrote to the emperor and the Aulic War Council to put the Court Chamber

(*Hofkammer*) under pressure.[131] But little changed: on 28 February Strassoldo still had received almost no provisions and he warned that the entire region's well-being (*salus*), "which without any doubt … depends on this fortress," was now in jeopardy.[132] On 7 March Strassoldo demanded money, personnel, and material for immediate repairs because "the Venetians undoubtedly will make peace with the Turks." "The danger of a great calamity is obvious," and, Strassoldo continued, if the fortifications were not put in order soon "the medicine will be prepared too late."[133] This time his appeal was apparently successful, but on 6 May the general observed "that His Majesty's provisions and revenue for the collapsed and destroyed fortifications are diminishing by the day." More was needed so that the fortress could serve the "entire Fatherland and all of Christendom to the highest advantage."[134]

Commander Strassoldo's forebodings that Szatmár Fortress was not ready to withstand an Ottoman attack were confirmed by Colonel Ernst Rüdiger von Starhemberg, an army inspector who stayed at the fortress from June to August 1669. Starhemberg, who fourteen years later would become famous as the commander of Vienna's fortifications, had a keen eye for how critical the situation had become. He reported that all repairs had come to a stop because there were no building materials except for a few hundred trees. There also was no money, and he was waiting to hear from a Habsburg official who had gone to the nearby town of Nagybánya to tax local merchants. As Starhemberg put it, "if we delay the completion of construction any further immanent ruin is bound to oppress us." He also added another stunning fact: weapons of all kinds and gunpowder were in extremely precarious condition (*summe periclitantur*) because there were no proper storage facilities.[135] While additional funds and supplies arrived intermittently,[136] desperate petitions by unpaid Hungarian soldiers from July and August suggest a deepening crisis. The infantrymen had not received their monthly allowance (*hópénzünk*) for a long time and were living in misery. Their repeated appeals had not been answered. How could they be expected to serve their dear Father (*edes Apját*) without food and clothes? It was "a crime screaming in front of God in Heaven."[137]

Given the challenges Szatmár Fortress faced, it is no wonder that General Strassoldo and Colonel Starhemberg were obsessively focused on Ottoman troop movements and news from Candia. On 25 July 1669 Starhemberg reported that the pasha of Varad had written "false letters" to Grand Vizier Köprülü "as if many thousands of troops were coming to these Upper Parts from

Germany." As a result, Varad troops had stayed in position along the border rather than assisting Köprülü in the siege of Candia. On 6 August Starhemberg recorded that the border was quiet but that Köprülü was pushing aggressively against Candia. Still, he was optimistic that Köprülü could not gain victory: Transylvanian informants had told him that French troops were about to relieve the Venetian garrison.[138] Strassoldo was in similar denial: even two weeks after Candia had fallen he did not believe the news. He claimed that the Turks in the area were entertaining false hopes: "We have no certainty. More likely the opposite is the case: great relief and help have been sent by the French and the Turks have been almost completely driven away and repulsed."[139] When certainty came in mid-October Strassoldo implored his superiors "to deposit the rest of the money so that we do not impede the progress of [construction] because as a result of Candia we may experience nothing less than the loss of such an important place as this."[140] And on 26 October the general wrote that war was inevitable and only a question of time. Getting ready was a moral imperative "in order to properly defend the Christians against the might of the Turks."[141]

Strassoldo's letters are particularly valuable sources: on the one hand, they kept the Vienna court up-to-date about Ottoman troop movements, cross-border raids, the imposition of Ottoman authority over towns and villages, and developments in neighbouring Transylvania. On the other hand, they laid out the practical challenges of border defense and military mobilization. Despite some reforms, which initiated a process the Hungarian historian István Czigány recently described as a "military revolution," particularly in logistics, the Habsburg army in Hungary was not ready for war: soldiers remained without pay for long periods, suffered from malnutrition and disease, and could hardly be relied upon (especially Hungarian foot soldiers who were utterly devastated by poverty).[142] Commander in Chief Montecuccoli frankly acknowledged this in a presentation to the Secret Council on 8 November 1669: "The imperial arms … are now much weaker than during the years 1661–64." For five years there had been no major investments: urgent repairs to fortresses had not been completed, or been carried out so badly that fortifications had collapsed. Nothing had been done to improve supplies of munitions and food (*le proviande*). The Artillery Office was in a disastrous financial state. And the soldiers manning Habsburg border castles "were owed their payments." In a separate meeting with leaders of the Aulic War Council, Montecuccoli dwelt on the insufficient number of cannon foundries, gun

powder mills, and warehouses. Provisions of all kinds were very unsatisfactory, and he wondered "how many [troops] are perishing miserably."[143] If we consider Peter the Great's famous dictum that "money is the artery of war," the Habsburg court was facing a great risk: the financial resources were simply not sufficient to maintain a secure border or sustain a war effort.[144]

The reports of border commanders like Strassoldo landed on the desks of Emperor Leopold, his ministers, and Count Montecuccoli.[145] These reports undoubtedly contributed to the growing atmosphere of fear at the Vienna court, particularly in the wake of Ahmed Köprülü's defeat of the Venetians at Candia. As I discuss in the next chapters, this fear did not diminish; instead, the court's anxiety only intensified as Köprülü achieved further military successes in Poland and Ukraine. The court worried whether Hungary would be the Ottomans' next military target. If so, could the Ottoman army be stopped in Hungary, or would it break through into the Habsburgs' hereditary provinces? Would Vienna fall prey to Turkish troops? And when would the invasion come?

But it was not only Köprülü's grandiose victories and the Ottoman advance inside Hungary that fueled the growing uncertainty among Habsburg leaders. Just as important was the discovery that Hungarian nobles – and increasingly other layers of society – were beginning to turn against the Habsburgs and opt for the Ottomans. In late 1669, news reached the court that the thirteen counties of Upper Hungary were ready to secede to the Ottoman Empire.[146] Could Köprülü resist welcoming them? As the astute Venetian ambassador Marin Zorzi remarked, "how could he … lose such a worthy [*degna*] and secure opportunity to extend [the Ottoman Empire's] dominion into a richly populated province? He would be met with applause and not resistance." Or as Habsburg commander in chief Montecuccoli conveyed to the Secret Council in November 1669: "The [grand] vizier has more advantages than in past years … [and] perfectly understands the situation … He has found no greater malcontents than those in Upper Hungary and one should not believe that he wants to interrupt the course of his glory on the height of his good fortune and let the beautiful opportunity pass." In early January 1670, an express letter reached the Vienna court from Edirne: Resident Casanova warned that the Porte intended "to break with the emperor in the spring" and urged immediate military mobilizations.[147] It seemed that the disaster most feared by the Habsburg court – an Ottoman invasion and the loss of Hungary – was finally about to happen.

2

"It Is Safer under the Turks"

Hungarians' Quest for Physical Survival and Religious Protection (1661–70)

In early July 1665 nobles from Lower Hungary sent an appeal for protection to the vizier of Buda. Addressing the vizier as the God-appointed "governor and moderator of all affairs [in Hungary]" and "Most Excellent Lord," they called on him to curb the excesses committed by the pasha of Uyvar and other Ottoman power brokers such as military fief holders (*sipahis*) and state inspectors (*emins*).[1] Almost a year after the conclusion of the Vasvár Treaty, there was no peace in the region stretching from Pozsony "to the border of the province of Moravia." The population lived in constant fear of Turkish soldiers who penetrated "into lands that had not recognized [Turkish] authority" and forced "the miserable people to pay tribute." Refusals to cooperate were met with "unheard-of and completely intolerable" forms of violence: only recently soldiers had "most miserably disfigured" residents of four villages by cutting off their noses and ears. They also "seized a boy pasturing pigs in the field … and sodomized him" (*cum ipso sodomitice egerunt*). Yet even more scandalous was the behaviour of the *sipahis*, who laid claims to countless villages and imposed such cruel tribute that it was only a question of time before the population ran away. These Ottoman fief holders did not show the least respect for noble property: they were accompanied by bands of soldiers and imposed taxes even on the estates of powerful magnates.[2]

The writing of this appeal remains shrouded in mystery: there are no signatures and there are no specific references to the individuals responsible. All we know is that the authors of the appeal had gathered on 3 July 1665 in the town of Trencsén – the typical site for diet meetings of the Trencsén County nobility – and that they dispatched an emissary to Buda to hand deliver the

appeal. This emissary was the well-to-do noble Imre Spáczay, who came from one of the oldest and most prominent families of Pozsony County. Spáczay, who was the only person mentioned by name in the document, certainly knew the grim realities described in the appeal from first-hand experience. His family estates were concentrated in a county that was exposed to constant Ottoman incursions, as the pasha of Uyvar demanded taxes from lands around Pozsony, the constitutional capital of Royal Hungary, and Köprülü himself expressed the desire to subjugate the town.[3] Spaczay's choice as emissary clearly demonstrates that the appeal represented not just the concerns of nobles from Trencsén County but from other counties as well. References to *sipahis* and soldiers from Nógrád and Szécsény fortresses – Ottoman citadels dominating Nógrád County – indicate that the horrors described also affected Bars, Hont, and Zólyom counties, not to mention Nyitra County where Uyvar was located.[4]

The purpose of this chapter is to lift the veil of secrecy off the actions and motivations of Hungarians – mostly nobles, but also townsmen, peasants, soldiers, and clergymen – who contacted the Ottomans in the aftermath of the Vasvár Treaty. What were the historical conditions that gave rise to these contacts? How widespread were such contacts? And how did they contribute to the emergence of a resistance movement seeking to overthrow Habsburg power and turn Hungary into an Ottoman vassal state? As historian László Benczédi noted several decades ago, these questions are almost completely unexamined. He emphasized that the decision of late-seventeenth-century Hungarians to opt for the Ottoman side against the Habsburgs "commands seriousness and respect … [and] cannot be simplistically disposed of … as 'treason against Western Christian solidarity.'"[5]

My story departs from the standard narrative that a pro-Ottoman conspiracy, commonly known as the "Ferenc Wesselényi Conspiracy," was initiated by powerful magnates such as Ferenc Wesselényi, Ferenc Nádasdy, Franjo Frangepán, and Péter Zrínyi.[6] According to this narrative, Hungarian elites were outraged because the Vasvár Treaty had been negotiated without their knowledge. They believed that the victory at Szentgotthárd had been decisive and that the Habsburg court had missed a unique opportunity to chase the Ottomans out of Hungary once and for all. The liberation of Ottoman-occupied Hungary seemed indefinitely postponed and, feeling betrayed by the Habsburgs, Hungary's principal power brokers launched a conspiracy to enlist foreign help "to realize their dream of an independent Hungary." After

frustrated attempts to convince the French king to accept the Hungarian Crown they eventually turned to the Ottoman Porte "to create a vassal state" under the sultan's protection.[7]

This interpretation largely relies on the only significant study of the subject – Gyula Pauler's 1876 two-volume history[8] – and completely omits the vast majority of the characters in the unfolding drama, including the anonymous authors of the Trencsén appeal. These actors, whose names have largely vanished from the historical record, played more important roles than the small aristocratic elite: they were the creators and operators of secret communication networks that came into existence already *before* the Vasvár Treaty and eventually reached every corner of Habsburg Hungary, extending into neighbouring provinces such as Moravia, Austria, and Silesia. Their contacts soon expanded beyond the confines of the Habsburg realm to Buda, Edirne, Istanbul, Paris, Warsaw, Regensburg, and Berlin (to name only the most important sites where they had correspondents). And these forgotten actors mobilized growing societal discontent with the Habsburg court, eventually – after the Ottoman victory over the Venetians at Candia – organizing a revolt that was supposed to sweep away Habsburg power.

SEEKING SAFEGUARDS AGAINST OTTOMAN SOLDIERS AND *SIPAHIS*

At the beginning of this gradual slide towards revolt stood the discovery of being abandoned by the Habsburgs. The Trencsén appeal is part of this discovery process, even though the writers of the appeal did not make a single negative remark about the Vienna court – on the contrary, they referred to Emperor Leopold I as "our most powerful emperor." Yet, the appeal reveals a basic logic of survival that grew out of the disastrous collapse of the Hungarian border defense system after the 1663 Köprülü invasion (and the failure of the Vasvár Treaty to define new borders). Venetian ambassador Sagredo, who spoke with Hungarian nobles in Vienna during the years 1664–65, described the situation as follows: "One cannot sufficiently describe their unhappiness. They are surrounded from every side by Turks, harassed by incessant raids, surprised in vineyards and suburban settlements, and led into miserable servitude. Even though peace has been made the Hungarians continue in a perpetual war … they constantly have their weapons at hand and are usually overcome by the overwhelming power of the Turks."[9] Sagredo

added that "[the Hungarians] find themselves sequestered between two enemies: the Turks who want to oppress them and the Germans who do not want to defend them."[10]

Another anonymous appeal from Lower Hungary in 1665 (but without a precise date) reveals that local nobles were at first greatly ambivalent about approaching the Ottomans. This appeal was not directed to the vizier of Buda or any other Ottoman power broker, but to Archbishop Johann Philipp von Schönborn, the elector of Mainz and the leader of the Rheinbund, a confederacy of German states closely affiliated with France. The unknown authors describe the catastrophe that had befallen the western parts of Hungary with vivid colours: countless thousands had been enslaved, slaughtered, or had their ears, noses, or lips cut off. Despite repeated pleas for protection the Habsburg court had remained completely indifferent to the plight of the population: "The miserable Hungarians clearly do not and will not have peace. … To save themselves as much as possible they prefer to come to an agreement with the Turks. They will give in to the Turks rather than face complete ruin, devastation by iron and fire, massacres, and the abduction of their wives and children of all ages and both sexes into perpetual slavery." The authors then conjure up the spectre of Habsburg Hungary's defection to the Ottoman Empire, which they describe as a disaster for all of Christendom: "If the Hungarians turn themselves over to the Turks and if the Turk enlists this most warlike nation … one thing is certain: they will immediately join forces and invade the adjacent provinces of Austria, Moravia, Bohemia, and Silesia." With the loss of the Hungarian rampart (*propugnaculum*) Christian Europe would no longer be able "to resist the invincible power of the Turks" and would face possible extinction.[11]

There are glaring differences between the Mainz and Trencsén appeals, even though they described the same grim realities. The latter ended with promises of panegyric praise for the vizier of Buda: in return for observing "the gracious peace" (*almam pacem*), the Hungarian population – from top to bottom – would laud His Excellency's name in eternity (*in aeternum*), and "the miserable people could [then] appeal to GOD Almighty with ardent vows and prayers for [the vizier's] well-being."[12] By contrast, the Mainz appeal ends with dire warnings that any kind of agreement with the "natural enemy" (*naturalis hostis*) of the Christian world was dangerous and irresponsible. The obvious purpose was to scare European rulers into action: if only "one could give [the Hungarians] hope that Christian princes, or at least

one of them, will still be found who would be willing to give them protection."[13] We know that Lower Hungarian nobles were then in secret negotiations with the French ambassador in Vienna: they celebrated Louis XIV as their potential saviour (*conservator Hungariae*) and wanted to make him king of Hungary. The Lutheran noble István Vitnyédi, for example, appealed to "the most Christian King … to receive the remnants of our nation under his protection." He warned that if French help would not come forth "we must be destroyed or resort to such a medium which will be less appealing to the Christian world" – an implicit warning that turning to the Ottomans was the only viable alternative.[14]

The terrible dilemma was felt by many contemporaries: the magnate Sándor Esterházy, an outspoken loyalist of the Habsburg court in Zólyom County, later told investigators that talk about finding outside help was quite common among the Lower Hungarian county nobility. The brothers György and István Bezegh, for example, had told him that "it would be better that we pay a sum of money to the Turk and thus remain in peace. Let's not be afraid of this because His Majesty cannot protect us and we would only completely lose all of our property and all that is important to us [*mind magunk*]."[15] Paul Gerhard, the deputy sheriff of Hont County, seconded Esterházy's testimony. He emphasized that he personally knew many nobles who were ready to reach out to the Turks, but they had stopped talking to him about their plans "once they saw my loyalty to his Majesty." Among the nobles Gerhard listed by name were the brothers Miklós and Gáspár Baloghi, the brothers Gergely and György Dúló, and György Bory, the powerful captain of the Korpona border castle (Hont County). "They wrote letters, if they wrote at all [instead of communicating orally], covering every corner of this part of the state with the intention of subjugating it [to the Turks] just like Transylvania. They also released rumours in public and this news [of imminent subjugation] is spreading also among the common people [*keőz nép keőzet*]."[16] It is noteworthy that Gáspár Baloghi advocated reaching out to both the French and the Ottomans: he could imagine either the French king or the sultan as the new ruler of Hungary. György Bory expressed similar ideas and became simultaneously involved in a plot to enlist French help.[17]

Yet for the time being there appears to have been no serious thought about replacing the Habsburg dynasty permanently. Appeals for protection continued to reach the Habsburg court in regular intervals[18] as most nobles considered submission to Ottoman authority only a temporary expedience.

For example, nobles from Nyitra County reasoned that "since His Majesty has not really an army and since the borders are in a state of desolation it is better that we become subjects of Turkey for the time being [*pro tempore Turcae deditiosos esse*] and if his Majesty's powers revive sufficiently in the future we will be led by our Christian faith and again adhere to Him."[19] Others talked about the weakness of the imperial army and Vienna's lack of money for raising new troops to explain why "they were scheming with the Turk [*az Törökvel praktikaltak*] against His Majesty." Similarly, the Turóc noble János Keviczky went around telling people that there was little choice since "His Majesty's troops exist only on paper."[20] And György Bory, the captain of Korpona Fortress, provided the following rationale at dinner parties: "His Majesty is only interested in playing cards. He is like a shark looking only for the cards [*csak kártiara való pristis*]. And that stupid [*Obersthofmeister*] Lobkowitz gives him money [to play]. Such a wealthy Caesar but [Lobkowitz] gives him absolutely nothing to raise an army. That [imperial plenipotentiary] Rottal is just as stupid."[21] Matthias Drexler, Johan Traitler, and Zsigmond Ocsovay, members of the Korpona magistrate, agreed with Bory: the emperor had not deployed enough soldiers to defend their border town against frequent Turkish incursions. He was an emperor without an army and therefore should not be king of Hungary. As they put it, "we do not have any real king anymore because he does not protect us."[22]

Disillusionment with the Habsburg court's failure to come to their rescue was not just expressed by Lower Hungarians. It was also a leitmotif in conversations among nobles in eastern Hungary. In fact, the invasions of Grand Vizier Mehmed Köprülü and the resulting loss of major Transylvanian fortresses (such as Varad) had exposed the thirteen Upper Hungarian counties to utter devastation even before the western counties. According to a Venetian report from 1661, Upper Hungarian nobles were then seriously considering becoming Ottoman subjects. Seeing "their country open and without any protective shield [*senza riparo*] to sustain it … the lords of Upper Hungary have protested that it was impossible to hold on to the devotion of His Majesty if [these fortresses] remained in the hand of the Turks." They added that "if the emperor did not want to defend them he should at least permit them to place themselves under the protection of the Turks."[23] The disaster of the 1663–64 war reinforced this view. The noble András Székely, for example, confided in a letter to Transylvania that he had given up all hope that the

Figure 2.1
Portrait of Emperor Leopold I, 1667

Leopold I (1640–1705) was one of the longest reigning Habsburg emperors (1658–1705). During the 1660s and 1670s he corresponded repeatedly with Grand Vizier Ahmed Köprülü in the hopes of avoiding war with the Ottomans. Leopold was not popular in Hungary during this period and became a frequent target of derision and denunciation. He was mocked for his large lips (visible in this portrait), alleged addiction to card playing, cowardice, and military weakness. During the 1670 revolt, for example, a Calvinist petty noble was overheard expressing his belief that "the big-lipped Emperor has fled [Vienna] and gone to Rome" (see chapter 3n158). The text below the portrait reads: "Leopold, Roman Emperor, always August. King of Hungary and Bohemia, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, Habspurg [sic] Count, etc."

Habsburg court could save Hungary while "the Turk, Tatar, etc. show[ed] no mercy and pillage[d] as they please[d]."[24] And after the Vasvár Treaty, one could hear voices in public saying "that is was better that the entire state [of Hungary] submit to the Turk than to allow the German Caesar to rule because there is no way that he can keep us under protection."[25]

There is fragmentary evidence that such sentiments led to efforts to enlist Ottoman help even earlier than in Lower Hungary. In October 1662, for example, emissaries of the thirteen counties approached Ali Pasha, the Ottoman commander of Transylvania, with offers to recognize the sultan's authority, but Ali Pasha apparently chased them away.[26] And in November 1663 – shortly after the fall of Érsekújvár – representatives of the county nobility met secretly "with the intention of subordinating themselves to the Turk" (*in willens dem Türcken zu huldigen*) – at least according to rumours circulating in Upper Hungarian towns. Such rumours also reached Vienna, and Emperor Leopold I promptly issued an imperial manifesto warning the thirteen counties "not to submit to the Turks under any circumstances" (*dasz man den Türcken durchaus nicht huldigen soll*)."[27] That such a submission, or at least attempts at one, may have occurred is suggested by the angry remarks of the Lower Hungarian nobleman István Vitnyédi, who had close personal ties to Upper Hungarian leaders and exchanged numerous letters with them. He was appalled to see that these nobles refused to mobilize against the Ottoman army when Köprülü invaded Lower Hungary, and he was convinced that they had defected to the Turkish camp. In a letter dated 1 January 1664 he bitterly accused them of making a deal with the Devil. Why did they refuse to fight the Ottomans? Did they not remember the ancient Greeks, who knew "that they would all become booty unless they prepared and resisted with united forces?" Did they not know to whom they were subordinating themselves? The Turk, he insisted, "has no faith because he does not honour and even dishonours God the Creator and his Son, the Saviour of the human race. Like the Devil he has never told the truth."[28]

No written texts similar to the Trencsén and Mainz appeals appear to have survived these early contacts. The initiators of such contacts have therefore remained almost completely anonymous. Habsburg spies operating at the Buda court, who were constantly on the lookout for suspicious correspondence, did not provide any clues either. The same holds true for a mysterious encounter between Vizier Gürcü Mehmed Pasha of Buda and Habsburg

ambassador Count Walter Leslie in March 1666. Leslie stopped in Buda on his way home from a ceremonial visit to the Porte for the ratification of the Vasvár Peace Treaty. He was treated with extraordinary pomp and circumstance according to diplomatic protocol, and was surprised when the vizier summoned him for an informal conversation about "Hungarians who were betraying the Christian Emperor."[29]

According to Gürcü Mehmed Pasha, Hungarian nobles had been visiting him with all kinds of adventurous schemes. Some expressed their readiness to hand over a number of border fortresses and military garrisons (*arces aliquot et praesidiia*) to the sultan; others indicated that they were willing to let the Ottomans occupy Hungary's most important industrial and commercial towns, including the wealthy city of Neusohl; and several had offered their sons as hostages as guarantees that they could be trusted. These proposals had gained an unprecedented urgency in the summer of 1665 when the vizier's Hungarian visitors started urging him to exploit Habsburg military weakness and send troops to seize Hungary's gold and silver mines. Gürcü Mehmed Pasha claimed that he had stopped such schemes and strongly urged the Vienna court to take drastic action: "Disorders [*turbas*] cannot be avoided unless the heads of certain individuals have been cut off and before others have been frightened by this example." He added that the Habsburg army should immediately send reliable German garrisons to secure Kassa, the capital of Upper Hungary, and pivotal fortresses such as Fülek – a largely intact border castle that was supposed to guard the mining towns against the beğ of Nógrád and the pasha of Eger.[30]

Can the vizier's information be trusted? Was he perhaps just telling a tall tale to impress Leslie and perhaps ingratiate himself with the Habsburg court?[31] Like the Trencsén appeal, the vizier's cryptic revelations highlight the secrecy that surrounded Hungarian-Ottoman contacts during the Köprülü period. It is noteworthy, however, that Vizier Gürcü Mehmed Pasha was deposed and strangled by order of the sultan a few months later, after the Porte had learned about the off-the-record conversation with Leslie (apparently from the vizier's interpreter).[32] The vizier's execution suggests that he had disclosed developments that the Porte wanted to conceal.

The reality of Hungarian nobles' cross-border contacts with the Ottomans, including visits to Buda, cannot be doubted. They were of great concern to the Habsburg court even before Leslie's "secret report" (*Geheimbe Relation*)

to Emperor Leopold from 21 June 1666. Efforts to curb all unauthorized interactions with the Ottomans started immediately after the end of the 1663–64 war. In a decree dated 22 August 1664, that is, one week after Grand Vizier Köprülü had agreed to accept a truce, Emperor Leopold I categorically denounced "any kind of dealings or communications [*commercia*] with the Turks." He reiterated a strict warning issued by the palatine of Hungary, Ferenc Wesselényi, that "any kind of subversive relation [*conversionem*] with the Turk" was to be avoided.[33] According to Hungarian law, all those "who secretly or openly advocate dangerous negotiations … with the Turks and undertake missions" across the border were committing treason punishable by death, as they "were [putting] the [Hungarian] state and the Christian provinces [of Europe] in danger." There should be no mercy even for magnates and other members of the Hungarian elite "no matter how accomplished or illustrious."[34] Illicit cross-border contacts between Hungarians and Ottomans were thus criminalized and the Vasvár Treaty denounced them as dangerous to the status quo.[35] This threat of the death penalty for treason explains, of course, why appellants to the Ottomans acted under a veil of almost impenetrable secrecy.

Yet there are additional clues about the identities and concerns of those turning to the Ottomans for help. The letters of the aforementioned István Vitnyédi provide a few important insights: they were addressed to some of the principal power brokers of Upper Hungary. Foremost among them was the Lutheran magnate István Thököly, who dominated political affairs in several Upper Hungarian counties and exerted a strong influence on the agendas and timing of regional diet meetings. The French ambassador in Vienna suspected him of being the linchpin of what he described as a Hungarian Protestant conspiracy.[36] The Habsburg court appears to have thought along similar lines, as suggested by an event recorded in the diary of Ambrus Keczer, Thököly's chief confidant and right hand. On 25 November 1663, Thököly received "a letter dated 10 November bearing the little seal marked 'secret' [*titok pecsét*] of His Majesty." The letter "with its outrageous exposition … caused quite a stir in our cheerful residence," but Thököly remained calm and wrote back to the emperor, apparently so convincingly that Plenipotentiary Rottal told him repeatedly – when they met three weeks later – that "His Majesty and the entire court recognize the Count's loyalty and his dedication to his Fatherland."[37]

Thököly's devoted clients András and Menyhért Keczer, the younger brothers of Ambrus who spent just as much time at Thököly's court as on their home estates in Sáros County (which they dominated politically with a handful of other clans), were also involved. They both corresponded with Vitnyédi, who was convinced that András in particular supported a secret Ottoman alliance. Vitnyédi may not have been mistaken, as suggested by a later eyewitness testimony according to which András Keczer spoke about his readiness to recognize the sultan during the siege of Érsekújvár in September 1663.[38] Another correspondent of Vitnyédi's was László Farkas, a well-to-do noble who represented Zemplén County at regional and national diet meetings. In a letter dated 25 February 1664 Vitnyédi implored him not to trust the Ottomans and to give the Habsburg war effort more time: "Leave the thought of submission [to the sultan] alone. Leave it to God and time and you will see what kind of protection will become available to our fatherland. We will not only recover what we have lost [in this war] but God's mercy will liberate other [parts] as well." It was Vitnyédi's hope that Farkas would use his influence to remind "our dear brothers in the Upper Land" of their "love of God and fatherland" and convince them to remain loyal to the emperor. He had no doubts "that His Majesty's great mercy will cure our grief."[39]

It is interesting that Vitnyédi, who later opted for the sultan after being rejected by the French king, was so confident in the Habsburg army's ability to win the war. However, he certainly does not appear to have convinced his correspondents. A few months later, in a letter dated 18 May 1664, Prince Apafi of Transylvania informed the vizier of Buda that numerous Upper Hungarian nobles were asking him to facilitate their subordination to the sultan. They were greatly discouraged by the plundering expeditions of the pasha of Varad.[40] Apafi's report certainly helps to explain why no threats by Palatine Ferenc Wesselényi, border commanders such as Vice-General Zsigmond Pethő, and even Emperor Leopold I could induce Upper Hungarians to mobilize their troops against the Ottomans. No wonder that the Vienna court and the Habsburg army's leadership lost trust in the Upper Hungarian nobility. General Cobb, then commander in chief of Szatmár Fortress, spoke of "men with an evil frame of mind" (*male sensati*) who were secretly adopting a new master while publicly remaining loyal to the emperor.[41] After the Vasvár Treaty, Leopold I demanded that Prince Apafi provide him with a

list of the traitors who had been responsible for Upper Hungary's neutrality during the war.[42]

REACHING OUT TO KÖPRÜLÜ TO PROTECT LAND AND RELIGION

The first documented initiative to contact Grand Vizier Ahmed Köprülü emerged directly from the minds of Upper Hungarian nobles. At first glance it appeared to have been dictated by the logic of survival: several of the nobles who participated in bringing about the initiative had suffered great economic losses after Ottoman troops seized regions where their estates were located, making it difficult, if not impossible, to collect taxes from them.[43] One of these nobles was the aforementioned András Keczer, who had "beautiful estates" in Ottoman-occupied territory near Rimaszombat in southern Gömör County. He was still a rich landlord in Sáros County, but in order to access and tax his Gömör estates he had to come to an agreement with the pasha of Eger. Keczer was a very powerful player in Upper Hungarian politics but it appears that for the pasha of Eger he was merely a "tributary noble" (*nobilis tributarius*). Such "tributary nobles" could be found elsewhere in Upper Hungary, even in regions that seemed far removed from Ottoman border fortresses: they were usually lesser nobles who were allowed to manage their estates as long as they paid taxes to the local pasha and the sultan.[44] Keczer formed a coalition with other powerful men like the nobles Mátyás Szuhay and Pál Szepessy, who likewise discovered that some of their most important estates – in Szepessy's case, even his home estate – lay in territory claimed by the pasha of Eger. László Fáy also joined this coalition: he was in a very desperate situation since most of his estates were located in Nógrád and Heves counties, which were now almost completely Ottoman. Like Keczer, Szuhay, and Szepessy, he had negotiated a modus vivendi that allowed him continued access to his estates, but he had failed to prevent these estates from being heavily taxed by various Ottoman power brokers.[45]

These four nobles were among the approximately forty participants in a top-secret meeting at Murány Castle (Gömör County), hosted by Palatine Ferenc Wesselényi in late August 1666, and they contributed to drafting a unique document entitled "Instruction according to which the emissary must proceed at the Porte" (*Instructio, mely szerént kell procedálni az portán levő követnek*). It was signed by Count Wesselényi on 27 August and contains de-

tailed instructions to a Transylvanian emissary who was to negotiate the secession of all of Royal Hungary to the Ottoman Empire. The text survives in the Hungarian original in the archive of Mihály Teleki, one of Transylvania's principal Calvinist leaders, in a collection of letters by Protestant nobles who fled to Transylvania and Ottoman-held territory after the Habsburg court's suppression of an Upper Hungarian revolt in April 1670.[46]

The *Instructio* maintains that Royal Hungary was facing total catastrophe as a result of the Vasvár Treaty: the treaty had not actually created peace because Turkish troops continued to operate within the territory of Royal Hungary. Conquests of Hungarian territory made during the 1663 and 1664 invasions had not been returned, and Ottoman garrisons were now stationed in the heartlands of Royal Hungary. As a result, the over one-hundred-year-old border defense system had collapsed and "the part of the [Hungarian] state that was not under [Ottoman] rule ha[d] become very small and thin" (*az országnak hódolatlan része igen kicsiny és sóvany*). In addition, tax revenues had greatly declined because Ottoman officials and troops were collecting taxes from Hungarian nobles' estates. The worst Ottoman officials were the *sipahis*, who "were every day extracting taxes and services from places subordinated under Turkish authority and many [of these] places have fallen therefore into utter devastation [*utolsó pusztulásra juttotak*]."[47]

The authors of the *Instructio* appealed to Grand Vizier Köprülü to intercede on Hungary's behalf with the sultan. If the sultan agreed to return recently conquered territories and establish a stable border, Hungarian nobles would be willing to become his subjects. The only stipulated condition was that the sultan recognize the age-old rights of the Hungarian nobility in a letter of contract (*athname*, *ahdname*). Among these rights were: freedom of election, participation in diet meetings, control over military affairs, diplomatic autonomy, the right to engage in commerce, and the right to own fortresses. Once these rights had been guaranteed in writing, Hungarian nobles would view the sultan as their patron and protector (*oltalmazó*). They promised to "keep a sacred peace with the Turk and with all peoples and states … under the Turkish emperor's wing as long as the Turk keeps peace with the Hungarian and all those who live under the Hungarian Crown." As a token of their submission, the Hungarian nobles committed to sending the Porte a yearly sum of money – a present (*ajándék*), as the *Instructio* phrased it – adding that the farther Ottoman troops withdrew from Hungarian territory, the larger the amount of the money.[48]

What prompted the writing of this document? One reason was certainly the well-known disillusionment of Catholic magnates Ferenc Nádasdy, Franjo Frangepán, and Péter Zrínyi with the Vasvár Treaty.[49] Like Wesselényi, they had been outspoken opponents of the Turks and had only recently changed their minds, largely due to Ottoman incursions into their regional strongholds.[50] Yet, with the exception of Wesselényi, these magnates did not participate in the Murány meeting. Rather, the meeting was dominated by the Protestant county nobility of Upper Hungary. These nobles and their motivations provide the key for understanding the initiative to contact Köprülü. As Ferenc Nádasdy put it in a letter to his secretary, the Upper Hungarian Protestants were really in charge, because they provided the lines of communication to make contact with the Ottomans and arrange a meeting with Köprülü. Nádasdy was determined "not to become [their] schoolchild … [and] did not want to be led by his nose [*nem akarta magát orránál fogva vezettetni*]."[51] Once we look more closely at these Protestant nobles' aspirations, we can better understand why hopes for Ottoman intercession were so persistent in Upper Hungary, and arguably stronger than in Lower Hungary.

The names of those who are known to have attended the meeting reveal a striking fact: only a handful of Catholics were there. In addition to Palatine Ferenc Wesselényi, there was Ferenc Csáky, commander in chief (*főkapitány*) of Hungarian troops in the Upper Hungarian border defense system. Other Catholics included Nádasdy's personal secretary and two emissaries from Lower Hungary. But most participants (sixteen of twenty-one) were Protestant. Foremost among them were Mátyás Szuhay, county magistrate (*táblabiró*) of Abaúj County, a determined Calvinist opponent of the Catholic church who had been the principal spokesperson of the Protestant party at the 1662 National Diet in Pozsony; and the aforementioned Pál Szepessy, deputy county sheriff (*alispán*) of Borsod County, who had been chosen by Upper Hungary's thirteen predominantly Calvinist counties to represent their interests in Vienna. László Fáy, himself a fervent Calvinist, was accompanied by several other outspoken defenders of the Calvinist faith, such as Ferenc Ispán from Abaúj County and Gábor Kende from Szatmár County. Hungary's most important Lutheran magnate, István Thököly, although not present himself, was represented by several clients, among them Menyhért and András Keczer, two fervent anti-Catholics who dominated the political affairs of Sáros county, and István Vitnyédi, who was known as a zealous advocate of Protestant freedoms.[52]

Unlike Lower Hungary, the thirteen Upper Hungarian counties had largely been spared systematic Catholicization measures and remained almost completely non-Catholic. But this situation had changed dramatically when Zsófia Báthori – widow of György II Rákóczi, the last independent Transylvanian prince who died in battle with Ottoman troops – began persecuting Protestant communities on her far-flung Upper Hungarians estates after converting to Catholicism in August 1661. Countless churches and schools were deprived of endowments previously granted by the historically Calvinist Rákóczi clan. Protestant ministers faced attacks by armed thugs and lost their homes and livelihoods (as community lands and the church tithe were seized). Some were badly hurt, like the Calvinist minister of Varannó (Zemplén County) who was cut to the ground by a mob led by a Catholic priest. Báthori's persecutionary campaign was quickly imitated by other Catholic nobles: in largely Lutheran Szepes County, for example, the widow Erzsébet Gombos canceled all payments to a local pastor and schoolmaster, and the magnate István Csáky hired men to expel another pastor and confiscate his church.[53]

Andreas Neuman, the Brandenburg ambassador at the Vienna court, and other well-informed Protestants in the German Empire were convinced that the Habsburg court failure to address these religious grievances contributed significantly to Upper Hungary's refusal to mobilize against the Turks during the 1663–64 war.[54] There is evidence that supports this assessment. On 30 September 1662, for example, less than a month after the conclusion of a national diet in Pozsony, the Lutheran and Calvinist nobles of Gömör County declared that they would not be willing to take up arms against the Ottomans. When Palatine Wesselényi begged them to raise troops to stop the imminent Ottoman invasion, they responded that they had endured much from pillaging Turkish and Habsburg troops but "what hurt[s] them still deeper and more painfully than all of these [actions] [*mind ezeknél mégis majdnem jobban és fájdalmasabban sért*]" was the attack on their faith. The Hungarian primate, György Lippay, had confiscated the tithe of county churches with the help of the Habsburg army. And the small minority of Catholic nobles in Gömör County had started to expel Protestant pastors and seized Protestant churches, cemeteries, and schools.[55]

In late June 1663, when Köprülü's troops were crossing the Sava River, the Upper Hungarian estates put the Vienna court on notice that "they did not want to do anything unless [the Catholics] returned their confiscated churches."[56] And in late October 1663 the Protestant estates at the Imperial

Diet in Regensburg discussed sensational news from Uyvar: Köprülü had summoned the Calvinist Prince Apafi of Transylvania to make him king of Hungary. The chronicle by Köprülü's bearer of the seal confirms that the meeting took place on 23 October 1663.[57] We also know that shortly after his encounter with Köprülü, Apafi issued a proclamation that called on "the little remnant [of Hungary] that still exists" to submit itself to the sultan. He assured his audience that there was no reason to worry: "The grand vizier of the Turks' Mighty Emperor has promised that those who … place themselves under the [sultan's] protection can hold on to their wives, children, and all properties in security and peace."[58]

It appears Köprülü was thinking of a merger of Protestant Hungary with Transylvania. This is suggested by the use of the term "Middle Hungary" (*Orta Macar*) in Ottoman sources. The term originally designated eastern Hungarian territory occupied by Transylvanian princes in the past, and Köprülü called on Prince Apafi to remember "how his predecessors as Transylvanian princes had penetrated these areas with small Turkish troop contingents that obeyed the pashas of Eger and Buda."[59] It is noteworthy that these past invasions had always led to the collapse of Catholic missions and the reinvigoration of Protestantism. And it is no wonder that the term "Middle Hungary" acquired a second meaning: Ottoman authors used it to designate the territory inhabited by the population of Hungary "that does not worship idolatrous images and has no sculptures in its churches." Thus, the Ottoman vassal state of "Middle Hungary" was to include all Hungarian lands inhabited by Protestants, that is, also Lower Hungary.[60]

There is no direct evidence that Köprülü's plan succeeded except for a curious piece of information reported by the papal nuncio in Vienna. Three days before the meeting of Prince Apafi and Köprülü, the nuncio learned from unidentified sources at the Vienna court that the Protestant elites of Upper Hungary were planning to create "a republic … under the protectorate of the grand vizier." They had contacted the German Calvinist Prince Karl Ludwig, the elector of the Palatinate, and had offered "to put him at the top of this republic with six councilors [*consiglieri*]." The republic was to be cleansed of all Catholic influences: bishoprics were to be dissolved, Jesuits expelled, and all church estates confiscated. The nuncio was relieved to hear that Karl Ludwig had declined the invitation.[61] Interestingly enough, the nuncio attributed the initiative to the Upper Hungarian Protestants, not Köprülü or Apafi. It is curious that this project was not discussed at the Imperial Diet in

Regensburg or mentioned in any other sources. Was it only a rumour? Or the irrational fear of a Catholic churchman terrified by the Ottoman advance?[62]

While we don't know much about these initiatives, they are not surprising. Upper Hungarian nobles kept the Protestant princes of the German Empire informed about their plight and generated significant sympathy.[63] They also had close connections to Transylvania, including family ties. In fact, several of the participants in the Murány meeting were frequent visitors in Transylvania and corresponded with its Calvinist lords. They moved in a milieu in which ideas about an Antichristian conspiracy to destroy Protestant religion were quite common. The letters of Calvinist writer János Szalárdi illustrate these ideas: Szalárdi denounced "the German nation's cruelty toward our nation, particularly its sworn enmity to the Gospel and our Christian faith." He invoked the glorious past of the Transylvanian princes István Bocskai, Gábor Bethlen, and György I Rákóczi, who had driven the Germans out of Upper Hungary with the help of "the powerful nation" (*az hatalmas nemzet*), that is, the Ottoman Empire.[64] Now God in his mercy had again "by moving the heart of the powerful nation … opened a path for preserving our Christian faith." The Ottomans were "magnanimous and endowed with great power" and they were ready to grant persecuted Protestants protection "against the yoke of Antichrist."[65]

There cannot be any doubt that the experience of religious persecution provided an important catalyst that turned Hungarians against the Habsburgs. If we can believe Szalárdi, it was perhaps even "the main reason … why the poor Hungarian nation has gotten so tired [*megunatkozott*] of [the Habsburgs] … and is ready to secede [*kész elszakadni*]."[66] Religious outrage was particularly intense in Upper Hungary, but it could also become explosive in parts of western Hungary. In Nyitra and Trencsén counties, for example, animosity against the Counter-Reformation ran so high that local nobles got involved in a secret plot to kill Archbishop György Szelepcseni, whom they considered the prime promoter of the attack on their religion (Szelepcsenyi had been bishop of Nyitra before he became primate of the Hungarian Catholic Church in 1666).[67] A leading figure among the plotters was Baron János Mednyánszky, the former deputy county sheriff of Nyitra County and a fervent defender of the Lutheran faith. Mednyánszky and his fellow conspirators believed that Habsburg rule had become intolerable: they called for killing "the Germans … in the forests" and making forays into Moravia. Like other Lower Hungarian nobles, they put their hopes in

the French, relying on an extremely vague promise by King Louis XIV that "he would help once they had made pretty good progress [*benini progressi*]" against the Habsburgs.[68]

The existence of pro-Ottoman sentiments among Lutheran nobles in Lower Hungary came into the open for the first time in the midst of the 1663–64 Habsburg-Ottoman war.[69] On 25 October and again on 8 November 1663 – shortly after Köprülü's troops had captured the episcopal see of Nyitra – Brandenburg ambassador Neuman reported to Elector Friedrich Wilhelm that all of Nyitra County had surrendered to the Turks without putting up any resistance. Protestant nobles involved in the surrender had sent him the following explanation: "It is better to succumb to the Turks peacefully [*in Güte*]. If the Emperor gains victory we will lose our freedom particularly in religious affairs [*Religionssachen*]. Under the Turk, however, [we] are more likely to maintain our [religious freedom]."[70] Neumann predicted that the Habsburg army could never prevail against the Turks – no matter how many troops were poured into battle – "unless they give satisfaction to the Hungarians in this [religious] matter." He observed with great interest that Ottoman troops were returning confiscated Protestant churches in Nyitra County and behaving kindly towards the local population.[71] This was indeed a stunning departure from the religious violence that had descended upon this and other western counties before the Ottoman invasion: Bishop Szelepsényi stood bitterly accused of "hav[ing] seized churches by force [*erőszakkal*] and coerced the people into the Catholic faith resorting to [all kinds] of torments." Similarly brutal campaigns had been carried out by Catholic magnates such as Ferenc Nádasdy and Pál Esterházy.[72]

Attempts to eradicate the Protestant faith certainly help to explain why it was not uncommon to overhear people in western Hungarian counties – not just nobles – stating "that it was better to subordinate ourselves [*hodűlünk be*] to the Turk unconditionally than to allow them [Catholic hierarchs and magnates] to molest us in our faith."[73] The Lutheran townsmen of Schemnitz, for example, did everything in their power to seek Ottoman assistance when faced with the imminent confiscation of their church. They called on Prince Apafi of Transylvania to intercede on their behalf and dispatched messengers carrying precious gifts, including "a golden cup filled with gold" and "golden horse-saddlery for the Turk."[74] Similarly, the Lutherans of Rozsnyó (Gömör County) tried to enlist the Ottomans to prevent the introduction of Catholic clergy into their town. They had already succeeded in

expelling a Catholic priest but consequently faced the wrath of Hungarian primate György Lippay, who imposed a Jesuit mission by military force. The unhappy townsmen then appealed to the pasha of Eger for help, and Kara Ibrahim, chief *kaymakam* (*főkaimakam*) of Eger, wrote a letter warning the Jesuits to leave the population alone "because everyone should live in their own faith in which he was born."[75]

The attack on religion stirred up raw emotion. For example, the mayor (*biró*) of Breznóbánya, a small mining town in Zólyom County, burst out at a party hosted by a prominent burgher of Neusohl: "As long as they don't return the churches which they have confiscated [from us] … we will elect ourselves a new king, cut down all the Papists, and only the Lutheran faith and the Calvinists will remain in the state."[76] Calvinist nobles in Ung County threatened to murder a recent Catholic convert because he had discontinued his father's endowment to local pastors. And János Bálintfi, a recent convert from Abaúj County, made the mistake of "grilling the Calvinist bible on a spit like roast meat [*az Calvinista Bibliat … nyárson sütötte volna mint a pecsenyet*]." He had to flee for his life to the Habsburg citadel of Kassa, where he lived in a constant "state of fear, surrounded by the hatred of many, and often asking himself how he was to make a living."[77]

Elsewhere in Upper Hungary, the Calvinist residents of Sátoraljaújhely (Zemplén County) and nearby villagers were so infuriated by Zsófia Báthori's arbitrary confiscation of their churches, lands, and properties that they tried to reoccupy them. The conflict escalated in summer 1665 when the Calvinist nobility of Zemplén County – and soon the rest of the thirteen counties – threatened "to repel [Báthori's] violence with violence."[78] The annalist of the Jesuit Order noted that it became very dangerous for Catholic clergy to travel on Báthori's estates, not just near Sátoraljaújhely but everywhere except in Sárospatak where Báthori resided; the dangers included assassination or "being subjugated to the harshest captivity with heavy chains."[79] Meanwhile the Calvinist students of the Sárospatak Academy armed themselves, seized their school by force (against the protest of their teachers), and warned "that if they were forced out … they would do something that would cause the ears of Hungary to start ringing."[80] András Keczer and several other Upper Hungarian nobles also resorted to arms in 1667, mobilizing troops to pillage the estates of the bishop of Eger whose soldiers had brutally attacked Protestant townsmen and killed at least one of them. And in Szepes County, armed Lutheran nobles confronted troops of the Catholic magnate István Csáky,

who had seized a church and chased away its pastor for allegedly making derogatory remarks about the Virgin Mary. A Lutheran chronicler observed the bitterness and outrage (*entrüstet*) that the magnate's arbitrary actions generated in the entire county.[81]

It was against this background of rising tensions over religion that the secret mission to Grand Vizier Köprülü was conceived. As indicated above, the major players were Lutheran and Calvinist nobles: they acted in unison with the Transylvanian lords Mihály Teleki and Miklós Bethlen, both fervent Calvinists who had visited Upper Hungary during the months leading up to the Murány meeting.[82] The money for the mission came from the wealthy Lutheran magnate István Thököly ("the Hungarians' Croesus") rather than from Palatine Wesselényi, who was completely broke and (according to Bethlen who knew him well) "a weak man without hands or feet [who] acknowledged Tököli [sic] as his master."[83] The two Transylvanian lords whom Thököly hosted in his luxurious mansion – and with whom he corresponded[84] – instructed the chosen emissary to Köprülü, László Baló, to highlight the Hungarian Protestants' religious grievances. He was to emphasize that the Hungarian populace "was extremely discontented [*igen-igen male contentus*] above all because of the abuses of their religion … to such extent that [they] were putting their high hopes in a good rout [of the enemy] [*jó futamatjához*]." Baló was to further remind Köprülü of the Calvinist princes of Transylvania, István Bocskai and Gábor Bethlen, who decades earlier had rescued Hungary from Catholic persecution with Ottoman support.[85] Clearly, for the Protestant nobles of Upper Hungary, recognizing the sultan as their sovereign was not just a safeguard against further Ottoman expansion, but also a guarantee against the eradication of their religion.

ESCAPING HABSBURG ARMY TERROR

While religion was a very sensitive issue for those who sought contact with Köprülü, the terror of the Habsburg army was arguably just as important. There were good reasons to be afraid of the Habsburg army, whose strong presence in Upper Hungary – compared with its relative absence in Lower Hungary – would make secession very difficult without Ottoman military assistance. Habsburg soldiers had turned the Upper Hungarian counties into their private hunting grounds. While officers tried to reassure the population that they would be paid for billeting troops and delivering supplies, few be-

lieved them because the daily reality was simply too grim. Those who could afford it bought themselves letters of protection with bribes and presents. But these letters were useless and no one could stop the soldiers, not even their own officers. According to complaints addressed to Vienna Habsburg, troops had not the least compunction "to ransack towns and villages, raze castles and manor houses to the ground, deprive the poor folk [*a szegény népet*] of life and property, rape virgins and pregnant women ready to give birth … kill some of them … and [they] consider it a trifle to take babies from their cribs and throw them into fires and let them burn."[86] In the garrison town of Szatmár soldiers beat people to death, embezzled money by torture, threw homeowners out of their houses, cut down more than four hundred buildings for firewood, stole horses and cattle, plundered the town treasury, and pillaged wine cellars, ice pits, and vegetable gardens.[87] Nothing was apparently sacrosanct to these soldiers: they broke into churches, manhandled, abducted, and even murdered pastors, and "[did] not shun from digging up the [dead], gaping at them for booty [*praedae inhiantes*]." Nobles begged the emperor "to take [his] army off their necks" to avoid their utter ruin. And Szatmár townsmen threatened "to say good bye to His Majesty as a community if [his plenipotentiary] would not remedy the oppression weighing upon [them]."[88]

It is interesting that Upper Hungarians armed themselves against the Habsburg rather than Ottoman army on the eve of the Ahmed Köprülü invasion. Nobles formed self-defense units allegedly to fight bandits but in reality to protect themselves "against the foreign soldatesca." Attempts by the Habsburg commander in chief and the palatine to enlist nobles to defend the borders against Turkish raiding parties failed.[89] The townsmen of Nagybánya rose against a Habsburg regiment that tried to occupy the town in December 1662; a similar uprising in Szatmár was apparently only prevented by the incarceration of the magistrate and other "burghers interested in the recently discovered conspiracy."[90] Peasant bands starting attacking military convoys on the roads and entire stretches of the countryside were in uproar: the Bodrogköz district between the Bodrog and Tisza rivers (in southern Zemplén County) was up in arms, apparently after the pasha of Varad had promised peasants to take them under his protection in return for a fixed tribute. According to news that reached the Vienna court in January 1663, the peasant rebels did not take any prisoners: they killed all soldiers that fell into their hands.[91] The message sent to Vienna, not just by the noble elite but by large

segments of the population, was clear: withdraw the army or face a major uprising. The emperor and his ministers understood this dilemma, ordering a temporary troop withdrawal in September 1662 – which was quickly reversed when Köprülü started mobilizing in April 1663.[92]

The continuing presence of large army contingents in Upper Hungary certainly helps to explain why Upper Hungarians turned to the Ottomans for protection.[93] In fact, the Upper Hungarian counties already considered submitting to the Ottomans for protection against the Habsburg army in November 1663. There was then open talk at a regional diet meeting in Eperjes (Sáros County) that "Allah was better than Wer da" (*inkább Allah, mint Wer da*), a saying that was used quite often in Upper Hungary during these years ("Wer da" – German for "Who is there?"– referred to the Habsburg army). During the same meeting, the delegation from Zemplén County entered a resolution to recognize the Ottoman sultan as Upper Hungary's new sovereign. The resolution was openly discussed, and while the outcome of the debate remains unrecorded, there is evidence that all of Borsod and Heves counties, most of Gömör, Szabolcs, and Szatmár counties, and half of Abaúj and Zemplén counties did in fact submit to the Ottomans.[94] It is clear that Upper Hungarian nobles needed the Ottomans not just to save their properties but also to stem the mass flight of their serfs. These and other fugitives from Habsburg army terror often ended up on Ottoman territory (rather than freezing to death in forest hideouts or the Carpathian Mountains). They knew that life was much "safer and more secure under the Turks" (*tutior et securior sub Turcis*). This little-known – and hard to document – migration onto Ottoman territory continued unabatedly after the 1663–64 war, when more ordinary folk (*plebs*) "submit[ted] spontaneously to the Ottoman yoke of servitude … striving to save their lives (which is all that these miserable people, who have been pillaged of everything, have left)."[95]

The townsmen of Szatmár, who were traumatized by the Habsburg army, probably also opted for the Ottomans when they threatened to abandon the fold of the Habsburg emperor. Whether, like the burghers of Kassa, they "entertained notorious understandings … with the Turks" (Montecuccoli) remains unknown. Intercepted letters by Kassa's mayor, Andreas Sattelmacher, reveal that he tried to enlist the pasha of Eger to prevent the town's occupation by the Habsburg army on the eve of the 1663–64 war.[96] The autobiography of Georg Buchholtz, a Lutheran school rector and pastor in Upper Hungary, sheds further light on why unknown numbers of Upper Hungarians pre-

ferred Ottoman troops to Habsburg soldiers. For Buchholtz, like Sattelmacher an ethnic German, Hungary's tragedy was occupation by the "foreign Germans" (*ausländische Deutsche*). The German soldatesca – whom Buchholtz described as godless cowards and "cow and pig knights" (*Kuh = und Schweins = Ritter*) – did not dare to confront the Turks but instead led a war against the local population. Buchholtz's father was abducted, tortured, and left to freeze to death in the middle of winter. To Buchholtz the Ottomans were the kinder masters, whose friendliness (*Freundlichkeit*) – particularly towards children and women – he contrasted to the Habsburgs' ruthless violence (*Gewaltthetigkeit*).[97] Buchholtz spent much of his life in Topschau (Dobsina, Dobšiná), a market town on the northern borders of Gömör County which "had four Turkish masters [*Türkische Herren*]," among whom the aforementioned *Kaymakam* Kara Ibrahim of Eger was the most important. He enjoyed a good reputation among the local Ottoman elite, who conversed with him in Hungarian and shielded him from harm. Ali Pasha, the commander of the Topschau region, gave him two feather quilts from Jerusalem because he admired Buchholtz's talent for writing in gold and silver ink. Buchholtz and other Lutheran pastors who fled to Topschau remained untouched by Habsburg persecution under Ottoman protection.[98]

Upper Hungarians who reached out to the Ottomans for protection by no means idealized the Ottoman soldatesca. Buchholtz, for example, noted that he had to be very careful when traveling because he could easily be attacked by Ottoman horsemen; twice he barely escaped capture and once he was robbed. But he noted that brutal attacks (including abductions and decapitations) typically did not occur at random. For example, when townsmen from Garamszécs (Polomka), located about 20 miles west of Topschau, mistakenly took Ottoman soldiers for horse thieves and shot at them, the townsmen were promptly set upon and at least two were killed; the town was then threatened "with fire and sword" unless they paid a fine of 400 Reichstaler.[99] Buchholtz's testimony is supported by the autobiography of Sebastian Fabritius, another German pastor who lived under Ottoman jurisdiction from 1662 to 1664 before receiving a parish position in Szepes County. He also mentions the dangers of travel, but emphasized that he and his family felt protected and safe in their place of residence (in Vác, Nógrád region). In particular, Fabritius noted the friendly treatment he received from the local commander Agha Hussein Fetz Czorbasin. And it seemed the most natural thing in the world to Fabritius that he and his family developed very close relations

with a Muslim family – so close indeed that their paterfamilias proposed to marry his son to Fabritius's daughter. It does not appear that Fabritius accepted the proposal, but he emphasized that the Ottomans he met showed great respect for Christian women and did not tolerate any abuse against them – not even by their own relatives and neighbours.[100]

While the violence of Habsburg soldiers was unpredictable and omnipresent, Upper Hungarians were much safer under the Ottomans. According to Slovak Ottomanist Helena Markusková, the people of Gömör County, who had largely adopted the sultan as their overlord, fared quite well as long as they did not challenge the Ottoman authorities (e.g., by refusal to pay tribute). The *Huldigungsbrief* that pastor Fabritius and his family received from Agha Czorbasin effectively protected them – in contrast to the letters and promises of protection given by German commanders to nobles, townsmen, and peasants living in Habsburg territory. According to Fabritius and Buchholtz, Ottoman soldiers, unlike Habsburg soldiers, did not commit atrocities against women and children. They certainly did not rape Christian women, but even showed great respect for them. Buchholtz contrasts the horrendous murder of his father by Habsburg soldiers to the benevolence and kindness that his mother experienced from Ottoman soldiers. He highlights his mother's story that "the Turks came into my father's house, took me out of my cradle into their hands, and carried me around in the parlor … marveling at me [*sich über mich verwundert*]."[101]

It does not seem that the Vienna court understood, or bothered to investigate, the horrendous toll the Habsburg soldatesca inflicted upon the Upper Hungarian population. Court deliberations centred on seemingly more pressing matters, such as the brutal extortions of Ottoman soldiers in Lower Hungary and the frequent raids of Habsburg soldiers onto Ottoman territory; the latter issue was deemed particularly important due to a stream of bitter complaints from the vizier of Buda.[102] Yes, Emperor Leopold recognized in a letter to the Upper Hungarian estates dated 14 March 1669 that "sorties, pillaging, the torments of the poor, oppressions, robberies, murders and many other evils" were spreading "in all parts of Upper Hungary," but he did not offer any specific remedies, only empty promises.[103] When the emperor's plenipotentiary Rottal met with representatives of the Upper Hungarian estates in May 1669 he found himself confronted with great hostility. The Upper Hungarian counties were not ready to negotiate but demanded the immediate withdrawal of the "foreign troops" and invoked a cataclysmic scenario

(which they had already made in an earlier appeal to Emperor Leopold I): if the horrors inflicted upon their lands and "the fatal perturbation of all things" were not stopped, the bulwark and rampart of Christendom (*antemuralis et propugnaculum Christianitatis*) would disintegrate. Hungary would be lost, and the entire Christian world, including the Habsburg Empire's hereditary provinces, would be confronted with the expansion of Ottoman power.[104]

VACILLATING BETWEEN HABSBURGS AND OTTOMANS

It would be wrong to assume that the hardships inflicted by Habsburg troops and the increasing persecution of Hungarian Protestants automatically generated pro-Ottoman sympathies. Even Georg Buchholtz, who preferred the Ottomans to "the foreign Germans," was ambivalent: at least once in his autobiography he slipped into the anti-Turkish idiom of the time and called the Ottomans "the hereditary enemy of all of Christendom."[105] And some of the nobles who appealed to Buda, Edirne, and Candia at least on occasion expressed a similar ambivalence: for example, Pál Szepessy, one of the most fervent advocates of an Ottoman alliance, wrote about his discomfort of finding himself "among pagans [*pogánság közt*]" when he traveled on Ottoman territory.[106] An anonymous memorandum from the year 1668 further elaborates on these mixed feelings: "The Turk does not persecute anyone for his faith, in conduct of war and attire he resembles the Hungarian, he lives so to say with us in one state, and is so powerful that he can defend us against all enemies. But the Turk is pagan, unbelieving, and deceitful [*pogány, hitetlen, álnok*] … By allying ourselves with him we will incite the entire Christian world against us." Nevertheless, the Turks were preferable to the Habsburgs, who "promise everything but don't keep any of [their] promises … Look how [they] treat [their] hereditary provinces: it is enough to point to the example of the Czechs to see that [they] treat [their] subjects worse than the Turk."[107]

Only future research can show how deeply rooted this uneasiness about seeking an alliance with the Ottomans was in Hungarian noble milieux. But perhaps such qualms help to explain why noble elites seriously considered alternatives to the Ottomans throughout the 1660s: while Lower Hungarians corresponded with Catholic Germany (Mainz) and France – as demonstrated above – Upper Hungarians turned to correspondents in Poland, Protestant Germany (Breslau, Dresden, Berlin), and the Netherlands.[108] These same nobles also continued to appeal to Vienna and, if not directly to Vienna, then

to Habsburg plenipotentiaries or local administrators. For example, the Protestant leaders of the thirteen counties – men like Pál Szepessy, Gábor Kende, András Keczer, and others – begged Emperor Leopold to stop the Counter-Reformation and curb Habsburg army terror while eagerly expecting Köprülü's response.[109] Even as late as May 1669 these Upper Hungarian nobles reassured Plenipotentiary Rottal – who knew of their readiness to secede to the Ottomans – that they wanted to remain His Majesty's loyal servants.[110]

Such dual strategies can be observed in other segments of Hungarian society: for example, the Calvinist soldiers and townsmen of Kálló Fortress sent a series of appeals protesting the failure of the imperial treasury to pay their pastor István Szalanki. Szalanki's predecessor Pál Diószegi had extracted an oral promise from officials in Kassa to restore the salary, but nothing had happened. Vice-Captain Mihály Vér, the commander of the Hungarian garrison, joined town notary János Fekete on a trip to Kassa in late 1668 to convey their community's profound unhappiness. They argued that this had never happened since Kálló had become part of the Habsburg border defense system in 1574. All other emperors had respected the special status of their pastor, who was "not only their godly supplicant [*Istenes könyörgő*] … but also joined their ranks by taking up arms under the banner." Vér and Fekete apparently extracted more promises but payments were not restored. In May 1669 the appellants again emphasized "that they had put their trust in Their Excellencies' words … and were ready to serve until the end of our lives … with our entire strength." They begged not to disappoint them and give them "the positive response that they desired." Only after these and other appeals did not yield any results did Mihály Vér and other garrison soldiers start secret negotiations with the pasha of Varad, which in October 1669 led to the mentioned plot to surrender the fortress to the Ottomans. But even while reaching out to the Ottomans Vér and others continued to engage Habsburg officials. Their last recorded appeal stems from 21 February 1670 – that is, less than two months before Kálló joined a pro-Ottoman rebellion.[111]

There were, of course, good reasons for continued engagement with Vienna. After all, overtures with European power brokers remained fruitless (except for the occasional dispatch of money from France and declarations of sympathy from Germany and Poland). More importantly, Ahmed Köprülü's response to the Murány mission remained noncommittal. When the emissary László Baló finally caught up with Köprülü in Candia in August 1667

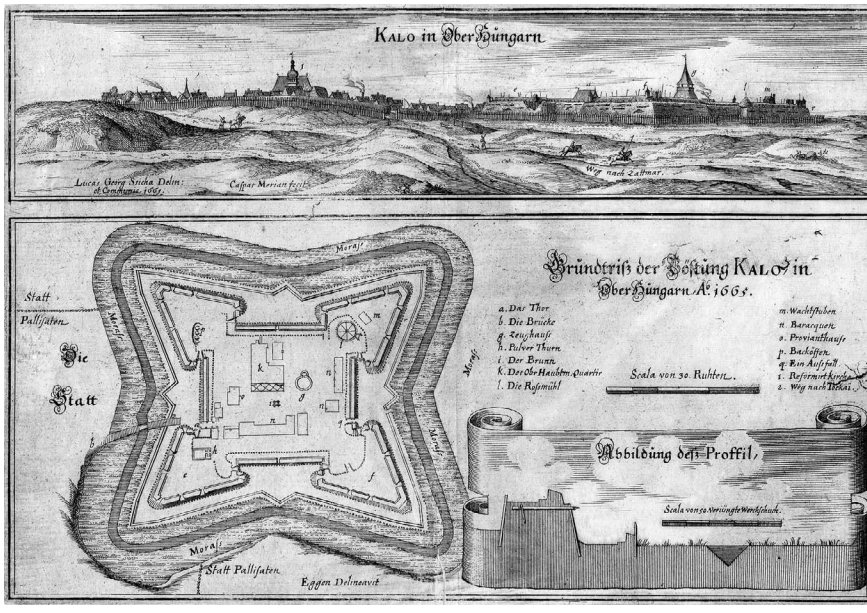


Figure 2.2
Views of Kálló (Kalo) Fortress and town, 1665

Kálló Fortress (ground plan and elevation) was a pivotal link in Upper Hungary's easternmost defense line and a prime target of rebel actions. In early September 1672, Hungarian rebels seized control of the fortress with the help of Ottoman troops dispatched by the pasha of Varad. The fortress's Hungarian Calvinist garrison immediately joined the rebels, while the German garrison mostly resisted. Some German soldiers were massacred; others were handed over to the pasha of Varad as prisoners. The Vienna court learned that at least thirty of these German prisoners "became Turks" and enlisted in the Ottoman army. The panorama view of Kálló features the town's Calvinist church (position *1*).

– one year after the *Instructio*'s compilation! – the grand vizier assured him that he was sympathetic but could not act because he was occupied with the siege of Candia. This did not deter Upper Hungarian nobles from continuing to lobby Köprülü through the Transylvanian court; they even considered sending their own emissary for the first time. But during this period of uncertainty, which lasted through the year 1669, contacts with the Viennese court continued. Perhaps the main reason was to decipher the court's intentions:

emissaries to Vienna not only delivered petitions but also gathered information about the court's knowledge of the conspiracy, the recruitment of new soldiers for the Habsburg army, the readiness of this army to go to war, the court's growing animus against Vienna's Protestants, and anti-Habsburg moods in Bohemia, Austria, Moravia, Styria, and Tyrol ("The Emperor no longer wants to trust any of his nationalities").[112]

There was yet another important reason for continued engagement with Vienna: dissimulation to avoid discovery and arrest. This did not only involve writing letters in cipher or relying on oral communications, but also maintaining a façade of normalcy. The logic of dissimulation was well understood by the elites of Sáros County, who vehemently rejected "the strange opinion that [they] were completely faking [*subterfugialnánk*] service to His Majesty and the defense of the fatherland." Menyhért Keczer, a dominating presence in Sáros Diet meetings and a moving force behind the Ottoman alliance, was still sending petitions to the Vienna court on the eve of the 1670 rebellion. Similarly, the Calvinist nobles of Zemplén County – strong advocates of the Ottoman alliance – continued to appeal to the emperor's plenipotentiary Rottal, pleading their loyalty and calling on him to address their grievances. Did they really hope that the Vienna court would finally overcome its seemingly pervasive indifference towards the growing plight of its Hungarian subjects? Perhaps, but it is very doubtful in light of future developments.[113]

Yet, the number of initiatives to contact the Ottomans increased every year. Given the secrecy surrounding these initiatives, we see only the tip of the iceberg (such as the Murány mission), but it is possible to distinguish between the concerted efforts of the Upper Hungarian nobility to reach out to Köprülü and the disorganized and mostly ad hoc attempts of Lower Hungarian nobles to appeal to local Ottoman power brokers. According to an undated memorandum by Ferenc Nádasdy to Emperor Leopold I from 1669, the Upper Hungarians were corresponding with the Turks and "plotting evil things … to bring about the utter future ruin of the Kingdom."[114] By contrast, Lower Hungarian cross-border contacts were born out of specific situations of distress. The Trencsén initiative is a good example, but the same holds true for György Bory, the aforementioned captain of Korpona Fortress, who appeared on the Habsburg most wanted list in September 1668 after his planned uprising (motivated by desperation after hoped-for French help did not materialize) was discovered. Bory tried to extricate himself from arrest by a double game: he threw himself at the mercy of the imperial court by betraying

his fellow conspirators but he also made arrangements to flee to Ottoman territory. This was not a pipe dream: he stood in correspondence with unidentified "Turks," dispatched money and jewelry to these correspondents, and was sure that he could "stay in the vicinity of Buda [*Budan alűl*] if [he] can not stay here." He also thought that he could easily continue to live off his estates in Habsburg Hungary because "[my] poor clients can bring [me] provisions over there [in Ottoman territory]."[115] Other western Hungarian nobles like Gábor Baloghi were taking similar steps: they stood in correspondence with unidentified Ottoman dignitaries who were apparently willing to help them settle on the other side of the border if needed. They also sent money or jewelry with the apparent intention of assuring their correspondents' good will.[116]

Other similar cases recorded in Lower Hungary centred on the Ottoman citadel of Uyvar: during the height of the Habsburg-Ottoman war it had already become a refuge for a handful of Hungarians who had converted to Islam (and who in spring 1664 had suddenly found themselves on territory retaken by Habsburg troops). If we can believe the Turcophobic chronicler of the Nyitra bishopric, one of these converts "tricked" (*fallens*) 300 Hungarian soldiers into abandoning the Habsburg army (during the siege of Nyitra in the same spring) and leaving for Uyvar. Stopped on a bridge by "the Germans," the majority of these soldiers absconded but at least sixty got through.[117] Four years later, in April 1668, a Hungarian noble secretly visited the pasha to win his support for a plot to seize Sempte (Schinta) Fortress – one of the centrepieces of the new "Leopoldian frontier" (*Leopoldische Grenze*) designed to keep the Ottomans from crossing the Vág River. The plot was discovered by Sempte's German commander and the unknown Hungarian fled to Uyvar where he "rejected his faith and had himself circumcised." Also in spring 1668, another anonymous Hungarian noble of high rank (*eine vornehme Person*) from Upper Hungary knocked at the gates of Uyvar Fortress: the pasha welcomed him with open arms and immediately dispatched a courier to Candia to inform Grand Vizier Köprülü. Given the unknown noble's importance, the pasha arranged for his travel to Belgrade (from which he probably continued to Edirne and Candia). A similar incident occurred in August 1668, when a Hungarian cavalry officer named Alexander Dalmady defected from Sempte Fortress to Uyvar. This defection was reported by Habsburg spies and become the subject of discussion in meetings at the imperial court.[118]

Such illicit crossings of the Ottoman-Habsburg border were most frequent in Upper Hungary: here the secret ties that were established during the 1663–64 war were never interrupted. For example, prominent nobles such as Pál Szepessy and László Kubinyi were regular visitors at the court of the pasha of Eger. They undoubtedly met with the pasha on several occasions, but their principal contact was *Kaymakam* Kara Ibrahim, a fluent Hungarian speaker with the reputation of being a good friend of the Hungarians. He also had influential connections in the Ottoman world and was considered an important facilitator of contacts in Istanbul and Edirne.[119] Many nobles saw Ibrahim's superior, the pasha of Eger, as their most important protector: a vast number of nobles in Gömör County accepted his letters of protection, and in October 1668 nobles from Abaúj, Bereg, Borsod, and Torna counties sent presents to the pasha as tokens of submission. According to news reaching the Vienna court in early February 1669, Szabolcs, Szatmár, and Zemplén counties were on the verge of accepting the pashas of Eger and Varad as their overlords.[120] Upper Hungarian nobles also had contacts with the vizier of Buda and apparently tried to enlist him as early as January 1667 to launch a war against the magnate Zsófia Báthori to stop the attack on Protestant religion.[121]

Yet most Upper Hungarian contacts with the Ottomans were channeled through Transylvania. The memory of past *ahdnames* granted to Transylvanian princes "liberating" Upper Hungary – and then also granted to the Upper Hungarian estates in 1604–05, 1621–22, and 1629 – had a powerful effect. In fact, in March 1664 Prince Apafi of Transylvania held up the prospect that Köprülü would soon issue another *ahdname* for the benefit of the Upper Hungarian estates.[122] But Prince Apafi was powerless vis-à-vis Köprülü, and his failure (along with other Transylvanian power brokers) to effectively intercede with the grand vizier led to impatience in Upper Hungary, and occasionally outbursts of rage and violent threats.[123]

Upper Hungarian correspondents with Transylvania ranged from powerful magnates and county nobles to pastors and townsmen. Most prominent among them were the Calvinist magnates Anna Lónyay and István Bocskai (a descendant of the legendary Transylvanian prince by the same name), the Lutheran magnate István Thököly and his clients (especially the Keczer clan),[124] and wealthy Calvinist landowners such as Gábor Kende, Ferenc Ispán, and László Gyulaffy.[125] But we also find officers from border fortresses, including Fábián Farkas, vice-captain of Putnok, and an obscure individual

named Olifer de Wallis who leaked Habsburg intelligence about the Ottomans from Szatmár.[126] The principal transmitters of this often secret correspondence lived in various Upper Hungarian towns. Among them were residents of Nagybánya, including the town's German Lutheran pastor and at least one Hungarian Calvinist minister. Pál Görgei, the Calvinist minister of Nagykapos (Ung County), not only relayed information but also wrote his own letters: as a close associate of István Bocskai and Anna Lónyay, he had keen insights into local developments, which he reported to his Transylvanian correspondents, all the while keeping Upper Hungarian Protestants apprised of Transylvanian intentions.[127]

There cannot be any doubt that this growing orientation towards the Ottomans and Transylvania had a lot to do with Vienna's lack of sympathy for the despair that had taken hold of many Upper Hungarians. All layers of society were affected, down to the peasantry. In November 1668, for example, several Calvinist villages "near the borders with Transylvania" approached the Ottomans asking for protection so that they could freely practise their religion and "live according to their own way" (*vivere a loro modo*). The peasants lived on estates of the magnate Zsófia Báthori and had waited for more than seven years for the return of their expelled pastors. It is unclear if they approached the pasha of Eger or the pasha of Varad, but this did not matter to the Venetian ambassador in Vienna, Marino Zorzi, who reported the incident. To him this defection was only a harbinger of more, and Vienna had good reason to be greatly afraid of such new developments (*grande aprehensione di nuovità*), especially when "more distinct pieces of news" confirmed that the peasants had actually been accepted as Ottoman subjects.[128] The peasants' motivations were ostensibly to save their faith, but they undoubtedly had other more pragmatic reasons. Marauding troops from Habsburg garrisons were omnipresent in this border region, and increasingly out of control: in Szatmár and Bereg counties, for example, few villages seem to have been spared foraging, pillaging, and other violent impositions. At the same time Ottoman raids continued, even if to a much lesser extent than in Lower Hungary.[129]

It is likely that these Upper Hungarian peasants had seen one of the sealed patent letters (*czimörös levelek*) by Hungarian pashas that circulated from village to village (*falurol falura*). Most but not all of these letters were in Hungarian. They were publicly read – or translated from Turkish into Hungarian – in front of assembled village communities, and promised "to secure the

truth for everyone … [and] not to allow that anyone be oppressed without reason." Provided that the villagers would pay "legitimate taxes on time" and "not act against the law and old customs," they would be safe. As one charter written in Turkish put it, "they may live in security and happiness [*sâlim olalar*] under the protection of the *padişah* [sultan]." The Porte was open to everyone and committed to delivering on its promises. And "if we do not punish … the wrongdoers [who harass you] according to their crime then you should look for another Porte."[130] Under the historical circumstances outlined in this chapter, the nameless Upper Hungarian peasants made a logical decision: adopting the Ottomans as their overlords allowed for better protection against religious persecution and greatly increased the security of their daily lives.

It appears that the nobles of the Trencsén County whose appeal to the vizier of Buda I discussed at the beginning of this chapter made a similar decision. They were ready to join a growing number of nobles who had become "tribute-paying nobles" (*nobiles tributarii*) of the Porte. Like the Upper Hungarian peasants, these nobles received "sealed patent letters" assuring them and their households of protection against random violence. In addition, they received confirmations of their privileges (e.g., the freedom to carry weapons, noble vestments, limited taxation, freedom from robot). By August 1667, when the Aulic War Council discussed this development, unknown numbers of nobles in Lower Hungary "were making themselves tributaries in the absence of any [other] protectors" (*per diffetto di protettori si fanno tributarii*).[131] This coincided with intensifying appeals to Vienna by county diets and their delegates.[132] But, as emphasized by the appellants from Trencsén, the Habsburg army was impotent to change things: the garrisons of Lewenz, Neutra, and Freistadt merely stood by and watched as the lands in their fortresses' vicinity were becoming tributaries (*tributaria)* of the pasha of Uyvar. The Trencsén petitioners were greatly troubled by this development because these fortresses had "been brought under the authority of Our Most Powerful Emperor" in surprise victories over the Ottoman army during the final weeks of the war. If the Habsburgs were willing to tolerate the neutralization of these hard-won fortresses, they would certainly not do anything to protect the rest of Lower Hungary.[133] Like other Lower Hungarians, the petitioners rationally concluded that it was useless to contact Vienna: the Habsburg emperor was unable to offer them any protection. In November

1668 at least two Lower Hungarian counties (Nyitra and Sopron) recognized the sultan as their overlord.[134]

Vienna's persistent failure to address basic issues of everyday security (whether caused by Ottoman raids or marauding Habsburg soldiers),[135] and its continuing disregard for the religious grievances of Hungarian Protestants, created preconditions for secession to the Ottomans. Venetian ambassador Marino Zorzi accused the Vienna court of a catastrophic policy failure that jeopardized the security of the Habsburg Empire. In his opinion, immediate concessions were needed to curb the bitterness and despair of the Hungarian population. How else could the continuous correspondences (*corrispondenze continuate*) with the Ottomans be stopped?[136] Even the papal nuncio – not a friend of the Hungarians – observed the signs of deepening discontent (particularly in Upper Hungary) with growing apprehension.[137] These signs were certainly not ignored by the Vienna court, as Hungary began to dominate the agenda of court meetings, but this produced no decisive actions. Did Emperor Leopold I and his courtiers not take seriously the threat of secession by the Upper Hungarian counties that these counties presented to the emperor for the first time in early March 1668? Did they put too much trust in Köprülü's noncommittal responses to Hungarian emissaries, which Vienna's spies reported from Köprülü's court? Or were they convinced that they could prevent a Hungarian secession by military force?[138] Perhaps, but it was also obvious that an Ottoman victory over the Venetians and French at Candia would significantly alter the power dynamics in Hungary. Would not Grand Vizier Köprülü finally accept the Hungarian Protestant elite's offer to submit to the sultan? And would the prospect of an Ottoman military intervention in Hungary not galvanize resistance against the Habsburg regime and create an outlet for the discontent that was beginning to boil over? These are the questions I will examine in the next chapter.

3

Upper Hungary and the Ottomans

Protestant Resistance, Hope for Ottoman Intervention, and the 1670 Revolt

Most of the troubles that the Habsburg court experienced in ruling over Royal Hungary during the Köprülü era and subsequent decades started in the military and administrative province of Upper Hungary (*Hungaria superior*). This Protestant-dominated region coincided geographically with the thirteen counties that – according to news received by the Vienna court in late 1669 – were about to secede from the Habsburg to the Ottoman Empire. Bordering on Transylvania as well as the Ottoman *vilayets* of Eger and Varad, and far removed from Vienna, this territory had proven a serious challenge to Habsburg officials since the late sixteenth century.[1] Three major rebellions during the first, third, and fifth decades of the seventeenth century had led to the collapse of Habsburg power. The rebellions had been generated by the Ottoman-supported invasions of the Transylvanian princes István Bocskai (1604), Gábor Bethlen (1619), and György I Rákóczi (1644), and seven of the thirteen counties had actually belonged to the principality of Transylvania for more than ten years.[2] The memory of these invasions and uprisings was still very much alive in Upper Hungary during the 1660s.[3]

As we have seen in the previous chapter, Upper Hungary had not been directly affected by the Köprülü invasion, and Habsburg troops contingents had remained largely intact and heavily concentrated in fortresses such as Kassa, Szatmár, Szendrő, and Kálló (to name just a few). Here hostility towards the Habsburgs had much less to do with a sense of abandonment to Ottoman raids as it did in Lower Hungary. In fact, it is no exaggeration to state that inhabitants of the thirteen counties were traumatized not prima-

rily by the Ottomans, but by the excesses of the Habsburg army. In addition, Upper Hungarian Protestants faced the first attempts to destroy their religion: while these attempts remained largely localized and were by no means centrally coordinated, they hit a very sensitive nerve.

As the Ottoman victory over the Venetians in Candia approached, the Habsburg court became increasingly nervous about the potential outbreak of a revolt in Upper Hungary. The reason for this growing nervousness was not so much the fear that such a revolt could succeed, but rather that the Ottomans would get involved.[4] At the time the Ottomans were closely following developments in Poland and Russia where Cossack uprisings were challenging the established order in the borderlands. In fact, the Habsburg resident reported that Köprülü was lending support to the Ukrainian Cossacks against the Polish king and that the sultan had taken their leader, Hetman Petro Doroshenko, under his special protection.[5] Was Köprülü going to give similar support to Hungarian rebels? This became a key question for Habsburg policymakers. As Emperor Leopold put it in a secret meeting with his advisers in early February 1670, everything depended "on the decisions of the [grand] vizier and the Porte. If the [Upper Hungarian] heretics have the support of the Turks they will succeed but if … they are not protected they will easily … fall back to reason."[6] Not surprisingly, Habsburg espionage at the Porte went into overdrive to discover Köprülü's intentions. But, as we will see, no matter how hard Habsburg spies tried, they could not penetrate "the Hungarian Secret" (*das Ungarische Secretum*).[7]

The purpose of this chapter is to reconstruct as much as possible the evolution of two secret plots. The first was the plot of Upper Hungarian nobles to organize a revolt that would be centred in Upper Hungary but was supposed to provide the signal for secondary revolts in Lower Hungary and Croatia. I will show that the plotters drew on significant support not just from nobles but also from other segments of the population, including the peasantry. When the Upper Hungarian revolt finally broke out in April 1670 it resembled the eruption of a volcano – anger and frustration that had been accumulating for years suddenly exploded into the open, with a devastating effect on Habsburg rule. The second focus is on the secret diplomacy of Upper Hungarian nobles who were enlisting the Transylvanian court and the ban of Croatia, Péter Zrínyi, to procure Ottoman support for a pan-Hungarian uprising. Hungarian contemporaries were convinced that these

initiatives had been successful: news that Zrínyi had procured the sultan's deed of protection (*ahdname*) and Köprülü's commitment of troops provided the trigger for the outbreak of revolt in Upper Hungary.

Reconstructing the actions that led to the April 1670 revolt is not easy, as they evolved under a veil of great secrecy: the plotters were very well aware that they were risking their lives and maintained almost total silence about their activities. For example, the diary of Ambrus Keczer, one of the main conspirators, remains extremely cryptic and often consciously misleading about anything even remotely related to the planning of an uprising. The conspirators' letters were written in code that typically turned out to be unreadable when intercepted, and most were destroyed upon receipt. In fact, the conspirators relied on oral communications as much as possible.[8] The Habsburg court therefore tried continuously to penetrate the cloak of secrecy surrounding the conspirators. This was only occasionally successful, but we know that a handful of spies sat in on secret planning meetings. They were not necessarily reliable informants, though: they lived in constant danger of exposure (for example, due to careless talk by Habsburg officials) and could easily fall silent at any moment.[9] This was the experience of the imperial plenipotentiary Rottal when he traveled to Upper Hungary in May 1669 to defuse growing tensions with the Upper Hungarian estates. In a private encounter with a powerful county official, he unwittingly "betrayed trusted servitors … [and] plunged them into great danger to body and life [*in Leib und Löbensgefahr gesetzt*]." The handler of the spies – who operated out of Szatmár Fortress – informed Rottal several months later that all of his sources had gone dead: "Now no one is either able or willing to write anything to us."[10] This sudden information blackout coincided with Köprülü's victory at Candia and undoubtedly contributed to growing fears in Vienna.

Habsburg intelligence was more successful when it came to uncovering secret contacts between Upper Hungary and the Porte. In fact, the Vienna court learned about Upper Hungarian efforts to contact Köprülü already in August 1667 after the arrival of a report by Köprülü's secretary, the aforementioned Panaiotti. But the report was extremely vague: it laid out that "a matter of great importance had been proposed to the Sultan to the prejudice of His Imperial Majesty," and failed to give any details. A second report written three months later added a few details about the offer of a tribute, the election of a new ruler, and the planned secession from the Habsburg Empire. But Pa-

niaotti fell silent in spring 1668, fearing detection. Additional information came from high-ranking courtiers at the sultan's court, including the *reis efendi*, "a good friend of the Germans" who was on the Habsburg court's payroll but without access to Köprülü's inner circle. Various court officials, translators, and couriers whose identities are only occasionally revealed in the Habsburg court archives also contributed data.[11] And the court could draw increasingly on Catholic conspirators who started having second thoughts, such as the magnate Ferenc Nádasdy and the noble Ferenc Nagy (Leszenyei). Even though these Catholics found themselves on the margins of the conspiracy, the Secret Conference proposed to turn them into Vienna's secret weapon: they "should not cut their ties with the confederates but use their dexterity and pretend to be their good friends." For their reports they would be "gratified as usual."[12]

Modern historical scholarship is in no better position than Habsburg counterintelligence in the late 1660s: reconstructing the plots constitutes a major analytical challenge. There always remains a high level of ambiguity as hard proof is simply difficult to find. For example, when two powerful Habsburg loyalists, the Upper Hungarian magnates Ferenc and István Csáky, told the Vienna court in summer 1668 about a plan to enlist Transylvanian, Turkish, and Tatar troops in an imminent uprising, Emperor Leopold and his ministers demanded proof before they would even consider taking any action (which basically meant issuing complaints to the Ottomans). But the proof was not produced, and Plenipotentiary Rottal, who was then visiting Upper Hungary, reassured the emperor that the magnates were spreading alarmist rumours.[13] Yet Count Raimondo Montecuccoli, the president of the Aulic War Council, considered the situation very dangerous and urged a careful investigation: he prevailed upon the Secret Conference to instruct Habsburg resident Casanova to look for hard evidence. He also had the Turkish translator of the council prepare a catalogue of questions to interrogate Ahmed Köprülü's stable master, who was a Habsburg prisoner. This stable master was then released from jail after agreeing to visit Köprülü as a Habsburg agent. Upon his return from Köprülü's court the former prisoner-turned-spy was to tell whether he had seen Hungarians or Transylvanians, where they had come from, and who had sent them. But here the efforts to procure good evidence ended. The records of the Aulic War Council do not indicate that Köprülü's stable master ever relayed any helpful intelligence.[14]

Given the analytical challenges of peeling away the layers of secrecy surrounding the subject matter of this chapter, it is, of course, self-evident that much more research needs to be undertaken in the future. The principal goal here is to establish the historical importance of the April 1670 revolt, which I consider a major juncture in Central European history that ushered in more than four decades of active resistance and revolt in the Hungarian lands of the Habsburg monarchy. What started in April 1670 ended only with the so-called war of liberation under Ferenc II Rákóczi (1703–11). It is therefore startling that Hungarian and Slovak historians – with the notable exception of László Benczédi – have paid no attention to the rebellion whatsoever. I will first reconstruct the prehistory of the rebellion, and then turn to the dramatic events of April 1670, with special focus on the Hungarian-Ottoman contacts and the widespread hopes for Ottoman intervention that prepared the revolt.

THE IDEA OF REVOLT

The idea of an uprising with Ottoman military support originated in the minds of Upper Hungary's principal power brokers, the Protestant leaders of the thirteen counties: a supra-county confederation with considerable political clout which historical scholarship has yet to study. In the years after the Vasvár Treaty, Upper Hungary's Lutheran and Calvinist leaders – some of whom were mentioned earlier – were on a collision course with a handful of much wealthier Catholic magnates and church lords to countermand attempts by these barons to dominate local affairs. During these years the thirteen counties, whose representatives met regularly in a variety of Upper Hungarian towns, acted as an effective umbrella organization that repeatedly interceded on behalf of Protestant nobles, clergy, and townsmen.[15] These Upper Hungarian leaders closely watched the progress of the Transylvanian mission to Grand Vizier Ahmed Köprülü that resulted from the Murány meeting in August 1666. And when news finally came that Köprülü was not yet ready to intercede because of Candia, these men lobbied for another mission that resulted in the dispatch of a second emissary in October 1667. One of the primary concerns of the Upper Hungarian lords was that Köprülü authorize military help in whatever form possible at the earliest convenience.

Before turning directly to Köprülü, Upper Hungarian nobles had tried in vain to procure armed support from Prince Apafi of Transylvania. For ex-

ample, in letters from spring 1665 the Calvinist noble Gábor Kende, who was one of the thirteen counties' principal liaisons with Transylvanian power brokers,[16] insisted on the inevitability of an armed uprising and the need for outside military help to stop the advance of the Counter-Reformation. Kende wrote at a time when an Upper Hungarian delegation was in Vienna to present the counties' collective grievances to Emperor Leopold. He fully expected that "our emissaries will return without a good answer" and insisted that "we will without fail resort to the cause that we have decided on."[17]

In March 1666, Palatine Ferenc Wesselényi denounced the Lutheran magnate István Thököly to Vienna for calling on the Transylvanian Prince Apafi to invade Upper Hungary. There is no direct evidence that would justify this accusation, but we know that Thököly traveled to Transylvania for an extended stay in March and April 1665 when he meet with several Transylvanian grandees including Mihály Teleki and György Kapy. It also is a fact that Thököly dispatched one of his most trusted clients, Benedek Csúthy, on 19 March 1666 with personal letters to Prince Apafi and the major power brokers of the Transylvanian court, including Dénes Bánffy and János Bethlen. What transpired during Thököly's meetings with Transylvanian magnates remains cryptic, and the letters that Csúthy hand-delivered to Apafi and others have been lost. According to Prince Apafi – as he stated in a letter to Teleki on 4 April 1666 – the matter was so astonishing (*csudálatos dolog*) that it was too risky to entrust it to the pen.[18] In May 1666, rumours began to circulate in Upper Hungary that Transylvanian troops were getting ready for attack: they were planning to plunder Szatmár and Szabolcs counties where the estates of Zsófia Báthori were concentrated. These rumours continued throughout the summer. They were reported to Vienna but the imperial court learned from its agents at the Porte that Köprülü had rebuffed all Transylvanian overtures to launch a military campaign into Hungary.[19]

There can be little doubt that Transylvanian troops under Prince Apafi had actually moved to the border with Upper Hungary in August and September 1666.[20] Kende reported to Mihály Teleki on 2 October 1666 that these soldiers' approach had sufficed to stop Zsófia Báthori from continuing the confiscation of Protestant church properties. But when Apafi withdrew, realizing that he was powerless to intervene without Köprülü's permission, Báthori's troops immediately expelled the Calvinist minister of Munkács (Bereg County) from his home and seized his land. In fact, local Jesuits were now openly triumphant; they mocked the faithful and circulated an obscene

(*mocskos*) pamphlet about the demise of God's support for the Calvinist cause. Kende was nevertheless optimistic: he assumed that the Transylvanian emissary carrying the Murány *Instructio* would soon meet with Köprülü. He wanted to know when mail was to be expected from the Porte and how it would be delivered. Would they learn about Köprülü's decision as soon as that winter? Kende added that time was of the essence because people were waiting eagerly. He was confident that the mission to the Porte would be successful, and with the Ottomans on their side they would quickly put a decisive stop to Báthori and the Jesuits: "Let them behave in this way until God casts a bit [*zabolát*] in their mouths."[21]

During the winter of 1666–67 – when news from the Porte was anxiously awaited in Upper Hungary – escalating tensions threatened to boil over into a religious civil war pitting troops of the thirteen counties against Zsófia Báthori and other Catholic power brokers.[22] An emergency session of Hungary's leading Catholic politicians in Pozsony called for an immediate compromise so that the Upper Hungarian counties would not join Transylvania or the Ottoman Empire.[23] An alarming letter by Upper Hungary's Catholic nobles to Leopold I probably dates from this tense winter. The situation was appalling: the Protestant nobles bypassed the authority of the high sheriffs (*főispánok*), who were Catholics and appointed by the emperor, and simply ignored the barons, magnates, and church lords: "The audacity of the said thirteen counties or better certain Acatholic nobles living here … has progressed so far that they have nothing but utter contempt for the other estates and orders of the kingdom and the county. They do not shun away from taking the kingdom alone for themselves, ruling over us, and imposing whatever they want. They are shamelessly subverting Your Majesty's authority and are turning everything upside down [*susque deque miscere*]."[24]

It is interesting to see that these Upper Hungarian Catholics – probably a group of moderates around Palatine Wesselényi – called on the emperor to negotiate a compromise with the Báthori and Rákóczi clans. They warned that the conflict could quickly spiral out of control and lead to dangerous disturbances and riots (*motus*). If only the emperor would intervene and convince the Rákóczi clan to restore confiscated church properties and release the money to pay the Protestant ministers. The Catholic nobles did not want more conflict, but envisioned a society in which "citizens [*regnicolae*] lived [together] peacefully and embraced each other with mutual love." The grim reality of

mounting tensions threatened the stability of the existing order.[25] And the perceived threat from Transylvania only worsened the crisis as rumours again began to circulate that Transylvanian troops were about to attack.[26]

Only a few insiders knew that this was not a real threat: the Porte had still not given the green light for an invasion and the Transylvanian emissary – on whom Kende and others had pinned so much hope – failed to meet with Köprülü, who had departed for Candia in November 1666. This explains why prominent Lutherans and Calvinists from Upper Hungary appeared in Transylvania to lobby for troops and, more importantly, to make another attempt at contacting Köprülü, this time directly in Candia. Among these lobbyists was the Lutheran magnate Thököly, who stayed in Transylvania from late November 1666 to May 1667.[27] A cryptic entry in the diary of his confidant Ambrus Keczer reveals that Thököly discussed strategies of how best to approach Köprülü with the Calvinist lords János Bethlen, Miklós Bethlen, and Mihály Teleki.[28] Other tidbits of evidence reveal that men like Ambrus Keczer and Gábor Kende were directly involved in preparing the written instructions for the mission to Candia.[29] There are also indications that Protestant leaders became impatient with their Transylvanian hosts. In February 1667 Miklós Bethlen denounced attempts to contact the Porte via the pasha of Eger as foolish and outright dangerous. The Upper Hungarians, he insisted, did not know the ways of the Porte and should leave all negotiations to Transylvanian discretion.[30]

During these months of deliberations, the original idea of a localized uprising in defense of Protestant religion was transformed into something much larger: the idea of a pan-Hungarian revolt to overthrow Habsburg power, not just in Upper Hungary, but in the entire Kingdom of Hungary (including Croatia). In its initial conceptualization – formulated in instructions to emissary László Baló from 22 March 1667 – the uprising resembled a utopian dream more than a realistic enterprise. It did not involve the use of Ottoman troops but relied entirely on an invasion force led by Transylvanian Prince Apafi. Apafi would thus fulfill the mandate he had received from Köprülü in Uyvar four years earlier. The Porte should not fear any risks: the Habsburgs would not go to war over the loss of Hungary "because the Hungarian nation will give [the German emperor] enough trouble." Also, a Hungarian revolt would probably generate "a rebellion in the Czech state and Austria … where great hope for [joining] the Porte likely exists as well."[31]

The March 1667 instructions emphasized repeatedly that a Hungarian revolt against the Habsburgs would "provide a useful service to the great expansion of the Powerful Emperor's empire and glory without any [Ottoman] expenditure and effort."[32] But there were no specifics about the organization of such a revolt except for the vague promise that *all* of Hungary would rise, with particular emphasis on Croatia. With Croatia in his camp, Köprülü could easily open a second front against Venice and accelerate the victory in Candia. It also would neutralize any attempt by the Habsburg emperor to support Venice, which was considered very likely "because [the Roman Caesar] is afraid that the Porte is gaining the upper hand over the Venetians [*hogy az velenczésen erőt vévén az Porta*]."[33]

Many questions are raised by this vague scheme. Most importantly, how were the Lower Hungarian estates going to respond? And how would the ban of Croatia, Péter Zrínyi, be convinced to participate? How much did they know about the Upper Hungarians' plan? And how could all of this be accomplished without the involvement of Ottoman troops? Why should Köprülü agree to lend his support? Would he really be convinced that the scheme was worth discarding the Vasvár Peace Treaty and go to war against the Habsburgs?

Some of these questions were discussed during a meeting convoked by Palatine Wesselényi in Neusohl (Besztercebánya) in March 1667.[34] Little is known about the meeting and it remains unclear how many of those present were actually informed about the Upper Hungarian plan. At least one leading representative from Lower Hungary, István Vitnyédi, was given misleading information: yes, an uprising was considered, but with the support of the king of France. Other Lower Hungarians who learned about the possibility of an uprising – purportedly also with French support – remained highly skeptical and refused to participate, citing the horrible fate of the Czechs and Moravians during the 1620s. Yes, Lower Hungary was without protection against the Ottomans, but it was better to send yet another delegation to Vienna to beg for military help.[35] Among the Lower Hungarian delegation was the Catholic magnate Ferenc Nádasdy. According to later testimony by his secretary Valentin Szenthe, he had come with a mandate from the Vienna court to defuse the Upper Hungarians' anger. He also was a spy: having only just learned about plans to approach the Ottomans – how remains a mystery – he had rushed to Neusohl to gather information he could later use to ingratiate himself with the Habsburg emperor.[36] However, it is

very uncertain whether he learned anything specific, because no one trusted him. Vitnyédi appears to have told him about French support and calmed his mind.[37] And what about other Catholic nobles present at Neusohl? Were any of them initiated into the plan to enlist Ottoman approval for an uprising? We know only that two of Wesselényi's adjutants[38] – and probably Wesselényi himself[39] – were privy to secret conversations with a personal emissary of Prince Apafi.[40]

Irrespective of who knew what and who was sufficiently trusted to be initiated into the secret – issues that are impossible to clarify in hindsight – the outcome of the Neusohl meeting was unequivocal: a call for "real assistance" (*realis assistentia*), that is, for direct Ottoman military intervention. Benevolent neutrality and patronage, as suggested originally in the Murány *Instructio*, were no longer deemed sufficient. Accepting the unlikelihood of Köprülü leaving Candia before a decisive victory, there were three viable options. Most beneficial would be the dispatch of troops under the leadership of the vizier of Buda, but if that was not possible, there should of an intervention by Turkish border troops. In case Köprülü chose this last option, the border troops should be accompanied by armed contingents from the Ottoman vassal states of Wallachia and Moldavia. Finally, if Köprülü denied any Turkish troops, then he should at least give permission for Wallachian and Moldavian soldiers. These demands were sent by courier to emissary Baló, who was on his way to Candia.[41]

When Baló returned unsuccessfully from Candia in August 1667 he brought with him a glimmer of hope. While Köprülü rejected the Transylvanian overture, he had indicated his tacit support. In the words of the grand vizier's chief of staff (*kihája*, *kiaya-bey*), "if [Köprülü] had known about this business before he crossed the sea he would not have left but would have dedicated himself to it as a worthier cause and taken care of it." In any case, "God would soon grant an end to Candia affairs either by peace or victory," and Köprülü would then return to Edirne.[42] This message was sufficient to bring Upper Hungarian emissaries – most notably Gábor Kende – back to Transylvania to lobby for another mission. Perhaps Köprülü could be convinced to make peace with Venice and then turn against Hungary. In late October the Transylvanian emissary Péter Inczédy left for Candia in order to reiterate the need for Ottoman troops – border detachments would be sufficient – and to emphasize the absolute urgency of the matter. Any further delay meant that the Porte would miss a unique historical opportunity. Inczédy waited in

vain for an audience with Köprülü from November 1667 to January 1668. But he reported being received with kindness (*jó svívvel*) by Köprülü's chief of staff and apparently returned with the same answer as Bálo: this was not the right time to act, and they should wait "until the war in Candia was finished." According to Köprülü's chief of staff, the grand vizier expected victory within the next two years.[43]

After this second rebuff by Köprülü, Upper Hungarians reluctantly accepted that they had no choice but to wait for a decisive Ottoman victory over the Venetians. There were hotheaded schemes during the summer of 1668 and again in January 1669 to launch an Upper Hungarian uprising without Ottoman troops, but when Prince Apafi again refused participation, these schemes quickly collapsed. A few Upper Hungarian Calvinists also got involved in a Catholic scheme – hatched by Ferenc Nádasdy and Wesselényi's widow Mária Széchy – to enlist French and Polish help for an uprising centred in Lower Hungary.[44] But most Upper Hungarians kept their distance: Lutherans in the vicinity of István Thököly believed that Nádasdy was acting as an agent provocateur in the service of the Vienna court to create a pretext for turning Hungary into a hereditary province (like Bohemia). They denounced the fantastic plan, which foresaw an invasion of Moravia and the slaughter of Habsburg troops, as a Jesuit plot (*jesuitica practica*). How could any Protestant noble in his right mind agree to a coalition led by Catholics unless they agreed to put an immediate stop to "the harassment of our spiritual freedom." The Calvinists who kept their distance – among them the magnate István Bocskai – agreed. There was something evil (*gonoszság*) in this whole enterprise, they thought; it was surrounded by a shroud of secrecy and could not be trusted. However, more than anything else, both Lutheran and Calvinist critics emphasized (correctly as it turned out) that no Hungarian uprising against the Habsburgs would ever have a chance of succeeding without Transylvanian *and* Ottoman support.[45]

No wonder Upper Hungarian elites, like the Vienna court, became fixated on Candia – but whereas Vienna was dreading an Ottoman victory, the Hungarians were hoping for one. In February 1669, for example, rumours began to circulate in Szatmár County that "the Turk had renounced the peace and had declared itself the enemy of His Majesty." Gábor Kende immediately wrote to Teleki in Transylvania that it was now time to try again. There were other good signs: residents of Rimaszombat – an Ottoman-dominated town

in Gömör County – had recently visited the sultan and had been able to "push through things that they themselves had not hoped [were possible]." And had not the Tatar Khan, a protégé of Köprülü, recently sent presents to Prince Apafi? Clearly, Ottoman leaders were now well disposed towards the Hungarians and ready to let Apafi intervene. Teleki, however, saw it differently: it was just hearsay and nothing could be confirmed with certainty.[46] Teleki was right. In June, and again in September, quite different news arrived from Candia: Köprülü had suffered major casualties and barely escaped with his life. *Sipahi* cavalrymen had mutinied and there was terrible fighting in the ramparts of Candia between the mutineers and the Janissaries. Also, the sultan had been overthrown and "there is now hideous upheaval [*rút zűrzavar*] in the Porte and the entire state of Turkey."[47]

But were any of these rumours about Candia true? Considering that reliable news of an imminent Ottoman victory arrived only in October 1669, it is astounding to see how much hope and trust Upper Hungarian Protestant leaders put in the prospect of Köprülü's triumph before they had any assurances.[48] Despite great uncertainty there was a widely shared belief that the Ottomans were winning in Candia. In March 1669 the Lutheran noble Pál Chernel, a client of István Thököly, traveled to the Transylvanian court to push Prince Apafi to resume contact with the Porte, stressing that this time an Upper Hungarian dignitary should accompany the Transylvanian delegation.[49] Lobbying intensified in April and May, as indicated by a series of letters by the Calvinist nobles Gábor Kende, László Gyulaffy, and István Bocskai.[50] And in early June 1669 Upper Hungary's most important Calvinist minister, István Czeglédy, visited Prince Apafi; ostensibly traveling to win Apafi's support for Calvinist book printing, he pleaded with the prince in secret to resume contact with Köprülü. Czeglédy had been coached by Bocskai, on whose estate he had stayed before crossing the Transylvania border.[51]

Czeglédy's appeal to Prince Apafi was successful and on 30 June 1669 Teleki wrote the following to the Calvinist gentlemen (*urak*) of Upper Hungary: "Our Lord and His Honour … is definitely ready to serve His Faith and His Nation with his own blood … He is ready to dispatch [another mission] to the grand vizier and has already given orders [to two emissaries]." Teleki emphasized that it was now safe to travel to Candia, according to reliable informants at the Porte – who included a high-ranking official at Köprülü's court and the sultan's Hungarian translator. As proof he attached copies of

these informants' letters. But he warned in a postscript: "For God's Sake … do not share these writings with anyone; no Papist or Papist Evangelical [*pápistás evangelicus*] must see them; let this always be our secret."[52] Clearly, the scene was set for another diplomatic offensive to win Köprülü's support for an Upper Hungarian uprising. Yet, the postscript also throws light on an ominous reality: the Calvinist leaders of Upper Hungary did not trust the Catholics (which was not surprising) but they had also apparently lost trust in the Lutherans. How was an uprising to be accomplished if there was so much discord among Hungarian leaders?

FROM IMAGINATION TO REALITY: GETTING READY FOR REVOLT

Definite news about Köprülü's victory at Candia did not reach the leaders of the thirteen counties before the middle of November 1669.[53] By then the basic preconditions for an overthrow of Habsburg power were in place, and during the following months the region was inexorably sliding towards revolt. These developments occurred on two levels, one visible to Habsburg officials and the other largely hidden from view. One might argue that what occurred below the surface was most important – an opinion shared by Emperor Leopold and Plenipotentiary Rottal, who tried in vain to decipher Upper Hungarian intentions. However, one should not underestimate the mobilizing power of public rumours: as the belief grew that another Ottoman invasion was imminent, events developed a powerful momentum in Upper Hungarian society that was at least as important as secret machinations.[54]

It is striking how systemically the blueprint for revolt that had already been conceived in early 1667 was finally translated into action. First, the Upper Hungarian Protestant leaders forged an alliance with the ban of Croatia, the Catholic magnate Péter Zrínyi, to recruit him for a simultaneous uprising in Croatia. With Zrínyi's support they also enlisted his son-in-law Ferenc I Rákóczi, Upper Hungary's largest Catholic magnate, to join the alliance. Second, they initiated a comprehensive mobilization of military and financial resources to raise an insurrectionary army. By February 1670 a paid fighting force of at least 12,000–15,000 soldiers was in place.[55] Finally, they intensified their written and personal communications with Lower Hungary to facilitate the spread of revolt from east to west. Yet throughout these preparations they

remained acutely aware that everything depended on Köprülü. As Mihály Teleki put it in December 1669: "I believe there are two possibilities: either this affair will happen or it won't. For it to happen it must emerge from the will and permission of the grand vizier [*fővezér akaratjából és engedelméből kell lenni*]."[56]

It is hard to say what exactly transpired during the meetings of Ban Zrínyi with Upper Hungarian Calvinist leaders – there were no Lutherans present – in late April 1669. A Catholic spy with access to both Zrínyi and at least one of the Calvinists at the meeting reported initially to Vienna's plenipotentiary Rottal that Zrínyi had joined a pro-Ottoman alliance. But over a year later, the same spy gave more elaborate testimony that when he confronted Zrínyi about his intentions, Zrínyi "made numerous oaths in front of me assuring me that he had not consented to the [Ottoman] faction." The spy then learned the truth from letters he secretly opened (and which were later burned): Zrínyi had in fact told the Calvinists that he would make one last attempt to contact the French and Polish kings for help. However, if this should fail he would unambiguously support their efforts to prevail on the Ottoman Porte to invade Hungary.[57] This is indeed what happened. During the summer of 1669 Zrínyi tried in vain to enlist the Polish king-elect Michał Wiśniowiecki for several schemes (e.g., an alliance with Muscovy and a merger of the Polish and Hungarian crowns) to rescue Hungary from the Ottomans.[58] At about the same time, his fantasy of a joint French-Croat attack on Ottoman forces from Dalmatia to relieve the siege of Candia also collapsed.[59] And when Zrínyi learned about the fall of Candia in October or November, he immediately joined the Upper Hungarian quest and dispatched his own agents to the pasha of Bosnia to make contact with the sultan, and more importantly, with Köprülü.[60]

At least some Calvinists were scandalized (*scandalizati*) about the secret pact with Zrínyi and did not trust him: after all, he had only recently denounced the Turk as Satan and warned Pál Szepessy, one of Upper Hungary's principal Calvinist leaders, "not to become Turkified [*ne Turciset*]."[61] These suspicions certainly were not alleviated by Zrínyi's visits to the Vatican and the Vienna court during the summer of 1669.[62] And when Zrínyi failed to return to Upper Hungary (as he had promised) and left instead for an undisclosed destination, Ferenc Ispán, one of the initiators of the Zrínyi alliance, noted: "Some say that he is in France, others that he is in Candia. But that is

not true … If only the great affair will not end with harm to us as some are predicting."[63] Clearly, relying on Zrínyi was a great gamble. Would it pay off? Or would Zrínyi turn against them and betray them all to Vienna?

There was nonetheless one immediate benefit that resulted from the Zrínyi alliance: the neutralization of the Upper Hungarian magnate Ferenc I Rákóczi. This meant not only the end of the Counter-Reformation on Rákóczi's far-flung estates and a significant weakening of the Catholic opposition: more importantly, it meant a dramatic increase in military and financial resources, as László Benczédi demonstrated some time ago. For once, thousands of soldiers on Rákóczi's payroll would become available, and huge amounts of money donated by Rákóczi could be spent to lure away unpaid or underpaid soldiers from Habsburg border fortresses.[64] Benczédi also established that Rákóczi recruited at least 1,000 cavalrymen and 500 infantry soldiers from among demobilized or runaway border soldiers who were roaming in the no man's land between Habsburg and Ottoman fortresses.[65] Still, it must be emphasized that despite his seeming military clout the twenty-five-year-old Rákóczi was nothing more than a puppet of the Upper Hungarian Calvinist elite. All leading positions in the rebel army were in their hands, and there is good evidence that Rákóczi himself was threatened and intimidated to such an extent that he feared for his life.[66]

A formidable rebel army was emerging during the months leading up to the outbreak of revolt in April 1670. The mobilizations were conducted locally by each of the thirteen counties; they started in Calvinist counties along the Habsburg-Ottoman border in late 1669 after news of Köprülü's victory had been confirmed, intensified with a call for universal insurrection in early February, and reached initially reluctant Lutheran counties (such as Sáros and Szepes) farther inland by late March 1670.[67] Three kinds of armed detachments were assembled: cavalry units consisting of nobles (the so-called *banderium*), infantry units consisting of peasants, and military bands bankrolled by well-to-do nobles and consisting of a motley crowd of runaway soldiers, peasants, and petty nobles. The recruitment relied on meticulously prepared lists: in Zemplén County, for example, the names of every single noble and male peasant had previously been entered into registers; from these, one individual from every fifth peasant household was now drafted.[68] It is interesting to note that these mobilizations initially proceeded under the guise of carrying out an order by Emperor Leopold to defend Upper Hungary against an imminent Ottoman invasion. However, local Habsburg commanders

and the Vienna court quickly learned the truth, and by late February 1670 there could no longer be any doubt: Upper Hungary was ready to go to war against the Habsburgs.[69]

What about Lower Hungary? We know that Upper Hungarian plans for revolt were secretly communicated to the leadership of western counties. An inventory of letters confiscated by Habsburg investigators after the collapse of the Upper Hungarian revolt reveals a lively correspondence between the thirteen counties, Upper Hungary's Free Royal Towns, and Lower Hungarian counties and towns. The contents of this now-lost correspondence – which was largely in cipher and transmitted through a clandestine courier system[70] – is indirectly revealed by its timing. The letters were found in convoy with calls and instructions for assembling county diets and supra-county meetings starting 15 October 1669 and ending 3 March 1670.[71] These meetings that were specific to Lower Hungary had one overarching theme: the disaster of increasingly aggressive Ottoman expansionism and the quest for finding effective means of defense. While most magnates and ecclesiastical elites supported continuing appeals to Vienna, the lesser nobility – which appears to have hijacked the agenda of county assemblies during this period – sought an alliance with Upper Hungary.[72] For example, in early January 1670 ten western Hungarian counties appealed in a series of letters to the thirteen counties expressing "[their] hope that we could assist them in the preservation of our common fatherland, come to an agreement with them, and dispatch our honourable emissaries with full powers." On 28 January, Upper Hungarian emissaries – who included both Calvinists and Catholics – gave speeches at an assembly of the Lower Hungarian counties in Breznóbánya (Zólyom County): they called for immediate military mobilization and promised to help with 5,000–6,000 soldiers.[73]

There are indications that several Lower Hungarian counties did in fact mobilize their troops: according to reports reaching the Vienna court in late February 1670, at least seven western counties "were arming themselves."[74] This was certainly true for Hont County. The prefect (*castellanus*) of Korpona Fortress and other witnesses reported that authority in the county had passed into the hands of anti-Habsburg activists (in touch with Upper Hungarian agents and Transylvania), who had purged all county offices, usurped the county seal, and issued mobilization orders "making it look as if they were taking up arms against the Turks."[75] By the end of March 1670, however, it was clear that the Turks were not the real enemy. A Catholic informant

reported that he had been part of a large crowd of Hont nobles who had proclaimed the secession of the county from the Habsburg Empire. And the vice-captain of Korpona Fortress added that military mobilization and secession were not limited to Hont County: other "counties that had seceded [*elpártolt vármegyek*] wanted to recruit soldiers [as well] but I don't know how far this plan progressed."[76]

It is important to emphasize that this military mobilization did not occur in a social vacuum. In Upper Hungary at least, it seemed the logical outcome of a dramatic radicalization process that engulfed much of the nobility and touched other segments of society as well. A series of Venetian reports drawing on Upper Hungarian, Croatian, and Vienna court informants[77] sheds light on the reasons for this stunning development. Most important was the realization that many years of petitioning Emperor Leopold I had not brought any results. Reflecting on yet another delegation's empty-handed return, a report dated 18 January 1670 noted that the Vienna court had allowed developments "to rush towards the precipice" (*correre al precipitio*). Any last ditch efforts to defuse the crisis were now doomed: Upper Hungarian nobles would see no other way out but to resort "to iron and fire" to cut out the "ulcer that has formed." Everyone in Upper Hungary was predicting that a great change (*gran mutatione*) was imminent and the last vestiges of trust had disappeared.[78] Marveling at "the extraordinary speed in the collection of money … the amassing of soldiers[,] and the formation of regiments," another report dated 22 February noted that Upper Hungarians were "on the verge of open rebellion … in a delirium of passions and a state of frenzy" (*nella frenesia de pensieri*).[79] And a report dated 8 March emphasized that "the turbid affairs of Hungary" were moving forward with an unstoppable force.[80]

The Venetian reports suggest that hatred (*odio*) of the Habsburg court was not directed against the emperor but rather against his ministers.[81] This is not supported by eyewitness reports, however. For example, the noble János Lengyel, a Catholic who later distanced himself from the events, reported the following scene during a meeting of the Abaúj County Diet in late March 1670: a Calvinist speaker fervently attacked the emperor with invectives for "failing to give any satisfaction to so many most humble supplications … to withdraw the German army and to preserve [our] religion in its immunity." He received much applause and "vehemently inflamed most of the county delegates to utter similar wailings [*clamores*] accusing His Majesty of not observing the laws of the Fatherland."[82] Hostile speeches like these occurred in

the assemblies of every single Upper Hungarian county.[83] And they were not just given by Calvinist speakers (as Lengyel suggested): during a meeting of the Sáros Diet, Lutheran and Catholic nobles alike refused to read imperial mandates and ejected messengers carrying such mandates by force. Several witnesses confirmed hearing radical speeches by Lajos Melczer, a Catholic and one of the principal initiators of military mobilization in Sáros County. He declared Hungary free of Habsburg rule and swore that "the Roman emperor would never again be the King of Hungary." He also called for the slaughter of all Germans, that is, both Habsburg soldiers and officials.[84] The brothers András and Menyhért Keczer, powerful Lutherans from the same county, traveled from county to county to give speeches against the emperor and thus contributed significantly to the readiness of many Upper Hungarian nobles to take up arms.[85]

It is noteworthy that in the past such hostility towards the Habsburg emperor had been expressed in private conversations – that is, among trusted friends or at family dinners – or in letters written in cipher. Even in emotional confrontations with Habsburg officials, such as Plenipotentiary Rottal, the Upper Hungarian elite had always emphasized that it did not intend to break ties with the Vienna court.[86] Now few hesitated to express their formerly hidden feelings in public at diet meetings. Nobles who expressed doubts about cutting ties with the Habsburg dynasty – a minority that existed even in the most radical counties such as Ung, Zemplén, and Abaúj – were verbally abused and intimidated. The handful of courageous individuals (e.g., High Sheriff Miklós Keglevics of Torna County or János Tyukodi of Szatmár County) who dared to defend the emperor were threatened physically, ejected, or, at the minimum, deprived of their voting privileges. And nobles who refused to arm themselves and their peasants were fined 100 forint – a substantial sum for lesser nobles – and threatened with the destruction of their estates.[87]

It must be noted that Catholic nobles and churchmen – such as the Provost of Lelesz Convent – were frequent targets of such punitive measures.[88] The Calvinist and Lutheran leaders of the thirteen counties, who spoke out against the Catholic Church and the pope just as angrily as against the emperor, commonly perceived them as unreliable fifth columnists even if this was not justified by their actions. For example, the Gömör strongman Ferenc Nagy (Leszenyei), who mobilized thousands of peasants and positioned them along roads and mountains passes to prevent Habsburg troop

movements, was considered a hireling of the Vienna emperor. Protestants denounced him for his purported readiness "to become a German [*germanizare*]" and suspected him of being a spy who had been paid 10,000 forint in exchange for "betray[ing] all the secrets of the Hungarians."[89] Nagy was eager to play a leading role in the coming revolt but he was denied access to the inner circle of decision-making.[90] He tried to turn directly to the magnate Ferenc I Rákóczi but realized quickly that the prince was surrounded by an impenetrable barrier of Calvinists and Zrínyi clients "from whom he could not find out anything in particular." As a way out of his dilemma Nagy bribed the Calvinist Pál Szepessy, one of the brains of Upper Hungarian resistance since the early 1660s; but "he only simulated and pretended to cooperate with us [*simulate videbatur nobiscum agere*]."[91] There was, of course, good reason to be suspicious of Upper Hungary's Catholic power brokers: the Catholic magnate Zsófia Báthori, for example, responded to the counties' mobilization by assembling her own troops, and the titulary bishops of Eger and Varad were the Habsburg dynasty's most fervent defenders. Yet there is also evidence that even the most powerful Catholics were playing with the idea of joining a movement ostensibly led by the magnates Zrínyi and Rákóczi.[92]

The Catholic-Protestant rift that had torn Upper Hungary apart since the early 1660s had at best been papered over. It is true that quite a number of Lutheran nobles – unlike Calvinists – were inclined to trust their Catholic counterparts: they maintained close ties with Lower Hungarian Lutheran elites such as István Vitnyédi, Márton Hidvéghy, and István Petrőczy, who collaborated with Catholic strongmen in preparing eleven western Hungarian counties for revolt.[93] This may explain the distrust between Calvinist and Lutheran nobles, which on occasion erupted in outbursts of anger and forcible ejections of Lutherans from Calvinist-dominated county assemblies. Still, there cannot be any doubt that both Lutheran and Calvinist nobles deeply resented the continuing attacks on their religion and were therefore the most outspoken and most determined enemies of the Habsburg court – as we will see.

Protestant nobles believed that their plan of a revolt with Ottoman help enjoyed the support of the Lutheran and Calvinist clergy. In August 1668 the Calvinist Gábor Kende had already informed Prince Apafi of Transylvania that it was not just nobles who were asking for his intercession with the Porte,

but also "the holy leaders of the Orthodox [Calvinist] and Augustan faiths." According to Kende, Hungarian Protestantism's spiritual and secular leaders had "buried their religious differences in the face of the common danger threatening everyone … and implored [Apafi] to fulfill the hope that [he] had nurtured and not to deprive the Hungarian nation of his help." If only he could make a deal with the sultan and the "new" (!) grand vizier – Kende believed erroneously that Ahmed Köprülü had died – Apafi would gain "generous reward in Heaven and on Earth for his great benefaction."[94] A purported letter by the Lutheran István Vitnyédi, intercepted by Habsburg agents in May 1669, assured the Transylvanian magnate Miklós Bethlen that the Lutheran clergy, particularly the pastors of Kassa, Leutschau, and Eperjes, were now also inclined to support subordination to Ottoman authority.[95] And during the summer of 1669, the thirteen counties dispatched György Szendrei, the Calvinist pastor of Tállya, to Germany and England to inform the western Protestant world that secession from the Habsburg Empire was the only remaining choice to save Hungary: "[The agonizing fatherland] has been forsaken by all hope for any [other] help [and] will provide for its survival and the well-being of future generations by recognizing the authority of the sultan [*deditionis medio*]."[96]

According to Plenipotentiary Rottal, "everyone at the [Vienna] court believed" that István Czeglédy, the Calvinist minister of Kassa, was "the greatest promoter of the uprising [*ennek az támadásnak legnagyobb promotora*]." This was also the opinion of Venetian emissary Marino Zorzi, whose Upper Hungarian informants described the following scene that played out in Kassa's cathedral in early January 1670: "Their famous preacher … exclaimed with incredible shamelessness in the presence of an infinite assembly … that all must render thanks to God for the victory at Candia carried by the victorious arms of the Ottomans. Spring would be arriving with so many [armed] forces pregnant with the prestige and power [of the sultan] to break the chains of their servitude, restore them into their freedom, and establish them under a quiet and tranquil dominion." If we can believe the informants, the sermon generated a fervent response from the crowd, who experienced "these words as divine inspirations and angelic oracles responding with singular applause and endless benedictions."[97] The fixation of Habsburg investigators on Czeglédy's Kassa sermon and his secret mission to Transylvania show how much the Vienna court was afraid of this Calvinist preacher.[98] But it is interesting

that soon after Czeglédy's arrest in September 1670 Rottal tried to win the preacher's release from prison. Did he truly believe in Czeglédy's innocence or did he take action to avert another rebellion?[99]

Evidence suggests that sermons like the one attributed to Czeglédy were given with similar fervor by other pastors.[100] Among the latter was Pastor Johannes Windisch of Schemnitz, who was put on trial by his own magistrate for describing the Ottomans "as an instrument of God which will help [us] overcome Antichrist." Like Czeglédy, the Lutheran Windisch was a man of great prominence: he was senior of the mining towns district in Lower Hungary, and had married the daughter of Peter Zabler, the Lutheran superintendent of Upper Hungary.[101] Windisch may have been an exception among the Lutheran clergy, some of whom are known to have given sermons against the Ottomans.[102] He had probably been traumatized by the brutal confiscation of his church by Habsburg troops in May 1669, but we know that at least one eyewitness of these events, the future Pastor Georg Buchholtz, also considered the Ottomans better rulers than the Habsburgs.[103] By comparison, a larger number of Calvinist ministers denounced the existing order of things and called for radical change. Among them were influential men like the aforementioned György Szendrei, dean (*esperes*) of Abaúj and Zemplén counties, who called on his listeners "to defend their freedom and break the tyrannical power of Antichrist."[104] But there were also obscure men like István Szőllősy, a minister somewhere in Szatmár or Szabolcs counties, who preached that "by the capture of Candia God is showing the way to the ruin of the German Empire and the extermination of idolatry, that is, the Catholic faith."[105]

What about ordinary people? To what extent were they ready to rise up against the Habsburgs? Unfortunately, the evidence remains rather scanty because later investigations centred almost without exception on noble elites. But we have some clues. For example, we know that peasants and townsmen rose spontaneously to defend their religion against the Habsburg army on several occasions. More than 2,000 miners and craftsmen armed themselves in two hours on Pentecost Day 1669 in the town of Schemnitz and were ready to butcher approximately 300 German soldiers who had occupied their church. An eyewitness described an outraged crowd that became more and more agitated by the hour, "screaming with shrill voices that … Heaven and Earth were about to collapse and the Day of Judgement [*der jüngste Tag*] had already arrived." Everything depended on the town's Lutheran clergy: led by

Johannes Windisch, they fell on their knees and asked the "embittered people … not to cause a bloodbath on the High Holiday of Pentecost."[106] Similar scenarios played out in Calvinist territories. In late September 1669 Habsburg soldiers occupied the town of Munkács to prevent the return of Calvinist church properties (as promised by Ferenc I Rákóczi) and viciously maltreated two ministers. Violent clashes seemed inevitable, but leaders of the thirteen counties decided that it did not make sense to go to war without Ottoman support.[107] And in mid-February 1670 a similar intervention in Zemplén County kept a thousand peasants armed "with clubs, logs, and scythes turned into curved swords" from charging troops dispatched by Emperor Leopold to stop the re-appropriation of confiscated Calvinist church assets.[108]

Were ordinary people willing to accept the Ottomans as their new rulers? This is a very difficult question to answer. We know that entire regions along the Habsburg-Ottoman border fell into a state of panic in January or February 1670 when rumours were spreading that an all-out Ottoman invasion was imminent. Thousands of terrified peasants and townsmen abandoned their homes to flee into the mountains "during the coldest winter time." They fled back and forth without finding shelter, and "many children and weakened people were consumed by the frost."[109] This reaction is not surprising considering that these communities had been targets of Ottoman slaving and plundering raids for years. We also know that quite a number of serfs hated their landlords – that is, the nobles who were pushing for Ottoman support – at least as much as imperial soldiers or officers, and remained passive when called to arms.[110] Yet, when Calvinist nobles in Ung County circulated rumours that the sultan "had sworn on the tomb of Mohammed [*mahumét koporsóiara esküvén*]" to make Prince Ferenc I Rákóczi the new king of Hungary, thousands of peasants armed themselves. In some villages messengers appeared with the sultan's alleged letter and read it in public; according to an eyewitness, "the letter gave considerable courage to the common people as it reassured them of the Turk's protection [*Török oltalmával biztatvan eőket*]."[111] We also know that many peasants voted with their feet and moved into Ottoman territory after Candia.[112] And serfs from the Munkács region crossed the border into Transylvania in January 1670: they were eagerly awaiting news about the Transylvanian mission to Köprülü because their mistress Zsófia Báthori "wished to drive them by force into Papism [*pápistaságra hajtani*]."[113]

During the months following Ottoman victory in Candia it became a common belief in Upper Hungary – and to a lesser extent in Lower Hungary[114] – that an Ottoman invasion was imminent. On the one hand this belief gave rise to "immense fear" (*ingens metus*), and there is evidence that quite a number of nobles and peasants joined the general mobilization because they wanted to defend themselves.[115] On the other hand, it is clear that even ordinary people talked about the Ottomans as their liberators. For example, the tailor István Farkas gave fervent speeches at street corners in the artisan quarter of Kassa denouncing the Habsburg army and insisting that he would rather suffer decapitation than allow troops into town. He told people that "it was better to pay the Turkish Emperor a small sum of money [*modicum*] than to continue [to endure] our yoke." He and the goldsmith István Gönczi, who gave similar public speeches, knew for a fact that the thirteen counties had already joined the Turks. This not only meant liberation from army terror but also from Catholic oppression. As Farkas put it, "none of the Jesuits will ever again devour Hungarian bread. The [Jesuit] is a rascal and a son of a bitch [*a beste lélek kurva fia*]."[116] Similar sentiments could be heard in the streets of other Upper Hungarian towns: in Tokaj, a strategic border town with an important fortress, there was common talk among the people that the Germans, not the Ottomans, were their real enemy. In Eperjes the goldsmith Ferenc Szegedi called for the slaughter of all Catholics, and István Csorda, a resident of the small market town of Hernádnémeti (Zemplén County), boasted that it was now time to do away with "the fake King and Caesar, that rascal and son of a bitch. We will drag [him] from Vienna today or tomorrow."[117]

The idea that the Ottomans were coming to save Hungarians from Habsburg oppression was first and foremost advocated by nobles. In late January 1670, for example, delegates at a meeting of the thirteen counties in Kassa declared publicly that the entire Kingdom of Hungary had already become a tributary of the Ottoman Empire: the emperor was no longer king of Hungary and it was now high time to kill the Germans. Protestant speakers at the meeting expressed the belief that the Ottomans, in particular the pashas of Varad and Eger, would move quickly to restore religious toleration and punish Catholic magnates refusing to return confiscated churches.[118] Similar scenarios played out in local diet meetings in late March 1670: speakers in the Abaúj County Diet declared "that is was no longer possible to deny that

the Ottoman Porte has issued an *ahdname*," and the assembly endorsed a public proclamation that declared Germans and Jesuits the real enemies. A handful of dissenters who refused to accept subordination to Ottoman rule were accused of ruining and degrading the Kingdom of Hungary.[119] During a meeting of the Zemplén County Diet, Ferenc Bónis, the scion of a prominent Calvinist family, reported that the thirteen counties had just reached an agreement with emissaries from Lower Hungary: they would pay 16,000 ducats annual tribute to the sultan, who in return would take up their cause (*suscipiet nostram causam*). The Habsburg emperor "was no longer King of Hungary and never will be again because the estates of the Hungarian Kingdom are already loyal to the Emperor of the Turks [*iam Turcarum Imperatori fideles*]." Bónis was seconded by Deputy County Sheriff István Nikházy, who declared the end of Habsburg rule with the claim that Emperor Leopold I was "a dog [who] has fallen off the cart [*taliga*]" and there were "no longer any servants of the emperor."[120]

News about such speeches spread quickly throughout Upper Hungary. Nobles returning home from diet meetings reported what they had witnessed and acted as effective transmission belts: many of them belonged to the lesser gentry, such as András Dobai, Péter Dévény, and János Berthóty.[121] In addition, leading figures such as the Calvinists Mátyás Szuhay, Pál Szepessy, and László Fáy traveled from place to place calling on people – nobles, townsmen, peasants, and soldiers – to recognize the sultan as their new master. This might be a temporary measure, they qualified, but "until the arrival of happier times it was better if the Kingdom subordinated itself to the Turks." There was no reason to worry: the Habsburg emperor had very few troops and 2,000 Hungarian soldiers could easily slaughter them. In any case, God would come to their help (*meg segét az Isten*), and 27,000 Turkish soldiers gathering along the border would make Habsburg resistance impossible.[122] Other leading Calvinists such as Ferenc Bónis and István Bocskai wrote letters to provincial noblemen who then showed these letters to others, and even, on occasion, to Habsburg officials to intimidate them.[123] Not surprisingly, what had only recently been a strictly guarded secret was now out in the open: by March 1670, "all the market places were full with the rumour" that emissaries of the Transylvanian prince and the magnate Péter Zrínyi were negotiating the exact terms of Hungary's surrender to the sultan.[124]

THE APRIL 1670 REVOLT AND THE COLLAPSE OF HABSBURG POWER

All that was needed for the outbreak of revolt was the signal from Grand Vizier Ahmed Köprülü.[125] When would it finally arrive? Nothing had been heard from the Transylvanian emissary for months: he had simply disappeared without a trace (after embarking to Candia from the seaport of Negroponte in mid-November 1669), and all attempts by Upper Hungarian nobles and Transylvanian courtiers to learn about the progress of his mission remained unsuccessful.[126] The Transylvanian court's extensive reconnaissance network in the Ottoman world – which included officials close to the sultan and Köprülü – also produced nothing conclusive.[127] This impenetrable silence is as puzzling to the modern historian as it was to Transylvanian Prince Apafi and Upper Hungarian leaders. Were the negotiations a closely guarded state secret? Was the emissary not allowed to write back to Transylvania? Had they not sent enough money and presents to win the good will of the men around Köprülü?[128] Even worse: had Prince Apafi fallen out of grace? Was the plan for an uprising doomed? Rumours that apparently originated in Ottoman border castles seemed to confirm that Prince Apafi had become persona non grata and Köprülü had chosen another candidate, one Miklós Zólyomi, for the Transylvania throne. Turkish border commanders boasted that they would take Zólyomi to Kassa, the capital of Upper Hungary, and make him king of Hungary. Transylvanian spies reported of a lively correspondence "between some of the pagans and Zólyomi."[129]

This uncertainty about the Transylvanian mission stands in stark contrast to the publicly stated belief that the sultan had already taken the Hungarians under his wing and that an Ottoman invasion to liberate Hungary from the Habsburg yoke was imminent. What then explains the public confidence? Was it merely a fantastic hope, a utopian dream? This is certainly suggested by the fervent speeches of some Upper Hungarian nobles. These nobles prophesied "a miraculous change of affairs" and "times which our great predecessors have never seen": God would side with the insurgents, Vienna would be seized and the emperor imprisoned, and even the Tatars – typically perceived as ruthless slave raiders – would act as avengers of injustice.[130] However, there is also good evidence that the principal power brokers of Upper Hungary were pragmatic realists: they had received warnings from Kara Ibrahim, the right hand of the pasha of Eger, not to rely exclusively on Prince Apafi "as

an instrument for bringing about a treaty with the Turks." According to Ibrahim, Grand Vizier Köprülü did not think much of Apafi, and in fact "appeared to despise him"; they should turn instead to Prince Péter Zrínyi, respected by Köprülü as "a man of great name and a soldier of great reputation."[131] Heeding Ibrahim's advice, Upper Hungarian leaders started placing their hopes in Zrínyi and his agents, who unlike the Transylvanian court had much better news to convey.

Reports of the alleged successes of Péter Zrínyi's emissaries in Sarajevo, Salonika, and Candia undoubtedly provided the trigger for revolt. They reached Upper Hungary through three principal channels: Zrínyi's own letters,[132] his errand boys,[133] and his agents on the Ottoman side of the border – who, as Gábor Kende put it cynically after the revolt collapsed, "were monkeying around with the Turk [*majmoskodvan az Török vele*] in Turkish border fortresses."[134] It is unclear when these channels of communication were established and when they started relaying information to the small circle of Calvinists and Catholics around Ferenc I Rákóczi (who were the principal recipients of Zrínyi's messages). These power brokers certainly must have known about Zrínyi's majordomo Ferenc Bukovacky's visit to the sultan's court in Salonika in December 1669. Why else would details of Bukovacky's letter to Zrínyi have appeared in public speeches at the Kassa meeting in late January 1670? Bukovacky's enthusiasm about his reception and his glorification of the sultan as the protector of religious and other constitutional freedoms certainly influenced the tone of the Kassa meeting.[135] However, only in late March and early April 1670, after Bukovacky's return to Croatia,[136] did information become more elaborate: the sultan had granted an *ahdname* in return for an annual tribute, Zrínyi had been made prince of Bosnia and Serbia, Ottoman troops were standing by along the borders of Upper Hungary and Croatia, and Grand Vizier Köprülü himself would help the insurgents succeed in their uprising against the Habsburg emperor.[137]

But were these reports reliable? The leaders of the thirteen counties had good reasons to think so. For once they had Zrínyi's written assurances exemplified by a letter dated 20 March 1670 that was later confiscated by Habsburg agents. Invoking God, Zrínyi promised that "we have accomplished everything according to our solemn vow at the court of the most powerful emperor of the Turks." The sultan had taken them under his protection and Turkish troops were now standing by to support uprisings in Croatia and Upper Hungary. Quick action was essential.[138] One witness later

claimed – without corroborating evidence – that Zrínyi had also sent a copy of a letter written to him by Grand Vizier Köprülü and a copy of an agreement with the sultan that specified all points and conditions for receiving the *ahdname*.[139] Yet, the inner circle around Rákóczi did not blindly trust Zrínyi (perhaps because their Transylvanian correspondents expressed some serious doubts). They also were in contact with commanders of Ottoman border fortresses, the pashas of Eger, Varad, and Uyvar, and the vizier of Buda.[140] Messengers were going back and forth, including an envoy (*csaus*, *çavuş*) from Eger, who apparently stayed with rebel leaders during the uprising. Kende later claimed that this envoy was a fake: a Turkish-speaking client of Zrínyi's who had shaved off his beard and posed as an Ottoman dignitary.[141] This is an intriguing possibility, but it is contradicted by the intimate involvement of Kara Ibrahim in the planning and execution of the revolt: he was present in the meeting that declared war on the Habsburgs on 10 April and made at least one more visit during the height of the uprising.[142] And if Upper Hungarian leaders had any doubts as to the intentions of the Ottomans, they just needed to look across the border: Ottoman troops were mobilizing everywhere,[143] together with thousands of Hungarian peasants and nobles living on the sultan's tributary lands.[144]

It was an extremely dangerous situation for the Habsburg court. The empire was facing not only simultaneous uprisings in Upper Hungary and Croatia but the imminent prospect of another Ottoman invasion. The court official Johann Christoph Wassermann reported from Varasd Fortress (Croatia) on 15 March 1670 that "the more news are coming in[,] the worse [they are becoming] almost by the hour [*gleichsamb stündlich*]." Only two days earlier local spies had learned that the Porte was putting 22,000 Turks and 22,000 Tatars at Zrínyi's disposal. The only requirement was that Zrínyi send his son as a hostage. And in the morning hours of 15 March, Wassermann received confirmation that Grand Vizier Köprülü was in Belgrade: he was under orders of the sultan to assist the Hungarians with 25,000 troops. By noon of the same day, a courier announced the arrival of sixteen Turkish dignitaries (*vornehmbe Türkhen*) at Zrínyi's residence in Čaklovac (Csáktornya).[145] Other spies reported the dispatch of four Croat horsemen to the vizier of Buda, the sultan's promise to make Bukovacky a vizier and Zrínyi a grand vizier (sic), and the sighting of a top Ottoman commander (*kapudan paša*) in Belgrade who was on his way to the pasha of Uyvar with secret instructions by Ahmed Köprülü.[146] The emperor's top ministers, during a hastily (*in der Eyl*) con-

vened emergency meeting at the Hofburg on 20 March, agreed that alarming news from all parts of Hungary – even the most remote places – were overwhelmingly consistent and no longer dismissible as rumours. There could not be the least doubt (*daran gancz kein Zweifl*): the empire was facing disaster and immediate drastic action was needed to prevent another "huge inundation by the barbarians with great damage and ruin to the hereditary provinces." The ministers issued orders for a general mobilization to Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and the Austrian lands (including Tyrol), as well as urgent appeals for help to the German electors (particularly the rulers of Brandenburg, Mainz, and Saxony).[147]

While top Habsburg policymakers seemed panic stricken during the March 20 meeting, they were clinging to a straw of hope:[148] spy reports from Salonika and Candia suggested that despite the ubiquitous signs of war, Köprülü probably would not attack immediately. After his triumph in Candia he had too many unresolved crises on his hands, most importantly in Ukraine, Crimea, and Persia. As Habsburg resident Casanova put it on 9 March in a coded dispatch from Salonika: "Everybody confirms that the Hungarian and Croats have not been accepted at this time … [This is] not from lack of will or a sincere wish to keep the peace but in order to see where the Poles, Muscovites, and others are heading [*hinauswollen*]. And after just finishing one war they are not in position to start another one so quickly."[149] Drawing on leaked information from the sultan's vice chancellor (who was "very well-disposed towards the Germans"), Casanova added that the grand vizier wanted "to allow his army rest in order to undertake the matter later with increased forces." In the meantime, the Hungarians should stand by in a state of constant readiness (*in stätter bereitschaft*). This was therefore an opportune time to "get rid of the rebels." If they were not suppressed now – and unless the Turks were attacked somewhere else – the Porte "would without doubt start a war with Your Imperial Majesty."[150]

Yet a careful reader of Casanova's reports will discern that he was fishing in the dark. Yes, perhaps there was still a window of opportunity to act, but the Habsburg resident admitted that he was not so sure himself. There were too many obstacles to effective reconnaissance: on 25 February 1670 he had already warned that this matter (*die Sach*) was top secret and "only the sultan, grand vizier, and *kaymakam* had any knowledge of it [while] everybody else was eagerly told that Zrínyi had not been accepted."[151] On 3 March 1670 he reported that his top agent at Köprülü's court in Candia was living in fear of

detection and "no longer dared to write about the affairs openly [*austrücklich*]." Considering that anything of importance was decided by Köprülü – while the sultan's top officials had nothing to do – this was a very unfortunate development. In fact, Casanova anticipated with apprehension that his remaining informants would soon fall silent out of "fear of losing their heads."[152]

As much as Casanova tried to penetrate the Porte's intentions, he never was confident that he had actually succeeded.[153] There were simply too many ominous signs: emissaries representing Zrínyi and the Transylvanian prince kept coming (two knocked at the sultan's door in the middle of the night on March 11 and were promptly allowed in);[154] there was no longer talk of war with Persia; an agha had been dispatched to the pasha of Varad and not been heard from since; Köprülü had given instructions to built new fortifications (*Pallancken*) along the Hungarian border; the *sipahis* of Rumeli Province had received orders to be ready for military action; the sultan would soon move to Edirne (that is, close to the Hungarian theatre of operations); the grand vizier would soon return from Candia and follow him; Ottoman spies in France were reporting the troop movements of Louis XIV (apparently hoping for an attack on the Netherlands that would pose a challenge to the Habsburg court); and perhaps most importantly, there was widespread fear at the sultan's court that the Ottoman army was on the verge rebellion.[155] As Casanova put it laconically, "in order to preserve their lives the sultan and the grand vizier cannot be without war and cannot allow the militia to remain inactive."[156]

The failure of Habsburg reconnaissance to get to the bottom of Grand Vizier Köprülü's intentions certainly contributed to the dramatic collapse of Habsburg power in Upper Hungary when the uprising finally broke out on 10 April 1670. Habsburg officials and military leaders simply had no basis to disbelieve, let alone argue against, the rebels' publicly stated conviction that the large troop contingents assembled by local pashas and the vizier of Buda were poised to invade. The imminence of this invasion was constantly reinforced by new rumours: a successful uprising engineered by Zrínyi in Croatia, the entry of Moravia and Silesia, the Habsburgs' inability to defend Vienna, and the sultan's preparation to take the lead of the Ottoman invasion army himself.[157] And as if this was not enough, there was also news about Emperor Leopold's death or imminent death, his flight from Vienna, and his abdication and retirement in the Vatican.[158] In addition, the leaders of the thirteen counties constantly reminded Habsburg loyalists of the utter hope-

lessness of their position: their military power was simply no match for the large rebel army because only a few hundred soldiers – at best a few thousand – were willing to put up a fight (an estimate that turned out to be accurate). No one believed the boast of General Strassoldo, commander of Szatmár Fortress, that Emperor Leopold could easily mobilize 70,000 fresh troops to beat back an Ottoman invasion.[159]

Among the first to abandon their posts were Captain-General Ferenc Csáky and Vice-General Zsigmond Pethő, the two top commanders of the Upper Hungarian military district. Pethő justified his action from his hiding place in the high mountains near the Polish border on 23 April (in a letter that was probably smuggled out via Poland): "What is there for us to do? There are now so few of us poor ones who are still loyal to His Majesty. There is no place for us to turn for support. The moment of opportunity has passed." He did not dare to return to his post in Kassa, the administrative capital of Upper Hungary, because he was afraid that the townsmen would put him in irons just as they had done to one of his predecessors when Prince Gábor Bethlen of Transylvania had invaded during the 1620s.[160] Csáky wrote a similar letter on 17 April from Szepes Castle, where he had barricaded himself with a few loyalists. He had no money left to raise any troops, and mobilizing his own peasants was out of the question: "I do not believe that anyone could carry this out even under threat of execution … and it is not advisable that I entrust to the pen how many of them I was able to persuade [to follow me] into my own fortress." He was so miserable (*olli niomorultia*) that he could hardly move and had been forbidden by his doctor to leave the castle. Yet, his physical immobility did not keep Csáky from fleeing to Vienna via Cracow a few days later.[161]

The flight of Upper Hungary's top military officials coincided with the mutinies of at least six border fortresses. Without firing a single shot, rebel troops marched into Szendrő, Szerencs, Ónod, Kálló, and Ecsed fortresses and arrested, drove away, or killed soldiers who refused to join their cause. The mutiny of a sixth garrison at Tokaj was only partially successful since German officers and soldiers managed to lock themselves into the fortress's citadel and put up resistance. All remaining fortresses, including Szatmár, home to Upper Hungary's most important Habsburg garrison, were surrounded by thousands of rebel soldiers (joined by peasants and townsmen) and taken under bombardment.[162]

These mass mutinies could not have come as a surprise to Csáky and Pethő. Troops from Ecsed Fortress had already sided with leading rebel commanders, and created quite a spectacle at diet meetings of the Szatmár nobility with their musical performances and parades.[163] Mihály Vér, the vice-captain of Kálló, had bitterly confronted Csáky in late 1669 for forcing him and his men to defend confiscated Calvinist church properties. When ordered to do so again in February 1670, Vér had refused and contemplated submitting his fortress directly to the Ottomans.[164] Captain Fábián Farkas of Tokaj Fortress was already under suspicion in February 1670 – perhaps for corresponding with the thirteen counties' emissary to the pasha of Eger. Emperor Leopold and Count Montecuccoli, the head of the Aulic War Council, had then ordered him to "swear a strictest oath of loyalty … not to turn the fortress over into the hands of the enemies" and to serve His Majesty "to the last breath of life." In early April 1670, Farkas laughed when Csáky ordered him to disperse rebel troops from nearby towns: instead he allowed them into Tokaj where they were welcomed with enormous applause (*cum ingenti plausu*).[165]

Upper Hungary's top officials also abandoned their imperial duties. Ferenc Csáky's brother István, who held more high offices than any other magnate in the region,[166] fled to Medgyes Castle to seek refuge among his Calvinist in-laws. Anna Lónyay, his wife's sister and one of the principal instigators of the revolt, agreed to put him under house arrest. All appeals by the embattled General Strassoldo to join him in Szatmár Fortress went unanswered: István Csáky not only feared for his own safety, but believed – like everyone else in Medgyes Castle – that the sultan had taken Upper Hungary under his protection by issuing an *ahdname*. It appears that Csáky had arranged his flight much earlier because the Vienna court had offered him a bribe of 30,000 taller as an inducement not to abandon his post.[167] Ádám Forgách, an imperial commissar dispatched by Emperor Leopold to talk Upper Hungarian leaders out of revolt in late March 1670, returned in panic: he reported their profound hostility towards Vienna, their enthusiasm about recent news from Zrínyi, and their contacts with the pasha of Eger and Hatvan Castle (one of the principal Ottoman fortresses facing Upper Hungary). Seeing that "that [he] counted for nothing" (*ih nix gilt*) to these men, overwhelmed by the loud noises in favour of imminent war (*larma, larma, ad arma, ad arma*), and fearing that he would be trapped by an Ottoman invasion, he opted to rush home "to see where I can evacuate my poor children and wife."[168] Similarly, leading

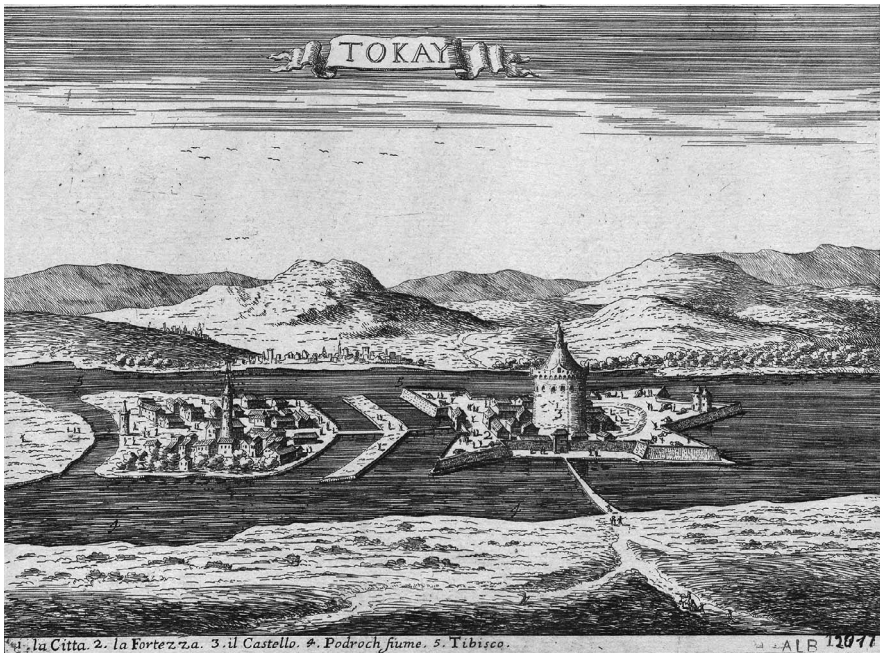


Figure 3.1
View of Tokaj (Tokay) Fortress and town, ca. 1670

Hungarian rebels experienced enormous difficulty capturing Tokaj Fortress (*la Fortezza*, position *2*) in Upper Hungary. The fortress was surrounded by the waters of two rivers, Tisza (*Tibisco*, position *5*) and Bodrog (*Podroch*, position *4*). Its German garrison survived the 1670 revolt by barricading itself in the citadel (*il Castello*, position *3*), while the town (*la Citta*, position *1*) and surrounding countryside were firmly in rebel hands.

officials of the Zipser Kammer, the nerve centre of Habsburg administration, left their posts. Kristóf Czeróczy, vice-director of Royal Affairs, explained that he had to check on his estate during "the current turmoil [*mostani zűrzavar*]";[169] Pál Cserney, the paymaster, faced numerous threats of violence (and may have joined the rebels for protection); and Zsigmond Holló and other officials (e.g., the treasurer) were intimidated after witnessing an angry Calvinist noble assault Vice-General Pethő in their chambers.[170]

The disintegration of the centre went hand in hand with the collapse of local administration. How this came about is illustrated by the events that

unfolded in the town of Nagybánya, an important mining centre and seat of the Upper Hungarian mint (*pénzverő*) near the Transylvanian border. The principal Habsburg official, Michael Streczenyi, immediately disappeared: since June 1669 he had been the target of popular wrath, which he attributed to the dangers of an imminent Transylvanian invasion "by the sultan's orders." Calvinist nobles declared that "he deserved to be cut to pieces" (*darabrúl darabra vagdaltatni*); the town magistrate paid a mob of gypsies to break into his offices, beat up his employees, and steal his horses; and armed peasants boasted "that he and his men … had no power over them … and that their dogs would lick their blood" if they did not leave them alone.[171] Habsburg agents who remained in town after Streczenyi's departure were put into iron and thrown into jail. Among them was Streczenyi's assistant András Rutkay, who left a vivid account of what happened: the futile attempt by town magistrates and county nobles to secure money and other assets stored in the Habsburg office building; the plunder and devastation of the building by hordes of rebel soldiers; these soldiers' ridicule and desecration of the office crucifix; a town leader declaring the emperor deposed (*immár nem parancsol Bányan a Császár*); and the crowds of armed townsmen ready to fight the Habsburg army.[172]

The collapse of Habsburg power appears to have been total in Upper Hungary. Persecutions and arrests of officials were particularly pronounced in border regions;[173] further inland, most administrators simply switched sides. Yet the circumstances of these defections remain obscure. For example, the chief tax officials (*tricesimatores*) of Varannó and Homonna (Zemplén County), towns closer to Poland than to the Ottoman frontier, swore oaths of allegiance to Prince Ferenc I Rákóczi, accepting him as the new ruler of Hungary. Did they do so voluntarily? Or did they follow the advice of Captain-General Ferenc Csáky, who – on the eve of his flight to Poland – had given officials, including top administrators, permission to join the rebels? Csáky saw this as the best way to escape "the great rage of the people" (*nagi rancorát az embereknek*).[174] This logic certainly must have been on the minds of officials in Schmölnitz (Smolník, Szomolnok), a remote mining town in Szepes County. There, rebel rage focused on the Italian mining entrepreneur Silvester Joanelli, who had tried to transform the historically Lutheran town by transplanting hundreds of Catholic miners from nearby Poland. Joanelli's estates went up in flames and his assets were plundered while Joanelli some-

how escaped. A Piarist missionary who had arrived only a few months earlier barely survived unspecified cruelties because a top rebel commander took pity on him. Faced with this charged atmosphere of violence, Schmölnitz officials did not hesitate to publicly "abjure their loyalty to His Majesty [*a fidelitate Suae Majestatis abjurare*]."[175]

The revolt was successful by default. There were no major battles with the Habsburg army because its remnants had largely withdrawn from Upper Hungary's hinterlands and barricaded themselves in Szatmár Fortress under General Strassoldo. Army units that found themselves stranded outside the fortress quickly dissolved: individual soldiers or small bands tried to make it to Szatmár or fled north towards the mountains (perhaps hoping that they could cross into Silesia or Poland). Quite a number of these soldiers were apprehended, some lynched or severely beaten, others thrown into dungeons.[176] Some were lucky to win the protection of a powerful noble, such as the Calvinist György Soós (in northern Sáros County) who saved a group of lost officers and soldiers from the wrath of peasants ready to slaughter them.[177] Elsewhere Calvinist leaders such as Gábor Kende, István Bocskai, and László Gyulaffy called for the extermination of "the Germans," a term that came to signify all soldiers that still supported the Habsburg cause.[178] It remains unclear how many massacres actually occurred. On April 21 István Bocskai rejoiced in a letter that "people here have already started with the extermination of the Germans." His wife, Kata Török, called for the immediate execution of captured soldiers. The Bocskais probably referred to events around the siege of Szatmár Fortress: an attempt by Habsburg soldiers to break out on 16 or 17 April resulted in mass casualties, and a town revolt led by members of the magistrate left "half of the garrison dead." But most killings of Habsburg soldiers have never been documented, occurring in confrontations over border fortresses or at the hands of vigilante groups led by nobles who were roaming the roads of Upper Hungary to hunt down runaway soldiers.[179]

The utter defenselessness of the disintegrating Habsburg army is well illustrated by a massacre that occurred on 23 April 1670. In the afternoon of that day, 300 "German" soldiers were ambushed on the road to Szatmár in the middle of a forest.[180] A survivor, a Hungarian garrison soldier (*praesidiarius*) who hid in the underbrush, later described the mayhem: after a vicious cavalry attack, hordes of armed peasants, vagabond soldiers (*szabad legények*), and soldiers on the counties' payrolls started hacking down the injured and

rushing after those who tried to escape. Some cut off their victims' genitalia and stuffed them into their mouths. Others robbed corpses of their belongings, plundered the supply wagons (which were loaded with wine bottles), and tried to catch riderless horses. From his hiding place the survivor saw a number of nobles with unsheathed swords, among them Pál Wesselényi, the scion of the Calvinist branch of the Wesselényi clan. Though these nobles also participated in the killings, on occasion they showed mercy. Jónás Pinkoczy, for example, allowed the trumpeter of the German detachment to live after the latter covered his feet with kisses. The same Pinkoczy, however, also yelled at peasants under his command that "they should massacre anyone whom they found alive." The eyewitness, who was finally discovered, appears to have been rescued by one of the nobles.[181] He and other witnesses described the boisterous mood of rebel leaders and rank and file after the massacre: they showed off their bloody swords and praised themselves for "cutting down the Germans like stubbles," shooting them in the back, or slashing so hard that the handles of their swords broke. One can only guess the ordeal of soldiers who were taken captive: those who escaped with their lives later reported that they were mercilessly beaten, humiliated by bystanders, and threatened with impalement.[182] An unknown number of captives simply disappeared without a trace. Did they manage to escape? Or did they end up in the mass graves that were later discovered in Szatmár County?[183]

The melting away of Habsburg army and officialdom went hand in hand with attacks on Catholic nobles and clergy. Some Calvinist nobles publicly declared that the Day of Reckoning had come. The prominent Ferenc Bónis, for example, told peasant soldiers that "the Papists were the enemy and dirty sons of bitches who simply must be cut down."[184] László Fancsikay, a noble from Ugocsa County, declared "in front of many others that he wanted to castrate many Jesuits." And his brother Zsigmond Fanczikay called for the killing of all Papist priests. Joined by their male kin, neighbours, and armed serfs, the Fancsikay brothers went on the attack "with enormous hatred and fury": unable to find any Catholic clergy (who had run away), they seized a local church and its cemetery. Their relative István Fancsikay, a recent convert to Catholicism, was kept from burying his son and narrowly escaped being speared to death. Another Catholic noble died of stab wounds during the same incident.[185] Such scenarios played out in several other places. But an all-out war against the Catholics was prevented by powerful Catholic participants in the uprising. Most importantly, Prince Ferenc I Rákóczi gave orders

not to touch Catholic clergy and whenever possible sent armed detachments for their protection. This probably prevented the murder of clergy, but not their expulsion or the pillaging of their lands and assets. It is noteworthy that Rákóczi himself was threatened with death for his intervention. Mátyás Szuhay, one of the most influential Calvinists in Upper Hungary, called for his murder. And Benedek Serédy, a confidant of Szuhay's, later told Habsburg investigators that Szuhay and other rebels wanted to kill Ferenc I Rákóczi and his mother Zsófia Báthori: "Their goal and purpose [was] … to do away with them and destroy them [*tollant et perdant*] because they were the most powerful enemies of their faith."[186]

Religious resentment and animosity, however, did not interfere sufficiently to weaken the force of the uprising.[187] Protestant and Catholic nobles alike were instead preoccupied with a much more powerful historical reality: the dramatic collapse of Habsburg power. For quite a number of these nobles, a miracle – "something never seen before" in Hungarian history[188] – was about to come true. All of Hungary would be free once and for all: the successful uprising in Upper Hungary would inevitably lead to the destruction of the Habsburg Empire and the restoration of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom under the protection of the sultan. They were encouraged by news from other parts of Hungary (which were transmitted by messengers and in part corroborated by intercepted letters from Vienna). Zrínyi had "taken up the sword" against Emperor Leopold I; he had "sufficient and infallible assistance" from the Porte; 16,000 Turkish troops were definitely with him but likely a much larger force that comprised half of the Ottoman army (according to rumours circulating in Lower Hungary, 100,000 Janissaries had taken up position on Muraköz Island); the Lower Hungarian counties had assembled a significant number of soldiers and were just waiting for the signal to advance towards Vienna; and Moravia, Styria, Carinthia, and other Habsburg provinces had committed 25,000 troops that "were already on [Zrínyi's] side" (*már nála vannak*).[189] As some Calvinist nobles bragged to one of their captives, the Hungarians would soon expel the emperor from Vienna, "invade Austria … and very easily gain victory over the 5,000 troops that [Caesar] still has." Rebel leaders such as Gábor Kende and Pál Szepessy announced that Upper Hungarian troops would now expand military operations to Lower Hungary: 3,000–4,000 horsemen assisted by 400–500 Turks would advance west and easily crush the remnants of the Habsburg army with help from the pasha of Uyvar.[190]

Few doubted that the ultimate triumph over Habsburg power was near. Any reports contradicting or even questioning this glorious scenario were discarded.[191] For example, news that Zrínyi was negotiating his surrender to Emperor Leopold I was dismissed as a false rumour (perhaps because such news came through Catholic channels). And the failure of Transylvanian troops to intervene was not considered important because one had, after all, guarantees of Turkish assistance.[192] But what about the fact that the Ottomans did not provide any direct military support to the Upper Hungarian insurgents? Even three weeks into the uprising the Ottoman troops massed along the border (*die an die Gräniz verlegten Völcker*) had not joined the rebels, although they pillaged the hinterlands of remaining Habsburg fortresses, issued threats to Habsburg commanders, and provided tactical advice.[193] The Transylvanian observer and sympathizer Mihály Teleki was deeply troubled: Had the Upper Hungarians been deceived by Zrínyi? Prince Apafi's emissary, who had finally returned from Candia, reported that Grand Vizier Köprülü was not ready to act. This was confirmed by a personal letter from Köprülü. To Teleki, the rebels' fervent denial of reality remained "a Divine Mystery" (*Istennek titká*). Yet he also described the rebels' unwavering belief in the Ottomans as a powerfully effective force: the belief that they were already subjects of the sultan fueled one military success after another (only Szatmár Fortress was still in Habsburg hands, but under duress). Teleki was struck in particular by the merciless cruelty towards captured German soldiers whom "they cut down wherever they can catch them" (*az hol kaphatják, vágjak*). Apparently, the rebels were no longer concerned about the possibility of future Habsburg reprisals. Nonetheless, Teleki remained skeptical about the rebellion's outcome: "Only God knows what the [patriots over there] will do after this. They are proclaiming that the Turk is with them but that is not certain."[194]

Such warnings[195] were ignored as the leaders of the Upper Hungarian insurgency put their full trust in the Ottomans, even in the absence of significant military assistance.[196] This trust was constantly reinforced by agents who went back and forth across the border. The noble János Török, for example, visited the courts of the pashas of Eger and Kanizsa (adjacent to Croatia), as well as the vizier of Buda. On at least one occasion he carried a letter by a rebel commander to ask "if orders had been given [to the pasha of Eger] to come to their aid and assist them with a few thousands Turks." Török returned with oral assurances that there was nothing to fear and that military

help would soon be forthcoming.[197] Similar messages were probably carried by agents dispatched from the Ottoman side. An emissary from Buda crossed the border in the company of Hungarian soldiers from Ónod Fortress; he met Ferenc I Rákóczi and his inner circle at Regéc Castle (Abaúj County) and then proceeded back to Eger. Another Turkish envoy (*Turcicus legatus*) visited the rebel army's headquarters in Sárospatak and continued on to Nagysáros Castle, another nerve centre of the revolt farther west.[198]

Local rebel leaders took advantage of their purported knowledge of Ottoman intentions and encounters with Ottoman emissaries to bolster their own authority, intimidate opponents, and frighten Habsburg soldiers into surrender. For example, the Calvinist noble György Baranyay told an unsympathetic Catholic peer that he had just left a meeting with a Turkish envoy (*csaus*). Another Calvinist, the noble János Egeressy, mobilized a motley rebel band with the latest news from Varad: Ottoman commanders were assembling wagons to move Janissaries across the border. He insisted there was no reason to be afraid of the Germans because the rebels would have enough help (*elég segétségünk lesz*).[199] The spectre of Ottoman troops positioned nearby and ready to move was enough to break the fighting morale of the few Habsburg troops who still put up resistance. The garrison of Károly Fortress, for example, remained loyal to their emperor even when faced with a violent town revolt targeting suspected spies and officials. Masses of armed peasant (*talpasones*) and soldiers from nearby garrisons who joined the siege did not scare off the fortress' defenders either. But when rebel leaders announced that one of Rákóczi's lieutenants would "arrive there today or tomorrow with the Turk" (*ma holnap … Törökkel jön alaia*), the defenders finally surrendered.[200] A similar tactic was used during the siege of Szatmár Fortress: again, a town revolt led by the magistrate and a Calvinist pastor was not sufficient to topple the garrison. But things changed dramatically when agent provocateurs sneaked into the fortress and spread the rumour that 8,000 Janissaries were approaching. A series of desertions ensued that included the Hungarian vice-captain György Kökényesdi, while other officers started secret surrender negotiations in which they offered to arrest and hand over General Strassoldo. One runaway soldier named Imre Kozma was disappointed that this did not happen, as he had been waiting for his opportunity to take revenge on the brutal general: "If they could have lured that bastard [*az lélek fiat*] Strassoldo out [of the fortress] [I] would have tied him up for which purpose [I] had brought along a rope."[201]

There can be little doubt that the Upper Hungarian rebellion was a dramatic success. Habsburg power had crumbled within days without much resistance. By late April 1670 the last remaining military holdout under General Strassoldo in Szatmár Fortress seemed about to fall. This success can be attributed to a number of factors: long-term planning (based on a blueprint developed as early as 1666); the carefully orchestrated mass mobilization of soldiers; the readiness of unpaid border garrisons to switch their allegiance to the rebels; and Protestant hopes for the restoration of religious freedoms. However, the principal driving force behind this unprecedented upheaval in Hungarian history – a seeming epoch-making reversal in power relations "which our Great Predecessors have never seen" – was the widespread conviction that the Ottomans were Hungary's only hope. After years of unmitigated military, religious, and other forms of oppression by the Habsburg regime (and after the collapse of all initiatives to negotiate a compromise), many Upper Hungarians were in a utopian state of mind. They strongly believed that the Ottomans would help them destroy Habsburg power and liberate Hungary once and for all. This fervent belief primarily took hold of nobles – Catholic, Lutheran, and most of all, Calvinist – but it also affected townsmen, soldiers, Protestant clergymen, and peasants (although their attitudes are far less documented). Given this extraordinary mindset, it did not matter that the Ottomans had not yet joined the fight; it was sufficient to believe that they were about to come. As sociologist Karl Mannheim pointed out, a utopian orientation "to objects that are alien to reality and which transcends actual existence … [can] burst the bonds of the existing order."[202]

Last but not least, it must be pointed out that an orientation no less detached from actual reality – a reality which only revealed itself afterwards – took hold of the minds of Habsburg officials and military commanders (especially in Upper Hungary). This was largely the result of the failure of Habsburg spies to dispel any uncertainty about Grand Vizier Ahmed Köprülü's intentions. Yes, spies close to influential personages at the sultan's court in Salonika, such as *Kaymakam* Kara Mustafa, assured Habsburg resident Casanova that the Hungarians had not been accepted (*nit angenommen*) and that an invasion was not forthcoming. But these spies also confronted the dilemma that the real decision-maker, Grand Vizier Köprülü, was still in Candia, and not accessible to them. And the Habsburg spy network in Candia was very rudimentary – indeed, hardly operative, since the principal spy feared exposure and reported only sporadically. Gripped by panic, Emperor

Leopold and his inner circle started assembling a large army to suppress the Upper Hungarian revolt, but this did not prevent the stunning collapse of Habsburg power. The Upper Hungarian estates' declaration of war led immediately to a mass flight of top Habsburg officials and the disintegration of local administration. Hopeless in the face of massive Ottoman troop contingents nearby, the Habsburg army fell apart – with the exception of a few pockets of resistance that were on the verge of falling in late April 1670.

With regard to the Ottomans' actual intentions in Hungary, both Upper Hungarian rebels and Habsburg power brokers (including members of the emperor's Secret Conference) were confronted with what sociologist Georg Simmel described as the power of the unknown. As Simmel put it, "before the unknown, man's natural impulse to idealize and his natural fearfulness cooperate towards the same goal: to intensify the unknown through imagination, and to pay attention to it with an emphasis that is not usually accorded to patent reality."[203] Neither side could decipher what the celebrated triumph of Ottoman troops over the Venetians at Candia would actually entail for the future of Hungary and the Habsburg Empire. Where would Grand Vizier Ahmed Köprülü turn next?

Hungarian rebel leaders idealized Köprülü and the sultan as their protectors and liberators. By contrast, local Habsburg officials in Upper Hungary read the mystery quite differently: fearing that the Ottomans were mobilizing for another invasion, they fell into panic and fled en masse. Anxiety also took hold of the Vienna court. The Habsburg resident at the Porte tried hard not to show his Ottoman interlocutors any signs of "fear and faintheartedness" (*Forcht und Kleinmütigkeit*).[204] While the Upper Hungarians anticipated fulfillment of their hopes, the Habsburg elite dreaded a repeat of the Köprülü-led invasion, which only a few years earlier had led the empire to the brink of disaster.

4

Ottoman Mobilization, Habsburg War Panic, and Mass Repression in Hungary (1670–72)

The collapse of the Upper Hungarian insurgency was as unexpected and stunning as its initial success. On 1 May 1670 a letter by Péter Zrínyi burst into the midst of a triumphant atmosphere of imminent victory. Zrínyi wrote that he had been deceived by the Ottomans and had thrown himself at the mercy of Emperor Leopold; he urged the Upper Hungarians to do the same, as any hope for victory without Ottoman support was an illusion.[1] The letter corroborated earlier rumours and warnings by Transylvanian correspondents "to which [the Upper Hungarians] had until then not given the least credence" (as one laconic observer commented). The county delegates and military leaders to whom the letter was read in public assembly suddenly realized that they were in serious danger and fell "into a state of great stupor" (*nagy bódulásba*). Would they be able to put up resistance against the Habsburg invasion army that was moving against them? Would they be able to escape the drastic punishments threatened by Emperor Leopold in a decree from 22 April? Faced with the harsh reality of abandonment by the Ottomans, they did not know what to do (*sem tudjuk, mit kell csinálnunk*): perhaps Prince Apafi of Transylvania could be convinced to come to their rescue, or perhaps their highest-ranking prisoner, Count Ernst Rüdiger von Starhemberg, could intercede with the emperor on their behalf. In the end the majority voted to lay down their weapons and send Emperor Leopold an appeal for mercy.[2] How could it be that the Upper Hungarian revolt "had been built on ice" (*jégen épiétett*), as one Transylvanian commentator put it?[3]

A minority of rebel leaders doubted that Zrínyi's assessment of Ottoman intentions was accurate, and sent last-minute requests for help to the pashas

of Eger and Varad. Had these pashas not encouraged them? And what about the princes of Wallachia and Moldavia? Had the sultan not ordered them to send troops? These men, mostly Calvinist nobles such as Gábor Kende and László Gyulaffy, could not quite fathom what had happened. Why would the Ottomans not be ready to exploit their amazing victory?[4] Their sense of unreality was conveyed to the sultan's court in Edirne by two Transylvanian emissaries on 23 May 1670. They described to *Kaymakam* Kara Mustafa what they called "the revolution of all of Upper Hungary against His Imperial Majesty" (*la rivolutione di tutta l'Ungaria superiore contra Sua Maestà Cesarea*). The rebel army had swelled to 34,000; many Habsburg officers and officials were in prison; at least five garrisons had been cut to pieces (*tagliato a pezzo*); the town of Szatmár was firmly in rebel hands; and Szatmár Fortress, the last Habsburg stronghold, was under constant siege. Meanwhile the rest of Hungary was rising as well: "All the inhabitants of Hungary are rebelling and arming themselves[;] only [Ferenc] Nádasdy and [Khristóf] Batthyány remain loyal to His Imperial Majesty and have not agreed to this disorder." In response, Kara Mustafa warned the Transylvanians "not to get mixed up in these turbulences due to your mutual affection as Hungarians [*per causa d'affetto, come Ungari a Ungari*]." A high-ranking official standing next to the *kaymakam* then denounced the Hungarians as rebels against their sovereign.[5]

This sudden denunciation of Hungarian rebelliousness by top Ottoman leaders, which was echoed in similar statements to Habsburg resident Casanova, seemed to banish the dangers of an Ottoman intervention in Hungary and the occurrence of a major pan-Hungarian revolt.[6] Yet, as I will demonstrate in this chapter, the spectre of a Hungarian-Ottoman conspiracy against the Habsburg Empire quickly reemerged – if in fact it ever disappeared. This was largely due to the increasingly blatant contradiction between the Ottomans' peaceful rhetoric and their actual behaviour. While the Habsburg court remained heavily invested in the official discourse of good neighbourly relations – clinging to every nice word from Köprülü as a promising sign – Habsburg border commanders and spies operating on Ottoman territory told a very different story: the Ottomans were in fact getting ready for war and certainly did not give up support for the Hungarian rebels (many of whom escaped under the protection of border pashas). Few doubted that war was a certainty (*Gewissheit*), as Commander in Chief Raimond Montecuccoli put it in a memorandum to Emperor Leopold I during the summer of 1670.

According to Montecuccoli, the only remaining uncertainty (*Ungewissheit*) was about the timing and location of the coming Ottoman invasion.[7]

The purpose of this chapter is threefold. First, I outline the scope of the Ottoman threat and the climate of fear that took hold of the Vienna court after the collapse of the April 1670 revolt. Second, I interpret the repressive measures imposed by the Habsburgs on Royal Hungary against the backdrop of their fears about a potential military conflict with the Ottoman Empire. I disagree with historians who attribute Habsburg mass reprisals to a supposedly unprecedented opportunity to introduce an absolutist regime in Hungary. Third, I argue that the growing Ottoman danger provided the context for the "total Counter-Reformation" (Tamás Esze) that aimed at nothing less than the absolute destruction of Hungarian Protestantism.

RISING FEARS OF OTTOMAN INTERVENTION

Ominous signs of what the future might hold for Habsburg power in Hungary can already be gleaned from the otherwise quite optimistic reports that Habsburg resident Casanova sent to Emperor Leopold I during the first few months after the Hungarian revolt. Most importantly, Casanova noted that he had extremely limited access to intelligence from the court of Grand Vizier Ahmed Köprülü, who was still on Crete overseeing repairs to Candia Fortress. All assurances of Ottoman peaceful intentions came from high-ranking members of the sultan's court (including *Kaymakam* Kara Mustafa, the *reis efendi*, and the Porte's chief translator). Their statements could indeed be verified by spies behind the scenes, which was reassuring. But Casanova also told Leopold that the sultan's courtiers had no real authority: for example, Kara Mustafa refused to get involved when Casanova called for the punishment of the pashas who had massed their troops along the Hungarian borders after "they had accepted large presents from Zrínyi." Pressed by Casanova to do something, the *kaymakam* replied vaguely that it had always been the Porte's policy to punish troublemakers. Casanova should trust him: he already "had received good news that everything was going well along the borders with God's help." Yet the reality was quite different: Hungarian borders pashas failed to disband their troops because they looked to Köprülü, and not to Kara Mustafa or the sultan, for instructions. Two short notes with incomplete intelligence from Candia – which reached the Vienna court in June and July

1670 – warned that the Hungarian pashas were constantly pushing Köprülü for military intervention.[8]

Casanova surmised that the Ottomans had not gotten involved in the Upper Hungarian revolt thanks to troubles along the Ottoman Empire's Persian and Black Sea frontiers. As we have seen, he had already guessed (or, more accurately, hoped) that troubles in these regions might save Hungary from disaster. But now he had more information: he learned that the Porte had issued an ultimatum to Iran after the expiration of the Safavid-Ottoman peace treaty. A special envoy had been dispatched to demand the immediate renewal of the treaty. If the shah did not comply he was to turn over a strategic fortress and money purportedly stolen from the pasha of Basra. To increase the pressure on Iran, the emissary was to talk up Köprülü's military success at Candia.[9] The second crisis that likely contributed to deflecting the Ottomans from Hungary in spring 1670 was closer to home, and much more serious according to Casanova: the khan of Crimea had broken with the Porte and gone on the offensive against the Ukrainian Cossacks, whom the sultan considered his special protégés. Cossack leaders alleged that the khan had been soliciting the Russian tsar for war against the Porte; they would never submit to the Russians and threatened to turn to the king of Poland for help unless the Porte came to their rescue.[10]

No one at the sultan's court, however, could say with any certainty if the Porte had in fact given up on going to war against Hungary and whether the Ottomans would actually go to war against Persia, Russia, Crimea, or Poland.[11] As Casanova had noticed on numerous other occasions, everything depended on Grand Vizier Köprülü, who was the ultimate arbiter over war and peace. This opinion was also shared by the resident's superiors in Vienna, and it is remarkable how eagerly both Casanova and the Habsburg court (as well as border commanders in Upper Hungary) anticipated Köprülü's return to the sultan's court; rarely did Casanova dispatch his reports with such frequency as during the weeks before Köprülü finally arrived in Edirne on 29 June 1670.[12]

Any hopes that Köprülü's arrival would yield greater clarity were quickly dispelled. For several weeks the grand vizier refused to see any of the Christian residents, and it was impossible to get close to him. In fact, Casanova's spy network suddenly stopped functioning. By early July even his best-paid sources, who included the Porte's chief translator and senior officers in the Ottoman army, suddenly went quiet. As Casanova put it in a dispatch dated

10 July 1670, "it is now an entirely different world … [and] my confidants … are worth nothing; they are not consulted in anything and don't know anything any more." The only leak came from Köprülü's inner circle: on 9 July the grand vizier's closest advisor, Panaiotti, made secret contact with Casanova before sneaking into Casanova's living quarters on 12 July to give him the eagerly awaited update about Köprülü's intentions vis-à-vis Hungary.[13]

The information that top spy Panaiotti leaked to Casanova was at best ambiguous. On the one hand he insisted that war over Hungary was not imminent: after the long Candia campaign the Ottoman army was simply too exhausted to go to war again so soon. Köprülü had therefore decided to stay in Edirne over the winter to give his soldiers a rest. And then he would hardly turn against a major power like Persia or the Habsburg Empire, because the risk was simply too great as a second major military conflict in such short succession might cause harm (*Schaden*) to Ottoman interests. But war was inevitable for two reasons: first, the army needed booty and sustenance, which was impossible to obtain without warfare. And second, Köprülü and the sultan no longer trusted each other, apparently because the sultan had gotten involved in the Hungarian uprising without the grand vizier's knowledge. Köprülü held Prince Apafi of Transylvania responsible, and most likely would lead an army against the principality in the spring to replace Apafi with a more compliant candidate. Panaiotti warned that this was by no means a harmless undertaking: though nothing had been decided yet, if Köprülü would indeed invade Transylvania, he would most likely "use the opportunity to provide the disgusted Hungarians active assistance and support [*denen disgustirten Ungaren seine assistenz und unterschlaif an der hand zu erzaigen*] which in the end could trigger an open war with His Imperial Majesty."[14]

This leak from the inner sanctum of Ottoman power reveals how difficult it was for Habsburg intelligence to penetrate the Ottoman court's intentions vis-à-vis Hungary (despite the apparent success of placing a spy next to Köprülü). The analysts at the Vienna court were left only with puzzling questions and no conclusive answers. For example, if Köprülü was indeed not eager to go to war against Hungary, why then would he consider supporting the Hungarian rebels? Was it not counterproductive to punish Apafi, an advocate of the Hungarians, if Köprülü wanted to get involved in Hungarian affairs? Also, was Köprülü under pressure by the sultan to go to war? Vienna was well aware – thanks to other spy reports – that the sultan was eager to lead the next Ottoman campaign in person (probably induced by the pomp and circumstance

with which he continued to celebrate the Candia victory). But if so, would the next war not be a large military campaign against a major power, rather than the small principality of Transylvania? And if the sultan, who according to Panaiotti had been sympathetic to the Hungarian rebels, asserted his will, would this not likely mean war against Hungary?[15] In short, the future of Hungary seemed to depend on hidden developments behind the scene that even the best Habsburg spy could not penetrate. And, of course, there was the possibility that Panaiotti was a double agent, in which case the confusion generated by his leak was due to conscious disinformation.[16]

It did not require this unusual leak to raise serious doubts about the Porte's rhetoric of peace. The Habsburg court, which literally bombarded Casanova with urgent demands for more information, was better informed than it imagined. Spies sent out from border fortresses into the Ottoman hinterlands and couriers returning from Edirne allowed the Aulic War Council to assemble a mosaic of puzzle pieces that were anything but reassuring. Most importantly, open talk at the sultan's court that the border pashas who had encouraged the Hungarian uprising would be punished "for being disloyal to their master" was not reliable. Yes, the pashas of Eger, Kanizsa, Temesvár, and Bosnia were deposed, but that did not necessarily mean that they were actually punished. One of the couriers met the deposed pasha of Eger on the road; he was in a good mood (happy to meet an imperial courier and talk with him), was traveling in style with a baggage train, and was accompanied by members of his court. Nothing showed that he was expecting disaster upon his return to Edirne. In fact, it seemed more likely that the deposed pashas were carefully replaced by more compliant appointees who were very close either to the sultan (e.g., the new pasha of Eger) or Köprülü (e.g., the new pasha of Temesvár and the new vizier of Buda) – suggesting that both sultan and grand vizier took considerable interest in Hungary. It is also noteworthy that the pashas of Uyvar and Varad, arguably the two most belligerent pashas of Hungary, stayed in place and continued to make troubles along the borders. The pashas' armies stayed in place as well, and were now joined by veterans of the Candia campaign.[17]

The continued concentration of Ottoman armies along the Habsburg-Ottoman borders was a risky business that greatly worried the Vienna court.[18] Why were these armies not disbanded? And was it not likely that the pashas' troops would be influenced by the enthusiasm of the returning Candia veterans? These veterans were zealots eager to go to war – at least according to

a Turkish-speaking spy who engaged some of them in conversation outside Belgrade. They "boasted [*braviert*] that … there was no [fortress like Candia] in all of Christendom and they could easily take Raab [Győr] Fortress," a linchpin of Habsburg border defense in Lower Hungary. "Capturing Candia," these veterans claimed, "was a victory which has not had its equal since the times of Mohammed. After this [we are] ready to conquer other fortresses." Was there any reason to assume that Köprülü's new appointees in Hungary were any less zealous? Were they not also likely veterans of the Candia campaign who were rewarded with coveted positions in Hungary for their military service? Köprülü's own enthusiasm about the Candia victory was well known, and Janissaries – as well as ordinary subjects of the sultan – openly asserted that "there was no better place than Hungary to make war as one finds there beautiful people, money, and all sorts of provisions."[19]

The scope of the problem faced by the Vienna court along its Hungarian borders comes further into relief in a memorandum that Resident Casanova transmitted to Grand Vizier Köprülü on 2 August 1670. The memorandum centred entirely on the misdeeds of Hungarian pashas and emphasized that their aggressive behaviour "was totally against the peace" (*contraria totalmente alla pace*). Not only were they building unauthorized fortresses in Croatia and Lower Hungary – the most likely avenues of approach to Vienna – but at least two of them, the pashas of Eger and Varad, were sheltering Hungarian rebels. In fact, the pasha of Eger warned General Johann Sporck, commander in chief of the invasion army, not to lay a hand on these rebels living on the sultan's lands. The pasha also rejected the age-old understanding that subjects living close to the Habsburg-Ottoman line of fortresses "were under the jurisdiction of both sides"; he claimed exclusive authority over all Hungarians living on lands that appeared in his tax registers. Similarly, the pasha of Varad warned General Sporck to stay away from his tax lands; under no circumstances was the imperial army to press the sultan's tributaries into its service. And to top it all off, the pasha of Eger explicitly forbade Hungarian Catholics to support the invasion army – even in places where he did not have the least jurisdiction (*dove non ha una minima giurisdittione*). He also demanded thousands of Reichstaler in compensation for the damages that Sporck's invasion army had allegedly inflicted in the sultan's territory (*nel territorio del Sultan*).[20]

During the next two years the Habsburg court invested large amounts of money in espionage, generating a constant stream of reports about the ac-

tions of Hungarian pashas, Ottoman border troops, war preparations, and the Porte's intentions vis-à-vis Hungary.[21] The reports originated in multiple places, such as Hungarian border fortresses, the headquarters of the invasion army in Upper Hungary, Transylvania, the regional seats of Ottoman power (Eger, Varad, Belgrade, Sofia, and Buda), and, of course, the courts of the grand vizier and the sultan. Reports from the court of Ahmed Köprülü were considered by far the most important and were typically "read in intimate council" (*lectae in consilio intimo*), that is, in small ad hoc gatherings with the emperor in Vienna, Laxenburg, or Ebersdorf.[22] Reports from emissaries visiting the vizier of Buda were also given high priority. The debriefings of couriers, anonymous spy reports, and dispatches of Habsburg commanders were handled by the Aulic War Council (with summaries forwarded to the imperial court, Commander in Chief Montecuccoli, and/or the Secret Conference). Every effort was made to ensure the security of communications: all reports crossing Ottoman territory were written in numerical cipher and decoded at the War Council's Oriental Desk. Reports from inside Royal Hungary were not written in code, but particularly sensitive matters were conveyed orally. Thus, Upper Hungarian commander Gottfried Heister traveled to Vienna in March 1671 "to tell everything that cannot be entrusted to the pen."[23]

The relative optimism following the aftermath of the Upper Hungarian revolt quickly gave way to an atmosphere of fear – even gloom and doom – that was only occasionally interrupted by fleeting periods of hope. There is no better witness to this development than the Dutch resident Hamel Bruyninx who had been dispatched to enlist the Habsburg court against the threat of a French invasion of the Netherlands. For Bruyninx, Habsburg military assistance was a matter of life and death – the very survival of the Dutch Republic was at stake – but he found that Emperor Leopold and powerful courtiers (such as Court Chancellor Hocher and *Obersthofmeister* Lobkowitz) were not willing to get involved. They considered threatening developments along the Rhine (e.g., French mobilizations and machinations in Cologne and Munster), and even a potential French attack on the Reich, secondary. As Bruyninx put it, "uncertainty about the continuation of the peace with the Turks [enters] all deliberations at this court." While some courtiers tried to downplay "the fear and apprehension about rupture with the Turks … the common news from Hungary and Turkey are rather about war preparations and an almost certain rupture [*genoeghsam verseeckerde rupturen*]." Even issuing an ultimatum against the French was out of the question as long as

large Ottoman troop contingents were in Hungary. Bruyninx clung to the hope that the Ottomans would be drawn into war elsewhere; only then would the imperial court "look more seriously at the state of affairs in Europe."[24]

The Habsburg court was already on edge when Bruyninx – shortly after his arrival in Vienna – met with Emperor Leopold I on 25 September 1670. The eagerly awaited response by Grand Vizier Köprülü to the memorandum of 2 August had not yet arrived after more than seven weeks because communications with Resident Casanova were agonizingly slow. Meanwhile, incoming reports from Upper Hungarian border fortresses warned of deepening tensions with the pashas of Varad and Eger, who continued issuing threats to commanders of the invasion army and protecting escaped rebel leaders (despite the imperial court's insistence that such protection was a clear violation of the peace treaty). And news from Transylvania that reached Szatmár Fortress suggested an imminent Ottoman invasion of the principality to impose a new prince who was in contact with Hungarian rebel leaders. An attack on Kassa, the capital of Upper Hungary, could not be excluded.[25] Bruyninx tried to reassure the emperor by congratulating him with "the timely and fortunate suppression of the dangerous rebellion." He also delivered a Latin missive in which the General Estates expressed their wish that the Habsburg Empire would also in the future "triumph successfully and happily over its traitorous enemies" (*quod de perduellibus hostibus suis tam prospere ac feliciter triumphet*).[26]

The atmosphere relaxed temporarily when two reports from Resident Casanova brought seemingly good news in October 1670 (to be confirmed by an Ottoman envoy in a meeting with Montecuccoli). Köprülü had granted all of the court's demands: in particular, the pasha of Eger had been ordered to expel the Hungarian fugitives and stop harassing His Majesty's subjects (e.g., by warning Habsburg subjects not to support the invasion army). All pashas and border commanders were to withdraw their troops from the borders.[27] Also, Hungary had apparently receded into the background as the Turks were closely watching the consequences of the Polish-Russian Peace Treaty of Andrusovo (which both parties had just reaffirmed). A special Muscovite ambassador was not allowed to leave the Porte and the Polish resident was watched so closely that he no longer trusted his own couriers (handing Casanova a letter to his king). At the same time, an emissary of the Ukrainian Cossacks met with Köprülü and an agha had been sent to the khan of Crimea. Finally, there were other positive developments: the sultan was determined

to kill his brothers and was on his way to Istanbul; Köprülü was ill and had allegedly asked the sultan "to quit his service … and go on a pilgrimage to Mecca"; and the victorious army of Candia was actually dissolving as Janissaries and *sipahis* left upon receiving their pay.[28]

Quite a number of courtiers believed these pieces of news – or perhaps wanted to believe them – particularly when other unspecified sources seemed to corroborate that Ottoman troops were indeed keeping quiet. Some courtiers even confidently told Bruyninx that now "there was nothing to be afraid of from the Turkish side" (*van den Turck niet en heeft to vreesen*). Emperor Leopold I went hunting and preparations were made for an extravagant musical comedy. And to Bruyninx's surprise, Leopold's chief ministers actually started talking to him about taking measures countering French military mobilizations along the Rhine. Bruyninx himself remained skeptical – probably because his Hungarian informants did not share the courtiers' confidence – and warned that the sudden calm along the borders could quickly be revealed as an illusion.[29]

How reliable, then, were these promising reports by Casanova? The court's correspondents in Upper Hungary told a quite different story: Turkish and Transylvanian troops continued to mass along the borders; Hungarian fugitives were in touch with these troops; Ottoman border commanders were complaining bitterly about alleged excesses by the Habsburg invasion army; and there was no sign that the pasha of Eger had stopped issuing orders to Hungarians – in fact, he was actively inciting them to resist Habsburg troops and he continued to bar Habsburg officials from taxing peasants under his protection. The Habsburg court's top official in Upper Hungary, Count Rottal, considered the situation so explosive that he asked Emperor Leopold to recall him.[30] Casanova's dispatches from 23 September and 1 October confirmed that Ottoman pashas and border commanders in Hungary were not happy about Köprülü's orders to de-escalate. They were telling him "a bunch of lies" (*ein hauffen lügen*) about excesses by Habsburg troops, and Köprülü apparently believed them, as he had given permission to respond in kind to acts of violence by Habsburg soldiers (acts that Casanova claimed had never happened). Also, the deposed pasha of Bosnia was now at the sultan's court and actively lobbying for intervention in Hungary: he had brought along Ferenc Bukovacky, Péter Zrínyi's aforementioned emissary to the Porte, who offered to bring the Croatian lands of the Hungarian Crown into the Ottoman Empire. And while Casanova's informants at the Porte assured him that

an assault on Hungary was out of the question (at least for the moment), the common talk in the streets of Edirne and Istanbul was "that a war against Hungary was in the making [*daß ein Krieg wider Ungarn angehen werde*]."[31]

By December 1670 the imperial court was again in a state of alarm. Casanova reported that the Porte had launched major war preparations (which had been verified by his spies in Europe and Asia). Sultan Mehmed IV had resolved to personally lead the campaign, thus confirming earlier leaks by palace officials suggesting that he had been pushing for war all along. In fact, the Porte was in the process of assessing what kind of expenditures would be required for going to war, and officials were studying the registers of the Polish and Persian campaigns of Sultan Osman II (1618–22) and Murad IV (1623–40) as well as those of Köprülü's 1663–64 Hungarian campaign. Casanova's top spy Panaiotti assured him that these war preparations would take at least two years, and that war against Hungary was by no means certain. But he ruled out Persia as a potential target and emphasized that Transylvanian emissaries were constantly lobbying on behalf of Hungarian exiles for military intervention in Hungary. In addition, there could be no doubt that Hungarian rebels-in-hiding were corresponding secretly with Turkish border commanders.[32] Bruyninx noted that Casanova's report hit like a bombshell: a few courtiers tried arguing that the Ottomans were more likely aiming for Poland or Venice, but their voices were quickly drowned out. Unable to establish anything certain, the court fell prey to rumours about intensifying military preparations along the Upper Hungarian borders, Ottoman support for Hungarian refugees and rebel leaders like István Thököly who refused to surrender to Habsburg troops, the general defection (*general afval*) of the Hungarian Kingdom, and an all-out war with an Ottoman Empire eager to break through the Bulwark of Christendom into the German Empire.[33]

On 2 January 1671 Emperor Leopold I summoned a handful of top leaders for "intimate council" at the Hofburg to discuss "the threatening danger of the Turks who are being constantly incited [*immerforth angefeürt*] by the Transylvanians and the rebellious Hungarians." Even if war did not come in 1671 it would be all the more terrible in 1672: "The later they start and the more time they need to prepare the greater the might [will be] with which … they will operate." In its current state the Habsburg army was no match for the Ottomans, but "organizing an appropriate counterweight will take much more time than a year." There was simply not enough money, and new recruitment efforts were incomplete. In fact, "not the least beginning had

been made" on getting ready for border defense. Yes, border troops had repeatedly been ordered "not to lose a minute and be on the alert" *(sich in Postur zu setzen)*, but the Aulic War Council lacked sufficient resources to implement appropriate measures. Money and troops from the German Empire were urgently needed. In the meantime counterespionage and espionage were to be improved: borders were to be strictly controlled to prevent infiltration by Ottomans spies (who were known to send reports about the disastrous state of the Habsburg army). Habsburg spies in Edirne were paid for half a year in advance, and the correspondents manning secret relay stations along the route to Vienna were to be induced to transmit messages more promptly (because continuing delays were unacceptable).[34]

According to Bruyninx's reports, the Habsburg court continued to "drift through uncertainty between hope and fear," even after the winter crisis came to an apparent end in February 1671 with uncorroborated, and ultimately false, news that a large peace mission from Edirne was on its way to Vienna.[35] Reliable proof of the Porte's peaceful intentions was hard to come by, even after Emperor Leopold personally instructed Resident Casanova to do his utmost to procure "if not the originals then at least copies" of the strict orders that Köprülü had purportedly issued to Hungarian pashas and Prince Apafi of Transylvania to stop encouraging the Hungarian rebels. The fact was that such rebels continued to escape into Ottoman and Transylvanians lands. Most troublingly, the leaders of these fugitives were actively lobbying for military intervention at the Porte. Casanova was to demand their immediate extradition: "Such rebels and runaway evil people … are to be handed over to the commanders of Szatmár and Kassa to provide more evidence of good neighbourly relations."[36] Casanova did his best to comply, but he faced major obstacles: despite all of his efforts he could not get an audience with the grand vizier and was instead given a short excerpt from an order by Köprülü to expel the fugitives. It was impossible to ascertain its authenticity, as Casanova never saw the whole text or the original. Plus he had to trust the veracity of the Latin translation that was handed to him because he could not read Ottoman Turkish.[37]

Such failures to produce irrefutable evidence of Ottoman intentions were not unique to Habsburg intelligence. Transylvanian emissaries, who had much better access to the Ottoman court than Casanova, faced similar obstacles, and one of them probably got it right when he reported the limits of even the best espionage at the Porte: no spy could penetrate the top-secret circle around

Grand Vizier Köprülü. There were, in fact, only four people who knew what Köprülü was planning.[38] A Bosnian spy of the imperial court made similar observations about the impossibility of gaining access to the closely guarded inner sanctum of Ottoman power.[39] And this certainly seemed even more impossible when in June 1671 rumours began to circulate at the sultan's court – probably planted by Hungarian exiles or their Transylvanian supporters – that Köprülü's advisor Panaiotti was a secret agent of the Habsburgs; consequently Panaiotti no longer dared to meet with Casanova.[40]

Is it then surprising that the Habsburg court kept tumbling from one war scare to the next? Nothing could fill the information vacuum at the top, and even the most elaborate goodwill measures were to no avail. The dispatch of a special ambassador, the distribution of expensive gifts to Köprülü and other power brokers, strict orders to avoid any engagement with Ottoman troops, and the almost obsessive efforts to appease Köprülü by granting all of his demands did not change a thing.[41] The Ottomans clearly set the agenda in a geopolitical power game in which they had by far the stronger cards.[42] Casanova and Bruyninx, from their quite different perspectives in the Edirne and Vienna courts, both agreed that even if the Ottomans would not go to war, they would hardly allow the Habsburg court to stabilize its position in Hungary.[43] Continuing cross-border raids, preventing tax collection (which amounted to a breakdown of the age-old condominium),[44] and protecting Hungarians rebels ready to "light a fire" (*ein feür anzünden*)[45] made establishing Habsburg control over Hungary a staggering challenge. As Casanova put it, "until one does not knock them hard on their fingers [*stark auf die finger klopffet*] they will not stop stretching their hand farther" into the Hungarian Kingdom;[46] but how was this to be accomplished without providing a pretext for war?

It will suffice to dwell on three war scares that engulfed the Vienna court in early summer 1671, fall and winter 1671–72, and summer 1672, respectively. They originated for different reasons and ended with different resolutions – or, better, ostensible resolutions sufficient to make the continuous uncertainty about Ottoman intentions bearable. The first two war scares eventually dissipated, while the summer crisis of 1672 was only the beginning of a much longer crisis generated by the lightning victories of Ottoman forces in Poland and the outbreak of another Hungarian revolt (to be discussed in chapter 7).

The summer crisis of 1671 began in late spring when multiple sources reported that Ottoman war preparations were in high gear. There could not be any doubt that war was coming, and rumours of the assembly of large armies – 20,000 opposite Lower Hungary, 40,000 around Belgrade, and a growing military camp outside Buda – raised the spectre of an imminent Ottoman campaign against Hungary.[47] Then news arrived that the sultan was planning to leave Edirne for Sofia with the entire court "tak[ing] along all Janissaries … and just as many *sipahis*, and all the viziers and pashas."[48] Casanova predicted that the sultan would depart on 10 May and warned that the Habsburg court should be on the alert "because this journey heads straight towards Your Majesty's borders." According to the *reis efendi*, who occasionally leaked secret information to Casanova, Hungarian pashas, border commanders, and emissaries from Hungary ("whose names I have not been able to discover even though I employed the most possible diligence") were actively lobbying for going to war against the Habsburg Empire. Casanova feared that as the sultan's court was heading in the direction of Hungary such lobbying would only intensify, "and [the Hungarians] might move the grand vizier to accept their propositions particularly … if one considers that the sultan does not leave him in peace even for an hour [*daß ihm der Sultan khein ruhige stundt lasset*]."[49]

Court Chamber Secretary (*Hofkammersecretär*) Johann Philipp Beris, an experienced Ottoman expert whom Leopold I had hand-picked to assist Casanova, also believed that great troubles were in the making. In his dispatch of 19 May 1671 he emphasized that Köprülü was no longer able to hold back the sultan, who was determined "to experience war firsthand and personally join the campaign." While there were conflicting reports at the Porte about the ultimate goal of the sultan's departure – with Poland the most likely target – Beris warned that these reports were mere window dressings. "This nation must not be trusted in the least," he wrote emphatically; "it weighs peace by its utility [*metienti pacem ex utilitate*] and is accustomed to use deceit at the beginning of its campaign." Like Casanova, Beris was greatly worried about the intrigues of the Hungarians (including Croats): they were "constantly in their ears [*stäts in den Ohren*] … [claiming that] if only they had a little help from the Turks they would break all of the Germans' necks in one day – just as the Sicilians did with the French in the past. They were not able to endure their yoke any longer." Three Transylvanian emissaries had just arrived and

Beris feared that they had come with a commission from Hungarian refugees to negotiate the tribute for Hungary's submission to the Porte.[50]

There appeared to be little doubt that a large military campaign was under way. General Strassoldo, the Upper Hungarian commander who had barely survived the April 1670 revolt, learned from a Transylvanian informant "that a very large, until now unheard of war machine" (*hactenus inauditum belli apparatum*) was in place.[51] Franz Meninski, the imperial court's Turkish-speaking emissary in Buda, managed to intoxicate a favourite of the vizier – a courtier who had only recently spoken with Köprülü – and learned that the Porte's European vassals and the Crimean Tatars had been ordered to stand by for an imminent campaign.[52] And an anonymous note dispatched from Edirne on 19 May 1671 warned that Sultan Mehmed IV was on his way to Plovdiv (Philipoli) in Bulgaria with more than 10,000 men. The unknown author, who drew on informants at the Porte, doubted the official explanation that the sultan was eager to go hunting. Rather, he was eager for war, and "wanted to move himself into the field" with the Ottoman army. It was likely that Mehmed IV would take quarters in Sofia and that Grand Vizier Köprülü would then also leave Edirne to proceed to Belgrade. Copies of this cryptic note were handed to the Spanish and Venetian ambassadors at the Viennese court on 26 June – an apparent attempt to find allies against the feared Ottoman invasion.[53]

Disaster appeared to strike on 1 July 1671 when Casanova met with the grand vizier after catching up with the Ottoman army in the Macedonian mountains. After having been kept incommunicado for weeks, he was no longer able to endure the near-total information blackout and left Edirne without permission. The grand vizier was very different from the person Casanova had seen last on 23 April: he no longer spoke the language of peace but war. In particular, he accused the Habsburg court of keeping too many troops along the Hungarian borders. These troops regularly launched brutal cross-border raids, burnt villages, abducted people, and demanded extraordinary contributions from those who had submitted to the Porte (*von den gehuldigten*). This was a grave violation of the Vasvár Peace. Casanova insisted that Köprülü was falsely informed: yes, perhaps there were more imperial troops than usual in Hungary, but only for the purpose of hunting down the Hungarian rebels. Köprülü retorted that "he would personally go [to the Hungarian border] to see the truth." He trusted his own sources more than the resident's assertions. Given the size of the Habsburg army it was now nec-

essary that the Ottoman army move to confront it. This might well lead to war. The dumbfounded Casanova concluded that "according to all indicators there cannot be any doubt that they are intent on [moving] against His Majesty unless God Our Lord will impose something that will prevent it [*etwas verhindliches verhengt*]." The Turks would come with all their might and it could happen within a very short time.[54]

The divine intervention that Casanova had hoped for seemed to occur within less than two weeks of his stunning meeting with Köprülü. On 10 July 1671 Cossack leader Petro Doroshenko, a protégé of the Porte, appealed to Köprülü to rescue Ukraine[55] from Polish aggression. Information leaked to Casanova suggested that a huge Polish army of 150,000 led by the king was advancing into Ukraine, and Polish regiments had already taken position along the Ottoman borders with Moldavia. The Crimean Tatars, previously ordered by Köprülü to protect the Cossacks, had abandoned them and were now pillaging Ukrainian villages. Köprülü immediately switched course: Hungarian emissaries whom he had personally received and who awaited a final response were sent away. Instead, Köprülü focused on the potentially threatening approach of the Polish army. According to Polish captives Köprülü had interrogated himself, this army stood poised to invade Ottoman territory. Casanova rejoiced: "The Poles' good fortune [in Ukraine] is also our good fortune as the grand vizier is beginning to let go of his evil intention against Hungary."[56]

Much less confident were leaders of the Aulic War Council and powerful courtiers such as Court Chancellor Hocher, who met in the private residence of Emperor Leopold I on 24 August to discuss Casanova's dispatches. The general consensus of the meeting was that "the [Turks'] current apprehension of Polish power will soon evanesce because there is nothing behind it. And then the Porte which is looking to employ its troops will turn into this direction."[57] It is perhaps indicative of the depth of fear at the Vienna court that the array of Ottoman emissaries who arrived in late July and August 1671 with messages of peace from Köprülü and the sultan[58] could at best only briefly reduce the prevailing sense of being utterly beholden to the unpredictable whims of the Porte. Bad news from Hungary (*quade tydinghe uyt Ungaren*) and persistent rumours, both accurate and false, of Ottoman troop movements kept the court in a state of anxiety.[59] Even reports of major revolts in the Arab world, which gave rise to some hope that Ottoman troops might become entangled in the Middle East, did not help to alleviate a growing

pessimism.[60] In an effort to appease the Porte, Emperor Leopold I sent conciliatory letters to Köprülü and Vizier Ibrahim Pasha of Buda.[61]

The next war scare started in late October 1671. On 25 October Bruyninx reported that an express courier from Győr Fortress, which was crucial for defending Vienna, had informed Commander in Chief Montecuccoli that a force of 16,000 Turks was approaching. That same evening at 9 p.m. an emergency meeting was held in the chambers of Emperor Leopold I. The topic was the unprecedented military buildup of Köprülü's brother-in-law Seidi Ahmed, pasha of Uyvar, the Ottoman outpost closest to Vienna. Spies reported that Köprülü had given Seidi Pasha fresh troops and that large contingents of Tatar troops were on their way. During the next days thousands of Ottoman troops were seen marching along the roads of Lower Hungary, and Montecuccoli left for Győr to take charge of border defense. On 8 November Bruyninx reported that there was open talk at court that Seidi Pasha "was getting ready for war" (*sich ten oorlogh rust*). He would first grab the remaining Habsburg fortresses in Lower Hungary and then attack the Hungarian mining towns. This would be a prelude for all-out war in the spring. And most troubling of all, the attack would be coordinated with France, which had entered a secret alliance with the Ottomans.[62]

After a temporary relief during the weeks before Christmas – due to the sudden stop of Ottoman military operations and false rumours that Seidi Pasha was in disgrace – the atmosphere of doom and gloom quickly returned. A sudden drop in temperature in late December provided a new opportunity for Seidi Pasha: the rivers were frozen tight and a surprise attack could occur at any time.[63] And on 12 January 1672 two Turkish-speaking spies reported independently that Seidi Pasha stood in close touch with Köprülü: his Tatar messengers were traveling back and forth to Edirne but they refused to talk about their mission and had rebuffed attempts to engage them in conversation. But the majordomo (*Hofmeister*) of the Buda court was talkative: he revealed that Köprülü had given Seidi Pasha authority over all of the Janissaries and border troops under the command of the Buda vizier (who technically was commander in chief in Hungary). The vizier was furious but there was nothing he could do. The majordomo, who appears to have sympathized with Seidi Pasha over his own superior, had also asked a very suspicious question: Was Emperor Leopold in Vienna, and did he have an armada ready for battle (*ob E. M. eine armada in bereitschafft hetten*)? Another close associate of the vizier had pursued this line of questioning as well: Was there any good hunt-

ing around Vienna? Was the German emperor at peace with the French? When one of the Habsburg spies affirmed that there was plenty of opportunity for good hunting, the vizier's associate replied: "This land [around Vienna] would be good for the sultan," whose favourite activity – his recent obsession with war notwithstanding – was hunting.[64]

Such mysterious talk about Vienna, Seidi Pasha's continuing military operations, fear of a secret French-Ottoman pact, and large-scale military preparations in and around Belgrade certainly explain why the Vienna court fell into panic during the next months. According to Bruyninx, "the fear is taking hold of [the court] more and more every day that the Turks will turn their might against Hungary in the spring." By mid-March few doubted that war was coming: new bridges were being built over the Danube and Sava Rivers, large loads of military equipment and huge troop contingents made their way into Hungary, agents with plenty of money recruited countless new soldiers, Hungarian tributary villages were pressed into service, and thousands of troops were taking positions along the Croat borders. Rumours that the Ottomans were coordinating their mobilizations with the French (who stood poised to cross the Rhine River) and incoming reports from Casanova about cryptic meetings of the French ambassador with Köprülü only further contributed to the climate of uncertainty and fear which appears to have reached its apex in March 1672.[65]

Then, however, this fear abruptly disappeared and gave way to a dramatic change of course: in late May Emperor Leopold I resolved that a considerable force of Habsburg troops should assist the Netherlands against the French.[66] What happened? According to Bruyninx, the turning point was the arrival of the courier Gabriel Lenoris, a master spy, who brought irrefutable proof that the target of the Ottoman campaign was Poland. Hungary was only the staging ground for the assembly of military provisions, construction materials, and food supplies, which were being loaded onto barges and shipped along the Danube to the Black Sea. Orders to move into positions along the Polish borders had been issued to the princes of Wallachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania; to pashas from all parts of the Ottoman empire (e.g., Sarajevo, Cairo, Aleppo); and to the Crimean Tatars. Ottoman soldiers stationed in Hungary were very unhappy about this development, lamenting that a unique opportunity was being squandered. They talked with derision about Habsburg soldiers who were sitting in their fortresses in rags and going crazy from hunger "because they have neither bread nor money." How could these

miserable creatures possibly fend off Ottoman military power?[67] Yet Lenoris's spy report was accurate: soon it was confirmed by Casanova and two conciliatory letters by Ahmed Köprülü to Count Montecuccoli.[68]

The Ottoman campaign against Poland provided a sense of security only for a relatively short period. News that 50,000 Russians and unspecified number of Swedes were joining the Poles could not dispel the sense of unease that Köprülü would quickly gain victory and turn against Hungary.[69] For once, the Ottoman Porte suspected secret Habsburg support for the Polish side. Army reconnaissance had discovered many German-speaking troops inside Poland, and top spy Panaiotti warned that "this is going to be the very reason why the Ottoman Porte will move against His Majesty afterwards."[70] Other Habsburg spies picked up corroborating evidence that an Ottoman victory in Poland would indeed be the prelude for the invasion of Hungary: a high-ranking dignitary in Buda had carelessly revealed plans to seize Cracow and then attack Upper Hungary from two sides. Hungarian rebels who had gone underground sent messages to Köprülü that Upper Hungary could now easily fall into his hands "because [the emperor] has given orders to withdraw troops to help the Poles and for the war with France." When the alarmed Casanova tried to see Köprülü about this matter, the grand vizier rudely rebuffed him, claiming that he was too busy. Emperor Leopold I became so concerned about allegations of a secret Habsburg-Polish military alliance that he instructed Casanova on 20 July 1672 to convince Köprülü that he was badly informed: troops that had recently been withdrawn from Upper Hungary were not in Poland but in Lower Hungary to keep the pasha of Uyvar in check; they were being replaced with fresh troops. Leopold added that Casanova should be careful to emphasize that this reshuffling of garrisons was not intended to challenge the peace treaty.[71]

By August 1672 the imperial court was swarming with rumours about the coming disaster in Poland ("the Turks … will make vast conquests"), the Porte's secret encouragement of Hungarian rebels to launch another uprising, the mobilization of the free Heyducks by the pasha of Varad to help the rebels, and huge amounts of French money being secretly channeled to Hungarian exiles in Transylvania and Ottoman territory. Other than the alleged French plot, these rumours were not far from the truth (as indicated by intelligence reports).[72] Little had changed despite the Ottoman push into Poland. Hungarian pashas continued the aggressive expansion of their territory and prevented Habsburg tax collection (especially Seidi Pasha of Uyvar), large

Ottoman troop contingents remained along the Hungarian borders, and these troops engaged in skirmishes and regular raids.[73] There were other warning signs: Köprülü's failure to release captured Habsburg officers as a goodwill gesture (despite earlier promises), his posture of invincibility and his persistent refusal to see Casanova, the mysterious slowing down of communications (which literally ground to a halt in August 1672),[74] and most importantly, the clearly intensifying push of Hungarian rebel leaders for Ottoman support. In short, the crisis in Hungary persisted unabatedly, and the Aulic War Council's (and Emperor Leopold's) almost obsessive attempts to avoid a break with the Ottomans illustrate the profound sense of uncertainty and fear that had returned to the Vienna court in summer 1672.

MILITARY OCCUPATION, REPRESSION, AND RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION IN HUNGARY

The massive repression that followed the 1670 Hungarian revolt is well known in its general outlines: the mass arrests of nobles, the trial and execution of four alleged ring leaders (Zrínyi, Frangepán, Nádasdy, and Bónis), the trials conducted by the Pozsony Tribunal, the confiscation of countless noble estates, the imposition of an exorbitant tax load to support the occupation army, and the onset of a brutal Counter-Reformation. The standard explanation for these developments has been that the suppression of the revolt and concomitant military occupation of Hungary opened up a unique opportunity to realize an age-old dream of the Habsburg court: to break the power of the Hungarian nobility; to curb, if not abolish, the Hungarian constitution; and to introduce absolutist rule. The justification for this drastic intervention was – so goes the standard view – the often-cited *Verwirkungstheorie*, according to which the Hungarian elite had forfeited its privileges because of high treason. In short, the Habsburg court wanted to use the occasion to repeat in Hungary what had been so brutally carried out in Bohemia after the defeat of the Czech rebels at White Mountain. In fact, the Habsburg court set up a new Hungarian government – commonly known as the *gubernium* – and delegated unprecedented powers to central administrative institutions such as the Hungarian Chamber and Zipser Kammer. The Counter-Reformation went hand in hand with these measures because the *Verwirkungstheorie* – which was formulated by the Hungarian bishop György Bársony – equated Protestantism with rebellion.[75]

Figure 4.1
Execution of Hungarian magnates

Catholic magnates Péter Zrinyi (Serini) and Franjo Frangepán (Francipani) were executed publicly in Wiener Neustadt, south of Vienna, on 30 April 1671. Their execution in the market square attracted a huge crowd of spectators. A third Catholic magnate, Ferenc Nádasdy (Nadasti), was executed in Vienna's city hall (depicted in one of the smaller oval images). Historians typically consider these three magnates as the leaders of a pro-Ottoman conspiracy, but in fact they remained ambivalent about approaching the Ottomans for help. The main proponents of pro-Ottoman plans were Upper Hungary's Lutheran and Calvinist power brokers.

The pervasive climate of uncertainty and fear about Ottoman intentions is completely missing from this picture. In fact, historians have commonly assumed that the Turks were no longer a threat, and that supposed Ottoman disengagement from Hungary was one of the reasons why the Habsburg court was in a position to impose such drastic measures.[76] While there can

be little doubt that a Bohemian solution to the Hungarian problem was widely discussed in court circles – in fact, numerous draft projects survive in the archives[77] – I would argue that these were pipe dreams that hardly meshed with the grim reality that the Habsburg court was losing out to the Ottomans in Hungary. The court had two much more important tasks to address: securing its borders against the Ottomans, and neutralizing the Hungarian rebels who – despite their grave disappointment in April 1670 – continued seeking Ottoman help. In fact, rather than carrying out a coherent absolutist policy, as is suggested by traditional historians, the court was scrambling with ad hoc measures to retain control over Hungary.

This chaotic approach was already noticeable as the invasion army approached Upper Hungary in late spring 1670. Habsburg leaders were very nervous about the advance of this army, and Emperor Leopold had given orders that it should keep close to the Polish borders and as far away as possible from Ottoman troops. Even reassuring news from the Porte (and increasingly also from Upper Hungary) was no guarantee that there would not be a major battle that might draw in the pashas of Eger and Varad.[78] Emperor Leopold therefore appealed to several European states, including Protestant Brandenburg and Saxony, for military help.[79] True, the ease with which Habsburg troops had liquidated the Croatian uprising – a very dilettantish undertaking[80] – without provoking an Ottoman intervention was encouraging. But Upper Hungary was different: the rebellion had been a dramatic success and Ottoman border commanders had given significant support (a fact that was now frankly revealed by high-ranking officials at the sultan's court).[81] Count Montecuccoli, the president of the Aulic War Council, emphasized that speed and overwhelming force were of the essence. At stake was not only regaining control over Hungary's strategically pivotal east but reestablishing a reliable buffer against the archenemy. For this purpose he was enlisting additional troops. Count Lobkowitz agreed, adding that beyond the empire's security, the entire Christian universe hung in the balance. Only a strong standing army in Upper Hungary could save the empire.[82] Still, the invasion army moved rather slowly, held up by heavy rains, mass flight of the population, and the dangers of guerillas hiding in the forests.[83] What would happen when it arrived in Upper Hungary?

Historian László Benczédi noted the strange disconnect between Vienna's fearful expectations and what actually happened: the mass surrender of the thirteen counties, the voluntary dismantling of the rebel army, Ottoman

neutrality, and the nearly unopposed military occupation of Upper Hungary.[84] Yet, it is important to emphasize that this unexpected success did not ease Vienna's apprehension. The uprising had touched a raw nerve and had left the Vienna court (not to speak of officials in the Hungarian provinces) on edge: new discoveries of Hungarian-Ottoman ties (e.g., letters sent to the vizier of Buda, the identities of previously unknown emissaries, contacts with pashas as far away as Temesvár and Kanizsa) and the apparent readiness of Transylvanians, Wallachians, and Moldavians (and even Moravians and Bohemians) to join the Upper Hungarian revolt were made every day.[85] In addition, details emerged about secret plots by Lower Hungarian nobles to abduct, imprison, or assassinate Emperor Leopold. Since no one knew for certain that the emperor was out of danger after the collapse of the uprising – at least forty hired assassins were thought to be hiding in Vienna alone – large troop contingents accompanied him during his travels and hunting expeditions. In early October 1670, for example, three regiments "established camp around" Ebersdorf Palace near Vienna "to vouch for the safety of His Majesty's person."[86]

Emperor Leopold and his top advisers – meekly avoiding any accusations against the Ottomans – turned the French ambassador Jaques Gremonville into a lightning rod of their amorphous fear: they accused him of having encouraged the rebels and treated him with great hostility. One evening Leopold exploded in rage and nearly resorted to his fists when Gremonville wanted to sit close to him in the court theatre.[87] Even the Dutch ambassador who considered the French diplomat an enemy (*een vyandt*) thought such behaviour irrational – though understandable, given the seriousness of the discoveries.[88] Yes, perhaps Leopold's angry reaction and a similar outburst by Prince Lobkowitz were not so outrageous in context:[89] they saw themselves confronted with a very dangerous conspiracy that not only threatened the emperor's person and the future of the Habsburg Empire but the security of the entire Christian world. Other court leaders such as Court Chancellor Hocher and Count Johann Martinitz (as well as powerful officials such as Otto Volkra) shared this view and highlighted the great dangers resulting from the Hungarian-Ottoman nexus. Archbishop György Szelepscenyi, the primate of the Hungarian Catholic Church who had the emperor's ear during this crisis, added his own interpretation. He insisted that it was the Ottoman connection that made the Upper Hungarian rebellion uniquely despicable in the annals of history; European rebels (such as the Czechs and Portuguese) had

always turned to Christian powers for support, and even the Hungarians led by Gábor Bethlen during the 1620s had done so. Seeking Ottoman support was a terrible sin and against the will of God.[90] This mode of thinking helps to explain why Leopold prayed for the preservation of Hungary during a pilgrimage to Maria Zell and issued decrees emphasizing his divine mission to maintain Hungary as the Bulwark of Christendom.[91]

Given these extraordinary circumstances, it is not surprising that the systematic liquidation of the rebellion and the prevention of another flare-up became the top priority of the Habsburg regime. Emperor Leopold gave carte blanche to the Aulic War Council to "apprehend and catch the notorious rebels by any means possible." At the same time he issued false promises of an imperial pardon to induce surrender. Hundreds if not thousands of nobles trusted such promises. Many became victims of marauding bands of Habsburg soldiers even before the arrival of the invasion army. For example, soldiers who had survived the siege of Szatmár Fortress descended upon the surrounding countryside and started plundering the manor houses and castles of the county nobility in mid-May 1670. Any nobleman they could lay their hands was seized: some were beaten, shot, or hounded to death (*halálra üldöz*), but the majority was thrown into dungeons. Similar acts of random brutality were carried out by Catholic magnates who were eager to demonstrate their loyalty. Foremost among them were Zsófia Báthori and her son Ferenc Rákóczi, who overcompensated with violence to cover up his own involvement and save his neck. By the end of May the prisons of Szatmár had already filled with nobles including quite a number of women and children.[92] The dungeons of Kassa, Bártfa, Munkács and other major towns also quickly reached capacity, and we probably will never know how many nobles, and to a lesser extent pastors and townsmen, were arrested (though there are long lists with hundreds of names, including many individuals whose lives will remain forever obscure and who at most played minor roles, if any, in the uprising).[93]

It was a race against time in which the Hungarian rebels assumed an outsized importance – just as "terrorists" do in today's world or in late nineteenth century Russia after the assassination of Tsar Alexander II (to cite a comparable case where official fears of assassination and revolt combined in a very powerful way, even if the real threat was blown out of proportion).[94] In the minds of Vienna's top diplomats at the Ottoman court, the Hungarian rebels were unpredictable and dangerous wildcards. This pertained both to

the rebels still in hiding (*latierende Rebellen*) and the fugitives who now enjoyed Ottoman protection. The diplomats believed Köprülü's support for Hungarian rebels allowed him to hold the Habsburg court under constant threat. Even in the absence of a major Ottoman invasion, Hungarian rebels who had evaded arrest – and the vast majority most certainly had – could easily launch a cross-border proxy war that would eventually draw in the Ottomans (or Ottoman vassals such as Transylvania and Wallachia). A constant stream of reports from undercover agents in Upper Hungary, Ottoman Hungary (Eger, Varad, Buda), and Transylvania – not to speak of the information leaked by top agents at the Porte – confirmed that fugitive rebel leaders, beyond just lobbying Köprülü, were actively preparing for an invasion of Upper Hungary.[95]

Resident Casanova literally bombarded the imperial court with calls for the eradication of the rebels. His first calls coincided with the arrival of the invasion army in Upper Hungary, but they assumed greater urgency during periods when tensions between the two empires escalated.[96] On 10 November 1670, for example, he expressed his frustration that arrests were proceeding too slowly, and feared that a golden opportunity had been wasted during the summer when the Ottomans were keeping quiet: "[I] insist on [my] … frequently related … opinion that these [evil Hungarians] must be exterminated completely at the root before the Turks get ready for war."[97] In January 1671 he wrote that "the rebellious Hungarians must be cleanly put out of the way [*sauber aus dem weg zu raümen*]" before the Hungarian Kingdom could be secured; there was still time as "the Turks had not yet resolved where they want to turn."[98] And in July 1671 he wrote that "as long as these people are not exterminated we will always live in constant fear and danger [*in continuo metu, periculo*]."[99] A special emissary of the Aulic War Council who caught up with Casanova in late summer 1671 found the resident exhausted. All of his efforts, Casanova claimed, were focused on tracking visiting rebel leaders and learning about their designs: he was constantly beset by worry and "frequently was unable to sleep day and night." He was frustrated that the rebels' treasonous designs were so well hidden and that he often had to resort to speculation. Köprülü and others had again assured him that the Porte would not accept the rebels, but he did not trust them. It was high time to annihilate the Hungarian rebels like vermin (*vertilgen*).[100]

Casanova's view was widely shared by leading dignitaries at the imperial court, including Emperor Leopold himself: hitting the rebels hard "so that

their heads fly off [*dass die Köpf wegspringen*]" was what he expected of his invasion army. On 18 June 1670 he praised the commanders for having instilled terror (*einen wahren Babau gemacht*) along the army's path.[101] He had no choice but to hunt down these scoundrels (*Lumpengesellen*)[102] – in fact, he owed their punishment to God because He had saved him from their machinations. When imperial troops occupied Kassa, the capital of Upper Hungary, in July 1670, Leopold applauded the news because "the calm of Upper Hungary absolutely depended" on introducing garrisons. When he signed the execution order for Ferenc Nádasdy – whom he falsely considered the mastermind of the Upper Hungarian revolt – Leopold insisted that he had no choice: not only the Hungarians needed to be sent a strong signal, but also the hereditary provinces. He had to unleash a fury of brute force ("the world would soon hear of heads falling into the dust") before Hungary could be pacified.[103] Again and again, Leopold's views were reinforced by his closest advisors (among them particularly Hocher, Lobkowitz, and Montecuccoli). The few critics of this forceful approach, among them Upper Hungarian plenipotentiary Rottal and the influential padre Emmerich Sinelli, did not receive much attention.[104]

But it was not easy to round up the Hungarian rebels. Not only did unknown numbers of them flee under Ottoman or Transylvanian protection but Habsburg officials in Upper Hungary had little power to track down rebels-in-hiding: these officials were just as isolated and intimidated as they had been on the eve of the revolt.[105] General Sporck, the commander of the invasion army, accused the Zipser Kammer, the institution charged with administering Upper Hungary, of doing nothing except issuing blanket arrest warrants (relying on long lists of suspects that can be found in the archives today). Sporck resented that the names of his best informants appeared on such warrants: did the chamber not know that the only way to track down rebels in a hostile society was to win local allies? He did not care that these allies had participated in the Upper Hungarian revolt. All that he was interested in was the fact that they were willing to collaborate with him and show him ways and means (*vias aut medias*) to arrest the real troublemakers. Without the help of Hungarian collaborators and spies, one of the most notorious rebels, Ferenc Bónis, would have escaped across the border. As commander in chief, it was his duty to protect these collaborators and allow them to seize the lands and properties of those whom they had delivered into his hands. Sporck warned the Zipser Kammer not to bother him: he had an imperial

mandate to rule Upper Hungary *iure bellico* and would do everything necessary to keep the fugitives across the borders from "causing and fabricating further troubles, turbulences, dangers, and calamities for His Most Sacred Majesty and the wretched Kingdom."[106]

There were other significant obstacles that made it difficult, if not impossible, to implement the Vienna court's ambitious agenda of violent eradication. Suffice it to take a look at the troubles of General Heister, who conducted numerous forays into Upper Hungary's hinterlands (including the high Carpathian Mountains) to capture rebels-in-hiding. It did not help much that Heister issued pardons to select former rebels, such as the warlord István Barkóczy, who promptly joined the siege of a rebel castle. Heister's troops often arrived on the scene only to discover that the men they wanted to arrest had just escaped. Heister simply could not control a clandestine information network that was relaying warnings that traveled faster than his troops. Heister also operated largely in the dark with regards to the intentions of Ottoman and Transylvanian border commanders. He was greatly concerned about making a wrong move and venturing into territory claimed by Ottoman pashas. Rumours of Ottoman troop movements in Transylvania, strict warnings issued by the pasha of Varad, and cross-border raids by Turkish and Transylvanian soldiers constantly forced Heister to be on the alert. Yet perhaps most importantly, Heister could not control his own soldiers: he was unable to stop them from pillaging and even launching raids into Transylvania (which led Transylvanian leaders to issue warnings of military countermeasures).[107] Ottoman spies were correct when they reported that Habsburg troops were a pitiful lot. Without sufficient pay and food, these troops had no choice but to search for booty rather than track down escaped rebels.[108]

The dilemmas faced by Heister and other generals go a long way towards explaining the massive violence inflicted upon Hungarian society in the aftermath of the April 1670 revolt. Frustrated commanders resorted to rounding up the wives, daughters, and sons of escaped rebels, imposed collective punishments on their relatives, and established racketeering networks to extract money from those who begged for protection against marauding soldiers.[109] The indiscriminateness of unpaid and malnourished soldiers – designated funds and food supplies often mysteriously disappeared due to endemic corruption – knew no limits: garrison towns were tyrannized by gangs of robbers and many villages were utterly ruined by billeting and for-

aging.[110] Meanwhile, arrests continued at a high pace, but it is doubtful that many "high-value targets" (to use current US army speak) were actually captured.[111] Many were simply rounded up because of their wealth; their incarceration went hand in hand with the confiscation of their estates or the extortion of money and other assets in exchange for release from prison. Some powerful Hungarian Catholic lords (such as Pál Esterházy) were threatened with imprisonment unless they paid exorbitant amounts of money or gave up valuable properties.[112]

If the purpose of the terror regime was to break the Hungarian-Ottoman nexus, it was counterproductive. In early August 1671 Vizier Ibrahim Pasha of Buda put Count Montecuccoli, president of the Aulic War Council, on notice that both Köprülü and the sultan were unhappy about the tyrannical measures (*tiranie*) imposed on Hungarian society. These measures were clear violations of the agreements that bound the Hungarian Crown to the Habsburg Empire – not to speak of the oath that Emperor Leopold had sworn to maintain the Hungarian constitution. The sultan was ready to take the suffering Hungarians, whose emissaries kept coming to his court, under his wing, but Köprülü had prevailed upon him to give the Habsburg court a chance to change its Hungarian policy. However, if the emperor's Hungarian subjects continued to be maltreated (*mal trattati*) – that is, continued losing their homes, properties, and lives – it would be very difficult to preserve the Vasvár Peace. In his response of 19 August, Montecuccoli tried to convince the vizier that the Hungarian emissaries were spreading lies. It never had been the Habsburg court's intention to oppress the Hungarians, but only to establish public tranquility by eliminating those who had criminally conspired against His Majesty. Yet, Montecuccoli hardly believed that his denials would have any effect. During a meeting with Emperor Leopold I and Hocher on 24 August, he called for further armaments and combat readiness along the borders because the grand vizier undoubtedly was now willing to accept the Hungarians.[113]

Such Ottoman warnings and, as Montecuccoli put it, "this constant immediate danger" (*diese immerwährende, unmittelbare Gefahr*) of war help to explain why the Vienna court began to seek alternatives to what László Benczédi described as a policy of collective reprisal (*kollektív megtorlás*).[114] The drastic taxload, the so-called *repartitio*, which had been imposed on Hungarian peasants and nobles to support the occupation army, was cut in half

on 6 June 1671 – in large measure because the vizier of Buda, Ottomans pashas, and Köprülü vehemently opposed it and repeatedly prevented its collection (effectively leading to a breakdown of the condominium).[115] And on 18 June, Leopold declared an end to the notorious Pozsony Tribunal and promised to spare suspects who had not yet been summoned, guaranteeing their lives and estates. Even though the tribunal passed a few more death sentences before it disbanded on 18 July, no more Hungarian nobles were executed. Remaining cases were expedited in Vienna between 3 August and 4 September 1671. In fact, starting in August more and more prisoners were pardoned after signing vows (*reversales*) that they would never again conspire against His Majesty.[116] These conciliatory measures did not preclude further arrests and trials, and certainly did little to curb the pervasive army terror, but they signified the imperial court's recognition that disregarding Ottoman warnings could provoke war.[117] Was it accidental that this dramatic reversal coincided with the war scare discussed above?

This change in direction went hand in hand with the growing power at court of church hierarchs such as Primate György Szelepcsényi (palatine locumtenens of Hungary), Bishop Tamás Pálffy (Hungarian chancellor), Bishop Leopold Kollonitsch (president of the Hungarian Chamber), and the papal nuncio Mario Albrizzi.[118] These churchmen spoke out against indiscriminate repression in Hungary – particularly after exorbitant taxes had been imposed on the Catholic clergy in June 1671 – and demanded that punishment focus on the Protestants of Hungary whom they presented as the imperial court's real enemies. In fact, the unmitigated existence of Hungarian Protestantism was a terrible security risk, because Calvinists and Lutherans were only waiting for the Turks to invade: "Hungary will not be quiet as long as heresy is tolerated … if the Turk attacks and overruns [Hungary] it is likely that all of the heretics will join him." Or, as Szelepcsényi put it – with specific reference to the Protestant clergy – "one can never hope for stable security in this kingdom until that pestilence of the fatherland and kindling wood of all evils will be completely exterminated [*omnium malorum fomes a radice exterminabitur*]."[119]

On 16 August 1671 the papal nuncio reported to Rome that the Hungarian bishops were gaining the upper hand: the imperial court had no lack of similar zealots (*persone anco zelanti*) who supported the bishops' agenda. One of these was Prince Max von Baden, whom the Swedish resident Esaias Pufendorf described as an ambitious climber who apparently understood which

GEORGIVS SZELEPCHENY ARCHPP STRIGON PRIMAS HVNG LOCVNTIE &c
P HVNG LOCVNTIE &c I CONSIL &c S C R Mtis CANCEL S C R Mtis SECR
LEGAT NAT SVI SED APLICÆ S HVNG
In quo me propria celatum videris arte
Ex libris illum noueris esse meis

Figure 4.2
Portrait of Archbishop György Szelepcsényi (1595–1685)

Szelepcsényi was a leading advocate of the Counter-Reformation. As president of the Poszony Tribunal, he oversaw the judgement and punishment of the Hungarian Protestant clergy. During the Köprülü era he often advised Emperor Leopold I regarding the developing crisis in Hungary. The text surrounding the portrait reads: "György Szelepcsényi [Georgius Szelepcheny], Archbishop of Esztergom [Strigon.], Primate of Hungary, diligently applying himself as the highest Legate of the Nation, Secret Chancellor, First Counselor of his Sacred Imperial and Royal Majesty, Palatine Locumtenens of Hungary."

direction the wind was blowing. According to von Baden, "the emperor would never be real master of the Kingdom [of Hungary], nor could it function as a Bulwark of Christendom until the Protestants had been completely humiliated … They love Turkish power more than the emperor because they can freely exercise their religion." The suppression of Protestants was a necessary survival strategy and not due to religious hatred (*odium religionis*). Without it, the Habsburg dynasty would never have prevailed in Austria and Bohemia, and it most certainly would fail in largely Protestant Upper Hungary where "the common man … was not kindly disposed towards the emperor [*dem Kaiser nicht hold*]."[120] Another zealot was Count Otto Ferdinand Volkra, soon-to-be-president of the Zipser Kammer, who called for the forced conversion of Protestant soldiers and officers in border fortresses (or their expulsion if they refused), the purge of Protestant town magistrates, and the denial of any further patents of nobility to Protestants.[121]

The Hungarian bishops included outspoken Turcophobes who issued repeated warnings about the dangers of the Turks. Szelepcsényi, for example, commanded his own intelligence network that fed him horror stories of the belligerence of the "the pagan dogs" and the coming New Tartary (*Nova Tartarica*). In October 1670 he handed the court a memorandum that conjured imminent disaster: the sultan and Köprülü had given orders to attack without delay; the pasha of Eger was getting ready to lay siege to Szatmár; the vizier of Buda was marching on Lower Hungary to "depopulate nearby parts all the way into Moravia"; a powerful Turk was getting ready to visit hidden rebel leaders inside Hungary; and the Calvinists Pál Szepessy and Mátyás Szuhay were awaiting the pasha of Varad in Debrecen. Meanwhile Hungarian exiles were secretly visiting strategic towns and fortresses inside Habsburg Hungary to prepare the next uprising. The tumultuous times of Prince Gábor Bethlen were returning, and all of Hungary might be lost to the Habsburgs.[122] Similar fears were expressed by Hungarian chancellor Pálffy, who was also the bishop of Nyitra, and Bishop Ferenc Szegedi of Eger.[123]

But the most radical Turcophobe was probably Bishop György Bársony of Varad. In his correspondence with Emperor Leopold I, Bársony evoked the spectre of an all-out Ottoman-Protestant war against the Habsburg Empire and the Catholic Church: the Turks would quickly break through Hungary and the hereditary provinces "into the entrails of the Holy Roman Empire" while Hungarian Protestants would take the opportunity to extirpate the Catholic clergy and the True Cult of God. It is likely that Bársony's singular

obsession was influenced by the fate of his younger brother who had been wasting away for years in an Istanbul prison until the sultan turned him over to the Lutheran magnate István Petrőczy, one of the principal leaders of the Hungarian exile community. Clearly, Bársony's widely disseminated treatise *Veritas Toti Mundo Declarata* – typically seen as the blueprint of *Verwirkungstheorie* but more aptly described as "the war cry for total Counter-Reformation" (Tamás Esze) – cannot be fully understood without keeping in mind the bishop's virulent animosity towards the Ottomans.[124]

According to Bruyninx, the Jesuits – a term he used collectively for the Catholic clergy at court – prevailed upon the pious Habsburg emperor to make a vow to destroy Hungarian Protestantism.[125] The emperor disregarded Lobkowitz, and other close advisers who warned "that this was not the time to undertake such an enterprise." Bruyninx was disgusted ("the lunacy of these raging Godless knows no end"), but he astutely observed that Leopold had changed course not just "to enjoy favour from Heaven": the war on Hungarian Protestantism compensated for the Habsburg court's impotence vis-à-vis the Ottomans. There was no way "to exterminate [*uytdelghen*] the Archenemy of the Christian Name and that is why they are looking to exterminate others and all those who are different in their day-to-day worldview and their human qualities."[126] This interpretation is not far-fetched: even the papal nuncio – whom Bruyninx despised – observed that religious persecution in Hungary gave the emperor the resolve and clear focus that was otherwise missing (especially with regard to the Ottomans, as we have seen).[127]

Was the attack on Hungarian Protestantism indeed a substitute for the Habsburg court's ill-preparedness for war with the Ottomans? Bruyninx's interesting observation certainly helps to explain the war-like scale of the attacks and the involvement of Habsburg troops.[128] For example, in October 1671 and again in January 1672, the almost completely Lutheran Upper Hungarian county of Szepes was invaded by Habsburg troops led by Bishop György Bársony and the private armies of five Catholic lords (István and Ferenc Csáky, István and András Horváth, and Silvester Joanelli). They occupied towns and villages, took hostages, seized churches, attacked protesting women, and maltreated pastors. Bársony himself got actively involved and dragged one of the pastors by his hair through the mud.[129] In early May 1672 Habsburg troops led by the same Bársony and two canons of the Eger bishopric invaded neighbouring Sáros County. In less then four weeks they expelled countless ministers from their churches and started embezzling money

from them in exchange for letting them stay in their homes. If the pastors could not pay, they were robbed of their clothes and furniture.[130] Upper Hungary's Calvinist counties did not fare any better: General Strassoldo of Szatmár Fortress horrified people to such an extent that he gained the reputation of being a second Basta, the notorious Habsburg general who had tyrannized Upper Hungarian Protestants on the eve of the Bocskai revolt (1605–6).[131] And Hungarian Catholic officers from Szendrő and Ónod Fortresses – the brothers István and Ferenc Pethő – expelled Calvinist clergy and installed Catholic priests in villages of Borsod and Zemplén counties. When István Pethő failed to dislodge the pastor of his own fortress he called in additional cavalry and infantry to subdue the troublemaker.[132]

The full scope of the violence that befell Hungarian Protestants after June 1671 has never been studied, but there cannot be any doubt that "the war to occupy churches" (László Benczédi) affected hundreds of thousands of ordinary men and women.[133] They included thousands of Protestant rank-and-file soldiers – most of them cavalrymen (*huszarok*) – who either abandoned border fortresses after the expulsion of their pastors or were purged from the ranks of the Habsburg army as security risks. In summer 1672 many of these unemployed soldiers flocked with their families to the Hungarian exiles who were assembling an army for the invasion of Upper Hungary on Ottoman territory. Others appear to have joined the Ottoman army that was then spending huge amounts of money on recruitment.[134]

Clear-headed observers of these developments pointed out that indiscriminate religious persecution only decreased, rather than increased, the security of the Habsburg Empire. In March 1672 a handful of Catholic magnates from Lower Hungary called for an immediate stop to church confiscations because "they would make even the sane part of the Hungarian population so desperate that no one would be willing to take up the sabre in the service of the emperor." These magnates had the support of Prince Lobkowitz, Count Rottal, and Father Emmerich Sinelli.[135] The Swedish, Danish, and Dutch residents seconded this view and lobbied for an immediate change of course. Bruyninx predicted mass desperation, total chaos (*total Verwarringhe*), and disaster in Hungary: "The Hungarians … have become very disgusted by this untimely reformation and they are letting their heads hang in the direction of the Turk … not seeing any other humanly possible redemption ahead of them than by means of the unbelievers."[136]

On 24 May 1672, Elector Friedrich Wilhelm of Brandenburg called on Emperor Leopold to stop "the hotheaded enemies of the Evangelicals, that is, [the members of] the repulsive ecclesiastical estate." Shortly afterwards he joined the other Protestant electors of the German Empire in denouncing the equation of Protestants with dangerous rebels and fifth columnists. Both Lutherans and Calvinists had in the past shed their blood on the battlefield and greatly contributed to saving Hungary from the Turks. Their unjust persecution in the face of the ongoing threat posed by the Ottomans – not to speak of the Ottoman army's ability to invade swiftly – greatly endangered European security: "[The Hungarian Protestants provide] the manpower that is indispensable for the country's defense … [and] resistance against the enemy of all of Christendom." If Leopold did not stop these dangerous machinations the Christian world would suffer irretrievable damage.[137]

These critics of the violent Counter-Reformation raised two fundamental questions: Did the policy of repression actually work? Did it help secure Hungary against the Ottomans, or did it accomplish precisely the opposite, namely, increase the likelihood of conflict with the Ottomans? The two top Habsburg diplomats at the Porte (Casanova was joined by Kindsberg in June 1672) were inclined to believe the latter. Their calls for the eradication of Hungarian rebels, whom they considered dangerous Ottoman proxies, took on a special urgency in late spring and summer 1672. They explained that "the Hungarian malcontents … with their lamentations" and intelligence gathered by the vizier of Buda had made "the stubborn Hungarian rebellion" (*halsstärige rebellion*) a topic of daily conversation at the sultan's court. On 11 July Casasova warned that the sultan's courtiers were for the first time talking publicly about growing discontent in Hungary, which they attributed primarily to religious persecution. In fact, they sympathized with the victims' plight, pointing out that "it was impossible to force [a person's] conscience" (*das gewissen sich nicht zwingen lasset*).[138] Meanwhile evidence mounted daily that the Hungarian refugees were getting ready for an invasion and that they stood in close contact with unknown rebel leaders inside Upper Hungary.[139]

Thus, another Hungarian rebellion seemed very likely in summer 1672 after more than two years of mass arrest, confiscation, unprecedented taxation, army terror, and religious persecution. And unlike two years earlier, high-ranking courtiers at the Porte were now reacting with sympathy; some even told Casanova that after a swift victory in Poland the Ottoman army

would come to the assistance of the oppressed Hungarians. Thus, repression had done nothing to stabilize the Hungarian Bulwark of Christendom, but only made the entire border region more volatile (despite constant increases in the number of troops and ad hoc efforts to discipline unruly soldiers). Indeed, more Hungarians than ever, both Protestants and Catholics, were affected by the Habsburg occupation regime. It is not hard to imagine why loyal Catholic magnates warned that even elements of Hungarian society who had nothing to do with the April 1670 revolt – the sane part of society, as they put it – were ready to turn against the Habsburg dynasty.

In order to understand how the impulse for revolt reemerged into the open we need to take a careful look at the societal impact of Habsburg repression. How were Hungarians, both elite and rank and file, affected by the brutal measures inflicted upon them? And what actions did they take in response? We also need to gain a better understanding of the Hungarian refugees who flocked under the protection of the pashas of Eger, Varad, and Uyvar and of Prince Apafi of Transylvania between 1670–72. In particular, we need to follow, as far as possible, their secret meetings and communications with Grand Vizier Ahmed Köprülü. Finally, we need to understand how these refugees kept in touch with "hidden rebels" inside Hungary, what steps they took to mobilize the rank-and-file population, and how ordinary Hungarians responded to their overtures. These issues will be addressed in the next two chapters.

5

The Making of a Powder Keg

Popular Resistance and Revolt (1670–72)

On 12 May 1672 General Paris von Spankau, commander in chief of the Habsburg occupation army in Upper Hungary, issued a decree that painted a dire scenario of a society slipping away from his authority. Meetings both public and secret were proliferating, and troublemakers (*nyughatatlan emberek*) were stirring up "very dangerous seditions harmful to the state." Such troublemakers were traveling back and forth between villages and towns for illicit gatherings, but it was hard to identify them because people "intentionally and cunningly refused to [help] track them down … or pretended not to know anything about them." Brigands were committing random acts of violence, including murder, with impunity. Among them were many peasants, particularly Ruthenians, and lower-ranking nobles. Spankau demanded brutal punishments (including the eradication of brigands "as dangerous poisonous glands"), outlawed all unauthorized meetings, and imposed stringent travel controls. He also warned county officials and town magistrates to cooperate and threatened the seizure of their properties if they dragged their feet (*tunyalkodva*). In fact, all those failing to denounce the elusive troublemakers who were ruining the region would be treated as insurgent rebels (*pártütő rebellisek*) and punished as enemies of His Majesty.[1]

This decree introduces us to the crisis of authority that Habsburg military chiefs and officials experienced two years after the suppression of the 1670 revolt. Not only did they have to prepare for a likely Ottoman invasion – Spankau was convinced of its imminence[2] – but they also had to manage a recalcitrant and increasingly rebellious population. By spring 1672 there were countless discontented people who more or less openly resisted Habsburg

Figure 5.1
Portrait of Vice-Colonel Baron Paris von Spankau (1610–75)

In July 1670, Spankau became captain-general of Upper Hungary and commander in chief of the Habsburg occupation army. He suffered a devastating defeat against rebel troops on 14 September 1672 and fled to Kassa. There, he awaited rescue by two armies dispatched from the imperial court. The text around this rare portrait (1649) reads: "Paris Spankau [Spanko], free baron and vice colonel of the cavalry, of his Sacred Imperial and Royal Majesty." The Latin directly under the portrait reads: "From war, peace."

authority: they included peasants, townsmen, nobles, Protestant pastors, the expelled students of closed Protestant schools and colleges, and most importantly, the Protestant soldiers manning Hungary's border fortresses who resented the attack on their religion. In General Spankau's view of the world, an explosive mix – or as he put it, a tinderbox (*fomites*) – was coming together that could easily be ignited by sparks (*scintillae*) provided by secret contacts with the leaders of the 1670 revolt who had escaped onto Transylvanian and Ottoman territory.[3] This chapter looks at the tinderbox: that is, the massive discontent that was spreading in the lower reaches of Hungarian society principally as a result of the Counter-Reformation. The next chapter will look at the sparks: the communications between "hidden rebels" (i.e., nobles inside Royal Hungary) and Hungarian elite refugees, as well as these refugees' efforts to enlist the Ottomans for protection against Habsburg repression.

VILLAGES: FLIGHT, BRIGANDAGE, AND REVOLT

When Spankau issued the decree he was in the midst of investigating a major peasant uprising in Torna County, southwest of the Upper Hungarian capital of Kassa. Large numbers of peasants had refused to pay the exorbitant war taxes (*repartitio* and *accisa*) and taken up arms when confronted by tax collectors accompanied by military detachments. In fact, Spankau himself had finally moved into action and engaged approximately 500 of the insurgents in combat. When facing defeat, the surviving rebels had fled across the borders under the protection of the pasha of Eger. Spankau believed that he had been able to capture the ringleaders (*Rädlführer*), but they were uncooperative, putting the blame on local nobles and the county authorities. These developments were closely followed at the imperial court in Vienna and one wishes that Spankau's correspondence with Emperor Leopold and the Aulic War Council had survived. All we know is that the Torna peasant uprising became a matter of top priority because the peasant rebels defected to the Ottomans.[4]

Unfortunately, the protocols of Spankau's investigation have also been lost, but we can reconstruct the peasants' reasons for participating in the uprising from what we know about the plight of Hungarian peasants during this period – particularly peasants living to the southwest of Kassa. They not only bore the brunt of the war taxes (which in theory were to be paid by nobles as well), but also had to provide billeting, food and other provisions, and

labour services; and given the proximity of military headquarters in Kassa, troops were constantly found in Torna villages.[5] We also know that Habsburg officers often established ruthless regimes of terror. Evidence for this can be found in almost any region of the kingdom. In Ugocsa County, for example, an officer named János Danka threatened to put women and children to the sword unless the villagers did as he pleased. He did this mainly to prevent flight, and to make sure that no one was missing, he had "the entire village [males] gather and throw down their caps in front of him." Danka brutalized even fiscal serfs, that is, serfs who belonged to the Crown. When one of them complained about ruthless floggings for no apparent reason and reminded Danka that he was the king's serf, the officer replied: "I will ruin you all the more, you dirty son of a bitch. On this piece of land I am now your emperor [*én vagyok most ezen az darab földön az ti császártok*] and no one else."[6]

By May 1672 the Vienna court was well aware that the excesses of the Habsburg military were antagonizing the Hungarian peasantry, and it was probably because of the Torna revolt that Emperor Leopold issued strict orders that officers must treat peasants with respect and pay them for housing and food.[7] The decree was also signed by Count Montecuccoli, president of the Aulic War Council, who had previously called for curbing "the hatred and hostility between the soldier eager to pillage and the peasant who defends what belongs to him." The imperial mandate followed an earlier order dated 20 February that had instructed General Spankau in no uncertain terms to stop the excesses of his soldiers.[8]

Peasants had been uncooperative with the occupation army from the very beginning. A Habsburg commander who had just occupied the rebel fortress of Kálló reported on 9 July 1670 that all serfs had fled from an estate that he had confiscated to supply food and other provisions for his soldiers. In particular, he needed hay for his horses, but he could not find labourers anywhere; even nearby peasants who had not run away were unwilling to work for him. "Given the current conditions," he complained, "I can barely support myself and I can hardly go there myself [to do the haying]." The official Kristóf Horváth faced similar difficulties: several villages refused to help him drive cattle from confiscated estates in Szepes County. When he finally found a few willing cattle drivers in other villages, they faced verbal abuse and threats of violence. At least one peasant denounced Horváth and the emperor as dogs and scolded the cattle drivers' mothers "for whoring around with your emperor" (*kurva legyen az anniatok Császárotokkal*). Horváth

feared that he could not accomplish his mission: "If they continue … to scold my drivers and … call me a dog I cannot safely let them drive away the cattle that is [still] here."[9]

These derogatory remarks about the emperor were immediately reported to Horváth's superior, András Hartyányi, who demanded that troops arrest the mischievous peasant so that he could get to the bottom of this affair. Did Hartyányi suspect that this lone peasant represented only the tip of an iceberg? This is certainly suggested by the village headmen's dissimulation: they followed orders to arrest the man but then apparently let him go and he disappeared without a trace. Similar dissimulation confronted the Szatmár official Michael Streczenyi, who in late July 1670 was still looking for one of his servants, abducted by peasant rebels during the April revolt. Streczenyi knew exactly which peasants were responsible and even knew the village where they had likely taken his servant, but the villagers simply stonewalled him and their elder refused to respond to his summons. Streczenyi appealed to his superiors for urgent help.[10]

Numerous eyewitness testimonies confirm that peasant hostility was intense, but it typically did not erupt in open revolt. Rather peasants who were no longer able to endure army occupation fled their villages or called on Ottoman strongmen to protect them. Evidence for flight is ubiquitous: peasants escaped into the mountains, into forests, into Poland and Tranylvania, and most frequently into Ottoman territory.[11] It is hard to say how many of them returned after army units or tax collectors had left their villages, but a spectacular incident that took place in the Hofburg on 30 June 1672 suggests that many peasants never intended to return. On that day 1,000–1,500 peasants, who had walked all the way from the Batthyány estates in Lower Hungary, fell to their knees in front of Emperor Leopold in the castle courtyard and complained that they were no longer able to bear the heavy exactions imposed upon them by their landlord (who apparently devolved the war taxes entirely upon them). They declared that if nothing was done they "would be forced to abandon their own homes and withdraw elsewhere" – most likely the Ottoman Empire (which was right next door).[12] Evidence collected by Czech historian Zdenka Veselá suggests that runaway peasants were determined to stay under Ottoman administration because "they [were] trying to gain by their realistic attitude, as bearable living conditions as possible."[13]

A frequent way of escaping the unbearable tax load and the excesses of Habsburg troops was to approach Ottoman border commanders, pashas, and

the vizier of Buda. A Habsburg emissary who visited Buda in June 1671 saw the peasants who were coming daily from all over Habsburg Hungary – but particularly from the vicinity of Habsburg border fortresses – to complain about the occupation army's impositions. He reported that Vizier Ibrahim Pasha was taking their concerns very seriously and was consulting with his border commanders about countermeasures. In fact, the vizier told the emissary that the exactions were against the peace and he would not allow them. Grand Vizier Köprülü seconded the Buda vizier and threatened in no uncertain terms that he would not tolerate the unprecedented impositions.[14] Most of the peasants who approached the Ottomans were the sultan's "tributary subjects" (*subditi tributarii*), whom the Habsburg court nevertheless expected to pay taxes – an age-old arrangement that was apparently still practised even in some of the regions that had only recently been entered into Ottoman tax registers. But peasant complaints to the Ottomans had an astounding effect that stunned the Vienna court: money and provisions were no longer forthcoming from many tributary villages. Now it appeared "as if those places that had recognized the sultan's authority [*gehuldigte*] belonged entirely to [the Turks]," Leopold wrote to one of his emissaries in Edirne.[15]

Being granted Ottoman protection from taxes and services to the occupation army apparently encouraged peasants who had not yet submitted to the sultan to do so. How else can we explain the increased circulation of *Huldigungsbriefe* and "free passports" (*freie Päss*)? Peasants along the Hungarian borders with Austria and Moravia, for example, were carrying around such passports that were apparently letters of protection issued by the pasha of Uyvar. One of the peasants who was captured with such a passport explained that he had accepted it only to avoid impalement. But one wonders if his story was true, as we also find cases that suggest voluntary submission.[16] In March 1672, for example, General Spankau ordered peasants who had repeatedly failed to supply wagons to Kálló Fortress "to stop … living like Turks and renegades [*Törökös és Pribekes allapotokban*] on any [fiscal] estates." Whether these peasants merely recognized Ottoman authority, "imitated Turkish customs," or converted to Islam[17] remains unclear, but in Spankau's eyes they had chosen a way of life quite different from what was expected of loyal subjects.[18] Not far from Kálló, a peasant identified only as "an old renegade [*senex Pribekus*] [who] lives in Varad" had been seen wandering from village to village telling peasant elders that the sultan had given them permission to pay hom-

age to the Porte. Shortly afterwards the entire region was drifting away from Habsburg authority.[19]

By May 1672, this alienation – and with it the diminished ability of Habsburg officials to collect taxes and provide supplies to the army[20] – provoked the Aulic War Council to authorize military expeditions to invade Ottoman tributary villages. Even Emperor Leopold, who otherwise called for extreme caution to avoid war, believed that such expeditions were absolutely necessary "to bring insubordinate villages and subjects back to due obedience." Otherwise it was to be feared that "all villages that submitted to the sultan will be in a position to resist their landlords and refuse to deliver what they are obliged to give."[21]

But Habsburg generals and officers did precious little to retrieve peasant runaways or force Ottoman officials to share the tax load, probably to avoid confrontations with Ottoman troops.[22] Rather, they focused their actions on peasant brigands and rebels, among whom the "Ruthenians" (singled out by Spankau in the May 1672 decree) indeed played an important role.

In order to understand the sweltering resistance of the Ruthenians – which would erupt in open warfare with the outbreak of the Hungarian revolt in fall 1672 – it is important to recognize that nothing fueled peasant animosity more powerfully that the attempts of Catholic landlords and bishops to expel pastors, confiscate churches, and impose priests. The Ruthenians were Orthodox Slavs living in widely dispersed communities in Upper Hungary, particularly in Zemplén, Ung, Sáros, and Szepes counties. Subject to conversion since the early seventeenth century, they had submitted only reluctantly, if at all, and were known to denigrate, threaten, and even physically assault their "papist *Vladyka*," that is, the Uniate Archbishop (Владика) of Munkács.[23] Since the early 1660s the pressure to accept the Union with Rome had tremendously increased with the conversion of the Rákóczis, that is, Upper Hungary's largest landowning family.[24] And with the mass arrest and flight of Protestant nobles in the aftermath of the Habsburg invasion, the Ruthenians were even less protected and faced brutal conversion campaigns.[25]

The Ruthenians (*Rutheni*, *Rusnáki*, *Rußnaken*, *Oroszok*) appear in our records repeatedly as brigands who specialized in cattle and horse theft as well as highway robbery.[26] They operated over a far-flung territory. A horse stolen from a Franciscan friar in the vicinity of Ungvár (Uzshorod, Ung County), for example, turned up in a Ruthenian village 60 kilometers to the

south in Bereg County. And cattle seized in a raid on a fiscal estate near the Hrabocz (Ruský Hrabowecs) – not far from the isolated Franciscan convent in Sztropkó (Stropkov) in northern Zemplén County – was driven all the way to Ukraine (*Ukrainyara*), that is, across the Polish border into Galicia or further east into Cossack lands. Stolen lifestock and horses undoubtedly also ended up in Ottoman territory on the other side of the Tisza River, where Ruthenian brigands were finding refuge from pursuing troops. It appears that the Ruthenian raids were not random: estates that Habsburg troops had seized from arrested or fugitive Hungarian lords figured prominently on their list of targets.[27] The cattle sold in Ukraine, for example, came from the estate of the prominent Zemplén Lutheran Zsigmond Ujfalussy, who was wasting away in a Habsburg prison when the raid occurred in early June 1671.[28]

Ruthenian brigandage on confiscated estates can be seen as revenge for the arrest or expulsion of their Protestant lords. Rather then allowing these estates to feed Habsburg troops and Catholic clergy or to be given to "loyal" Catholic nobles, the attackers turned them into targets for plunder. In fact, the brigands who drove away Ujfalussy's cattle made sure that his wife benefited from the raid. Habsburg investigators found some of the disappeared livestock grazing on a field near her home. And on the estates that had been confiscated from István Bocskai, the fugitive high sheriff of Zemplén County, the nervous new Habsburg-appointed manager tried to force his former Ruthenian subjects to work in fields and vineyards, but noticed ominous signs: they were not cooperative and "hardly eight, nine or eleven of them actually come and these few do only a little work here and there."[29]

Ruthenian peasant resistance against the Counter-Reformation cannot be separated from these other developments. A revealing case occurred in summer 1672 in the village of Olsavicza (Szepes County), which was located in the high Carpathian Mountains not far from Szepes Castle, the seat of Bishop György Bársony, the aforementioned propagandist of total Catholization. In early 1672 Bársony had driven away the village's Orthodox father (*bat'ko*) and introduced a Uniate priest. Faced with naked force, the village elders (*sculteti*) had accepted the new priest. But as soon as Habsburg troops had departed, they threatened and robbed him. The priest's tribulations culminated in early July when the villagers invaded his garden, cut down his hedges, and started grazing their cattle on his meadow. They then turned upon the priest, beating him viciously, "and likely would have slaughtered him if he had not resorted to flight." The priest apparently went into hiding

and a Catholic chaplain dispatched by Bársony to investigate faced a wall of hostile silence. The visibly frustrated chaplain indicated that the principal perpetrators of the violence were well known – he even listed their names – but there was nothing he could do. He called on the highest authority to punish the village.[30]

The Olsavicza case also shows that the Ruthenian peasants acted in unison with lower-ranking Protestant nobles – a tacit collusion that General Spankau identified as a major challenge to Habsburg authority in his May 1672 decree. Bársony's helpless agent believed that these peasants could afford to ignore the militant bishop's authority only because "they put their hope and trust in their Lutheran lord Samuel Berthóty." Berthóty was among the many lesser Protestant nobles who had not been arrested by the Habsburg authorities and continued to wield power on their estates.[31] While Berthóty's support of the Ruthenian peasants remains invisible to us, we know from other sources that Lutheran and Calvinist elites protected not only their coreligionists but also the Orthodox. A prime witness for this is the Uniate Archbishop of Munkács, who wrote to Vienna in summer 1672 that the Protestant landowners (*domini terrestres*) were responsible for the bad treatment of the Uniate clergy. They were largely to blame for the hatred that Ruthenians felt for the Union (*nomen Unionis … Rutheni exosum habeant*).[32]

Similar revolts against the imposition of the Catholic faith took place in the Lutheran regions of both Upper and Lower Hungary. In May 1672, for example, villagers of the small Sáros County village of Gergelylaka (Kisszeben district) attacked a procession that was assembling in front of their confiscated church. The church had been seized just a few days earlier by Captain Martin Halapy, commander of nearby Nagysáros Fortress, and Halapy was standing guard to protect a Catholic priest and a small number Catholics who had ventured into the village. These included Halapy's son, his servants, and Polish peasants who had been hired to assist Halapy in expelling the Lutheran pastor. Halapy quickly lost control. A hostile mob that according to Halapy was acting purely out of religious hatred (*ex ipso religionis odio*) dispersed the procession and viciously beat anyone they could lay their hands on. Halapy himself became a prime target and was badly injured. Only a miracle saved his life – "a few good Catholics" managed to drag the bleeding officer away.

Captain Halapy complained bitterly to his superiors that he had little power to enforce peasant obedience: they had the tacit support of their feudal

lords who in addition to Lutheran nobles included the Lutheran town magistrate of Eperjes. Emperor Leopold later highlighted the Gergelylaka revolt in an imperial mandate to underscore the importance of breaking the hold of Protestant landlords over their peasants.[33]

The Gergelylaka case illustrates again that peasant revolts cannot be separated from the wider social milieux in which they were embedded. Here the support of a Lutheran town likely added to the peasants' readiness to use violence. A similar scenario occurred in the villages of Orkuta (Orkucany) and Nyársardó (Ražňany) which belonged to the town of Kisszeben, a historical centre of the Lutheran church. When the new priest of Kisszeben, the Franciscan Ciprianus (Saladinus), tried to collect the tithe from the peasants, he was confronted with open hostility and threats of violence. On another occasion he only narrowly avoided a deadly ambush. The peasants also took over land that he claimed as parish property and cut his meadow. When he tried to protest, a peasant turned on him with a pitchfork, "and if [he] had not been on a horse who knows what [the peasant] would have done with [him]." The peasants had a strong ally in the Lutheran noble Ferenc Semsei, whose servants also threatened the priest. Semsei had his own axe to grind: his brother György, an anti-Catholic zealot, had been arrested and tried for participating in the April 1670 revolt.[34]

Even villages located directly under the nose of Bishop Bársony in Szepes County were openly hostile. The peasants of Wyssní Slawkow (Oberschlauch, Felsőszalók), for example, rose in uproar (*tumultus*) when Bársony's vicar came to visit them in early August 1672 with the apparent intention to conduct Mass in their church. Villagers of Bierbronn (Viborna, Sörkút) impeded locals who had converted to the Catholic faith from practising their religion. These villages were located on the confiscated estates of the Lutheran magnate Imre Thököly who had fled to Transylvania. Their pastors had been appointed by Imre's father István and it is very likely that they remained in their villages despite their attempted expulsion by Bishop Bársony in January 1672.[35]

The continued presence of "expelled" pastors in villages is illustrated by the events that transpired in the Szepes County hamlet of Szent András (Sankt-Andrä, Svatý-Ondrej), whose pastor Martin Machner had been removed with military force by Bishop Bársony in January 1672. Machner had quickly returned and resumed his position, probably because he had a pro-

tégé in Imre Thököly's uncle Zsigmond. The peasants completely ignored the Catholic chaplain who said Mass in their church, and instead attended Machner's services, which he held in his home or somewhere outdoors. They listened to his sermons on holidays, brought their infants to him for baptism, and paid him the tithe. Machner was also a regular visitor in neighbouring manor houses and enjoyed significant local prestige, while the chaplain was eking out a living in poverty.[36] Machner was known as a fervent preacher who had warned Bishop Bársony that "Christ the Just Judge will take revenge and restore us to freedom." He had also been overheard ranting and raving about Emperor Leopold.[37]

In August 1672 Khristóf Horváth, the same official whom peasants had previously denounced as a dog, reported that he was completely powerless to counteract the Szent András villagers' intransigence. He had issued many warnings and prohibitions but the peasants simply ignored them all. Now he believed there was only one solution to the problem: pastor Machner must be seized immediately and jailed in Szepes Castle. It was high time to establish an example, because contempt for royal authority was spreading everywhere (*mindenütt*), with peasants stubbornly granting the tithe to their pastors while denying Catholic priests any material support.[38] Chaplain Martin Mras of Szent András went a step further: he accused the villagers of being privy to the planning of a larger regional revolt. He warned the Zipser Kammer that villagers were holding secret meetings that seemed to be coordinated with similar meetings in the towns of Kassa and Eperjes.[39]

Thus, officials, military commanders, and Catholic clergy assigned to enforce the Catholic faith in Lutheran villages had the sense that they had little authority to do so.[40] The same is true for Calvinist villages even though there is less evidence that these villages resorted to violence.[41] For example, in July 1672 the official Michael Streczenyi, who had very little authority to begin with, put out an urgent call for military action to expel the pastors from at least four villages in northern Szatmár County. According to Streczenyi, these preachers were in clear defiance of orders, and he urged the Zipser Kammer "to make an example of them so that they learn to be obedient to the Honourable Chamber." Doing nothing meant that the Kammer's authority would diminish even further (*igen még kissebbik*).[42] In part, the relative lack of recorded violence can be explained by official avoidance. The great dangers posed by a region that was, according to one high-ranking official of the

Zipser Kammer, in a state of revolution (*sub hac revolutione*) probably meant that Catholic priests were less likely to come. But the best explanation seems to be that the authorities' attention was focused on revolts in the Calvinist towns and border fortresses that will be discussed in the next two sections.[43]

Forcing peasants into the new religion in a border region like Szatmár County, where Ottoman power was constantly increasing, was a risky undertaking. This is illustrated by the massive and intractable peasant rebellions that broke out in the western counties of Nyitra and Trencsén where the pasha of Uyvar was constantly expanding his power. The problem was not that the villagers were encouraged by the pasha; I have found no direct evidence for this. Rather, the problem was likely the relative weakness of the Habsburg military. Local commanders were involved in an undeclared war with the pasha's troops, on occasion finding themselves cut off from their own bases. There were thus fewer troops available for population control than in counties like Sáros and Szepes, where General Spankau's troops could more fully focus on peasant insurgents and brigands.[44]

The troubles in Nyitra and Trencsén counties came to the attention of the Aulic War Council in May 1672 with cross-border incursions of peasants from northern Trencsén County into Moravia. We know very little about these dramatic events. Reports by General Rodolfo Rabatta, who was dispatched to control the peasants, have not survived (like much of the correspondence between Vienna and its field commanders during this period). But we have three important clues to what transpired. First, the peasants were identified as Slovak (*schlovackish*); second, they came from the Púchov (Puhó) district, a hotbed of religious dissent since the arrest and execution of the preacher Mikulaš Drábik (Miklós Drabik, to whom I will turn in the next chapter); and third, they were the serfs of Ferenc I Rákóczi, one of the principal leaders of the April 1670 revolt. Rákóczi was at that time trying to win the Vienna court's favour by going on a brutal offensive against Protestant clergy. It is very likely that the Slovak insurgents were defending their Lutheran faith.[45]

While we do not know exactly what happened in the Púchov district, we are better informed about similar development in Slovak villages owned by the magnate László Wesselényi, the son of Palatine Ferenc Wesselényi. Like Rákóczi, the younger Wesselényi was under suspicion: it was assumed that he was involved in his deceased father's conspiratorial activities and large parts of his estates were actually confiscated. Constantly threatened with

arrest – his mother was already in jail – Wesselényi junior began to promote the Counter-Reformation on his remaining estates to cater to Vienna' good will. Yet Wesselényi failed because his serfs resisted and eventually rose up against him.[46]

Among the targets of Wesselényi's Catholicization campaign were the villages of Staszkov and Rakova, which were located near the Silesian border in northern Trencsén County (Csaca district). These villages had long been perceived as a threat by the authorities. Among their most powerful residents were well-known brigands who specialized in stealing sheep and cattle under the protection of village elders. Their raids often took them across the border into Silesia. One popular brigand, Johann Simulak, was known to have robbed, tortured, and murdered a Silesian Catholic priest. Under pressure to act, Wesselényi sent out agents to jail Simulak, but they were repelled by peasants brandishing "pitchforks and other instruments." Simulak later surrendered voluntarily, but he continued organizing robberies from inside prison and was released after little more than a year. Simulak was not the only brigand who enjoyed such strong local support. In August 1671 peasants attacked officials and soldiers who were trying to take away "the convicted robber Gyrba."[47]

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that Wesselényi found it very difficult to expel the peasants' Lutheran pastors. After multiple threats of brute force – including the death penalty – he apparently succeeded in forcing the peasants of Rakova to give up their church. Yet no Catholic priest actually came to Rakova, and the village pastor continued to perform church services in the homes of village elders. In addition, the Rakova peasants and other peasants from the area – whose churches apparently had also been sealed – started attending services in the church of Csaca, the small agricultural town that was the centre of the district. When officials and soldiers representing Wesselényi, the Hungarian Chamber, and the Royal Fiscus tried to seize the Csaca church in February 1672, they triggered a mass revolt: peasant women rushed to the scene to stop the intruders, joined by their husbands and male relatives who were armed with clubs. The women played a brutal game of intimidation with the Polish Jesuit who was supposed to become their new priest: they took out knives, started sharpening them, and threatened to castrate the Jesuit. It is unclear whether the women actually carried out their "nefarious act," but the end result was inevitable: the intruders

retreated and left the Lutheran church untouched. And when Wesselényi himself arrived with troops in August 1672 to seize the church, he had to retreat in the face of armed resistance as well.[48]

This scenario repeated itself in other parts of Trencsén Country.[49] For example, peasants outside Trencsén, the county capital, defended their church with clubs and stones against a party of confiscators led by the magnate György Illyésházy. According to a Lutheran noble who witnessed the riot – in which women also figured prominently – the rebels left "no one without beatings [*senki ütetlen*]." Indeed, one peasant would have smashed the head of the magnate with a heavy boulder if the village pastor had not stopped him. Illyésházy returned three days later with 100 musketeers from the Trencsén garrison to occupy the church and plunder the serfs' cabins.[50] Farther away from Trencsén, however, villages remained beyond the reach of the Catholic Church, and on 17 July 1672 the Aulic War Council ordered troops to protect Bishop Bársony, who was intent on inspecting churches in the county's hinterlands.[51]

By then a major peasant revolt had been started by Bishop Bársony's violent campaign to seize churches in neighbouring Nyitra County. Accompanied by a militia of Croat mercenaries and several priests, he came to the village of Turaluka (Turá Lúka, Túrréte) in early July 1672 where a large crowd of people – including peasants from other villages – had surrounded the church. When the sexton refused to hand over the key and demanded to see an order from Emperor Leopold, the enraged Bársony yelled in Slovak "I am [your] mandate" (*ja som mandát*) and started shooting his pistol. This was the signal for an explosion of popular rage: Bársony's brother János, a powerful imperial official and judge, was killed along with several Croat soldiers, and the bishop himself only survived because the Lutheran pastor saved his life.[52]

The Turaluka uprising quickly burned out of control, as it overlapped with a similar revolt in the nearby provincial town of Senica (Szenice, Szenitz). In fact, the Senica townsmen repelled at least four attempts to seize their church starting in November 1670 and became a source of inspiration for the entire region. It appears that pastors and students of the town's Lutheran school transmitted the message of revolt to other towns (Miava, Szobotist)[53] and nearby villages. When General Rabatta pushed into Senica with troops to arrest Pastor Štefan Pilárik in late August 1672 – without success – he generated

a peasant war, with serf armies marching into battle with drums and banners (*erectis vexillis et pulsatis timpanis*). This little-known conflagration engulfed not only Nyitra and Trencsén counties but threatened to spill over into Moravia, Silesia, and Austria. It took more than a year to subdue the peasants, and then only with summary executions and massacres.[54]

SMALL TOWNS AND CITIES IN TURMOIL

Small agricultural towns (*oppida*) like Senica, as well as mining towns (*oppida metallica*, *oppida montana*), were at the centre of the popular resistance that was spreading among the Lutherans and Calvinists of Habsburg Hungary. As in Senica, this resistance could easily boil over into open revolt, but it often remained submerged, and the limits of Habsburg power become most visible in communities' refusal to grant newly imposed Catholic clergy any sustenance. We also find a few large commercial towns such as Pozsony and Kisszeben – so-called *Freistädte* endowed with royal charters – that erupted in popular revolts. In most other large towns, however, magistrates managed to contain the grassroots of society while appealing to Emperor Leopold to honour legally enshrined religious freedoms. And in corporate towns like Kassa and Szatmár, open resistance seemed pointless given the presence of large military garrisons. Still, even in Hungary's largest towns it was difficult to sustain new Catholic clergy, and one often catches glimpses of a hidden world of discontent only too ready to bubble to the surface when given the opportunity.[55]

In mid-December 1671 General Spankau dispatched his troops against the market town of Tállya in southern Zemplén County. The Calvinist town was in open revolt after an attempt by the magnate Ferenc I Rákóczi to confiscate its church and hand it over to a Catholic priest.[56] Burghers, nobles, and students had armed themselves with guns and stopped Rákóczi. Now they were determined to defend their church against the advancing imperial army. According to General Spankau, Tállya's pastor, György Szendrei, was a major source of inspiration for the defiant populace. But resistance quickly turned out to be futile as Spankau's troops began to push into town with strong force (*derék erővel*). At least twenty prisoners were taken, tied up, and thrown into dungeons in nearby fortresses. It is unclear how many insurgents died in this military action – according to rumours circulating soon

afterwards, the troops carried out a massacre. However, it is a fact that the town's pastor and many other insurgents escaped and fanned out into surrounding communities.[57]

How did the Tállya revolt come about? It is important to know that the town's population had suffered greatly for its participation in the 1670 Upper Hungarian insurrection. Afterwards, Habsburg soldiers and troops on the payroll of Ferenc I Rákóczi had occupied the town. They established a brutal regime that resulted in the ruin and arrest of unknown numbers of lower- and middle-ranking nobles who traditionally had dominated town politics. Many of Tállya's nobles went into hiding or escaped across the border to Transylvanian or Ottoman territory, but the majority seems to have returned, as demonstrated by their role in the December 1671 events. The town's craftsmen and merchants, who had long been thriving economically through tax-free wine production and trade, fared somewhat better, but they faced unprecedented challenges to their livelihood as some of their vineyards were confiscated and the occupation army imposed harsh war taxes and demanded large shipments of free wine and food supplies. It appears that Rákóczi took advantage of these developments, and at some point in fall 1670 introduced a Jesuit priest who performed Mass in "a small and shabby chapel" – a compromise that the town then reluctantly accepted to avoid a military confrontation with Rákóczi.[58]

The town's resilience remained remarkable despite these intrusions. Most importantly, the population stubbornly held on to its faith. This included maintaining the richly endowed church building that had only been erected ten year earlier with generous contributions from prominent nobles and townsmen. Church services continued to flourish here while the Jesuit priest attracted only a minuscule group of people from the margins of society (including a man who lived from digging trenches and had long been known as the town's only Catholic). The town's craftsmen guilds, which exercised significant power through representation in the church consistory (*presbyterium*), contributed to this lack of interest in the new faith as converts faced ostracism and loss of work. The town's school, which employed a rector and at least two teachers, also continued to function even though its graduating students could no longer enter the prestigious Sárospatak Academy after the Habsburg army seized it in October 1671. Thus, the unbroken power of Calvinist social elites, the vibrancy of the local school, and the presence of two highly regarded pastors – Szendrei and his colleague István Buday – effectively

put a stop to Rákóczi's Catholization campaign until December 1671, when the magnate tried unsuccessfully to reverse the stalemate by force.[59]

When Szendrei and other survivors of the Tállya revolt escaped the Habsburg army, they likely went to different wine-growing market towns in the hills of southern Zemplén and Abaúj counties – a region commonly known as the "land below the mountains" (Hegyalja). Several of these towns also successfully resisted the Catholization campaign of the Rákóczi clan, and like Tállya, they were determined to hold on to their churches even if this meant battle with the imperial army. The Aulic War Council ordered General Spankau to "take precautions against the conspiracies of [these] towns and disarm the burghers," but there is no evidence that Spankau actually carried out this order – perhaps to avoid the outbreak of a larger revolt.[60] It is more likely that tensions in the area were temporarily defused by putting pressure on the Rákóczi clan "to proceed with a certain amount of moderation … and treat [his] subjects leniently [*glimpflich tractieren*]."[61]

One of the other market towns refusing to surrender to the Rákóczi clan was Sátoraljaújhely, which was located about 25 kilometers to the northeast of Tállya. In November 1671 the townsmen put an abrupt end to the attempts of Zsófia Báthori, Ferenc I Rákóczi's mother, to seize the Calvinist church. A violent mob, apparently recruited from surrounding villages, attacked her agents and lynched one of her court officials, the master of ceremonies (*hopmester*), by cutting out his entrails. A Transylvanian Calvinist who recorded these events prayed to God that the Sátoraljaújhely uprising would spell defeat and ruin for "the beast with the long tail" and her bastard son.[62] The confrontation left both church and school in Calvinist hands – and unlike in Tállya, General Spankau made no effort to intervene against the town. The violent eruption did, however, increase tensions with the town's Pauline Monastery, which had received large endowments by Zsófia Báthori and her son, but now found it difficult to assert its economic privileges. In March 1672 the monks urged the Zipser Kammer to send them written proof of their property rights to defend against townsmen and nobles who apparently denied them access to their lands.[63]

Tensions ran high in a number of other towns close to Tállya. The residents of Szikszó (Abaúj County), for example, had been forced to accept the expulsion of their pastor by Adjutant-General Caspar Cucolsqui in March 1671 (one of the earliest examples of military participation in such expulsions). However, the pastor had quickly returned and resumed residence in his

parsonage. In July 1672 the Zipser Kammer renewed the order to expel the unnamed pastor "because he [was] creating troubles for the promotion of the Catholic religion." However, the official entrusted with this task was not confident that he would succeed. The pastor "[was] an obstinate man [*njakas ember*]" and he was assisted by the expelled pastor of Torna, who had found refuge in town. Thus there were now "two [pastors] who are rigidly holding on and do not wish to leave." They had the support of townsmen, whom the pessimistic official described as "very obstinate and rigid Calvinists" who would not allow for their pastors' removal. The only solution would be the dispatch of Habsburg troops, "because they are afraid of the German." Perhaps then it would be possible to install a Catholic priest.[64]

A similar scenario played out in Gönc (Abaúj County), where the Calvinist church had been seized in January 1672 (probably by General Spankau's troops, as Gönc had close ties with the rebel town of Tállya).[65] Town leaders and ordinary people reluctantly accepted a new Catholic priest named György Horváth but refused to have anything else to do with him. No one attended Mass – neither on Sundays nor on holidays – and the priest stood alone in front of empty pews. Instead people went to church services conducted either by their pastor or one of the other pastors who had found refuge in Gönc after expulsion from their villages. Even when the Zipser Kammer threatened repeatedly to impose fines on negligent churchgoers, nothing changed; people continued to turn to the Calvinist clergy for sermons, communion, confession, and the baptism of their children. The pastors also continued to draw on the endowments that well-to-do townsmen and nobles had granted their church while Priest Horváth lived in poverty. When Horváth tried to seize one of these endowments (a local mill), the town's mayor and several magistrates appeared on the scene, chased away the priest's servant, and verbally abused the priest. Horváth left town in April 1672 in a huff, threatening that he would be back with German soldiers to punish the unruly town, but he never returned.[66]

In July 1672 István Berdóczy, the chief official of the Zipser Kammer in Gönc, told his superiors that he had no power to enforce royal authority. The town leaders were playing a game with him. In June they had vowed to accept the Zipser Kammer's categorical demands that included an order to attend church regularly and not work on Catholic holidays – apparently under threat of severe punishments. But little had actually changed: people still did not come to church, failed to show up for meetings he convoked,

were never in their homes (*eldugostak hazoktul*) when he tried to track them down, or had left town claiming to be working in the vineyards. As Berdóczy put it, "there is no one [in this town] who would not already have deserved punishment multiple times." In fact, he did not know of any "more obstinate people in the entire Hegyalja region than the people of Gönc," and called for harsh measures, including the seizure of cattle, confiscation of lands, and death sentences.[67]

The Catholic priest who replaced Horváth in spring 1672 was a well-known zealot named Jacobus Hoczay who had previously served as parish priest in the royal town of Bártfa after the public humiliation and murder of his predecessor in 1665. Hoczay had failed miserably and was expelled less than a year later when he tried to organize a Corpus Christi procession.[68] This experience did not deter Hoczay from coming to Gönc. He proudly stated that he considered himself Christ's servant and did not seek to please people; his only reward was in Heaven. But even Hoczay was not prepared for what he encountered. He almost immediately got into a brawl (*verekedés*) with the town's pastors after demanding that they attend Mass. Things turned violent when one of the pastors started shoving the aggressive priest and Hoczay grabbed a club to beat him. To Hoczay, this was the right way to treat the Calvinist clergy: "If Christ the Lord was allowed to eject sellers and buyers [from the temple] … then I have permission to expel the rogues [*fures*] who stealthily slaughter my sheep, baptize secretly, perform prayer services, and seduce the common people." But Hocszay conceded his utter powerlessness: the pastors had the population's high esteem while he feared for his daily bread. On 7 July he implored the Zipser Kammer to recall him immediately: "I have never asked for the Gönc parish … and rather want to leave today than stay even a single hour with [these] perverse preachers [*cum perversis Praedicantibus*]."[69]

The Counter-Reformation had failed not just in the market towns of Hegyalja,[70] but in many other small Calvinist towns in Upper Hungary. Yes, churches had been confiscated systematically in most of these towns, and Catholic priests had been introduced in quite a number of them. But these priests typically lived in isolation and poverty while the town's pastors were still on site and fueled local resistance. As the defeated zealot Hoczay astutely observed, these pastors not only enjoyed tremendous local support, but they had everything they needed – with the exception of their churches (*unica illis dumtaxat deest cathedra*).[71] Priests from all over Upper Hungary were

imploring the Zipser Kammer for "support and sustenance" (*alimonium et sustentationem*). But the Chamber never had enough resources and pleaded with the Hungarian Chamber for money (good German money if possible, not the Polish currency which was then widely in use in Upper Hungary).[72] Some priests despaired, and, like Hoczay, were ready to leave. Chaplain Georgius Jelenicsek expressed fears that everything he was doing along with other priests in the area was in vain. Jelenicsek had been given confiscated churches in the market towns of Nagymihály (Michalovce, Zemplén County) and Vinna (Vinné, Ung County), but his parishioners were completely uncooperative. He believed that soon all Catholic clergy would be unwilling to continue working under such challenging conditions.[73]

Violence often lurked just beneath the surface even though the threat of brutal military intervention – as in Tállya – held heated emotions under a lid. But on occasion the lid blew off, as, for example, in Gálszécs (Sečovce, Zemplén County), where arson destroyed the confiscated properties of the town's former patron László Szemere – his castle, his barns filled with grain, and countless haystacks. Zsigmond Holló, the chief advocate of the Counter-Reformation at the Zipser Kammer, smelled a Calvinist conspiracy: he accused the town's pastor of being responsible for the fire because the flames had apparently spread from the pastor's home after the house had been confiscated.[74] In Tarpa (Szatmár County) the new priest was openly threatened with murder. Townsmen warned Zsófia Báthori, who had imposed the priest by force in March 1672, that they would certainly kill him unless her soldiers protected him day and night. They failed to carry out their threat, but town ruffians tortured the new Catholic schoolmaster to death; the priest then escaped and a *licentiatus* who was sent to replace him only narrowly avoided torture or worse by flight. Báthori attributed the murderous atmosphere in Tarpa to "the Calvinist preachers' sweet teachings" (*kedves tanítvanyai*) and called for their immediate arrest.[75]

A look at Lutheran mining towns reveals a similar disconnect between the outward success of the Counter-Reformation – that is, the confiscation of churches and the installment of priests – and its de facto failure. This failure showed itself in different forms. In towns that had been subject to particularly brutal Catholization measures one finds ominous silence and passive resistance; elsewhere, popular hostility to forced Catholicization displayed itself more openly, and on occasion erupted in popular revolts.

The mining town of Schmölnitz, for example, took its time to recover from harsh reprisals that followed the April 1670 revolt. Silvester Joanelli, the local mining director, invaded with Habsburg soldiers, carried out mass arrests and executions, purged all Lutheran mining officials and magistrates, and brought in hundreds more Polish workers to replace miners who refused to convert to the Catholic faith. On the surface it looked like a triumph – the Lutheran clergy had to flee and more than 300 townsmen supposedly converted – but the roughly 1,000 remaining Lutherans held on to their faith (in fact, the Lutheran community was to grow to around 1,500 in the next decades). It is unlikely that the town paid its new Catholic priest – or its Habsburg tax collectors, for that matter – since Count Joanelli had to ask the imperial court for large funds from confiscated estates.[76] Nearby Metzenseifen, another mining town, suffered similar horrors at the hands of Bishop Ferenc Szegedi of Eger. Szegedi unleashed Catholic mercenaries to seize the church and parsonage, expel the Lutheran clergy, and tyrannize the town. Their primary targets were the town's "most resolute and zealous Lutherans [*standhaffigste und eiffrigste Lutheraner*]" whom Szegedi's predecessor, Tamás Pálffy, had forced into the Catholic faith via public beatings and incarcerations. These erstwhile "new Catholics" (*Neu Catholische*) had all returned to the Lutheran faith during the revolt. Pastor Martin Novack barely evaded being shot and went into hiding in Schwedler (Švedlár), a predominantly Lutheran mining town north of Schmölnitz. His Metzenseifen parishioners stayed in close touch, provided him with food, and gave him money to buy a horse (perhaps for secret visits to Metzenseifen). The same parishioners refused to pay even a penny to their new Catholic priest.[77]

Resistance was firmly embedded in these and other largely German- and Slovak-speaking mining towns.[78] Krompach, for example, attracted the attention of Habsburg officials when evidence emerged in May 1671 that the town's foundry was supplying weapons to peasant rebels. This matter was investigated by the Aulic War Council. But efforts to remove the town's pastor, a client of István Thököly, were not successful before June 1672.[79] Shortly afterwards, the townsmen were herded into the confiscated church to attend Catholic Mass; according to an official who was present, they "treat[ed] and dishonour[ed] their Catholic priest so shamelessly and despicably … that it is too horrible to describe." While the priest performed the Eucharist and lifted up "the Venerable Body of Christ," his new parishioners – instead of

kneeling down in adoration – "lift[ed] up their shameful behinds [*pudenda tergora*] and start[ed] beating them in similar tact. Their scandalous behaviour must not be tolerated under any circumstances." Top Habsburg officials who owned land near Krompach – including the Zipser Kammer's chief Catholic ideologue Holló and Plenipotentiary Rottal – called immediately on General Spankau to make an example. It is unclear if Spankau ever dispatched troops, but if he did, it did not break Krompach's resistance.[80]

At least three Lutheran towns erupted in revolt. Zipser Neudorf (Spišská Nová Ves, Igló) defied orders to surrender its churches and accept Catholic priests. In August 1671 the townsmen chased away a Polish missionary who tried to take up residence in town, and in September 1671 three hundred armed burghers rushed to the defense of the Slovak church and prevented its confiscation.[81] In Wallendorf (Spišské Vlachy, Szepesolaszi), popular rage about the arrival of a Catholic missionary, the Piarist Ferenc Hanacius, spilled over into his near lynching when Hanacius tried to bury the child of one of the town's few Catholics on the Lutheran cemetery. A mob turned over the coffin, bombarded Hanacius with stones and clods of earth, denounced him as the Devil's henchman, and almost certainly would have beaten him to death if the Lutheran pastor had not intervened to save his life. The riot turned into utter mayhem, with the destruction of the priest's altar and the desecration of holy images, the crucifix, and other liturgical objects.[82] And in Jolsva (Jelschau, Jelšava) a large crowd rushed to the defense of their church in August 1672 after Lutheran students started ringing the church bells to announce the arrival of a large military detachment. The crowd bombarded the soldiers and accompanying imperial officials with stones and forced them to flee into the town castle and draw up the bridge behind them.[83]

The authorities' responses to these revolts were not very successful. For example, the Zipser Kammer gave strict orders to the magistrate of Jolsva to arrest the principal troublemakers, but this did not happen, and a local imperial official called for more soldiers only a week later.[84] While the townsmen of Jolsva appear to have escaped reprisals, the burghers of Wallendorf were subjected to a tribunal that passed two death sentences, ordered the imprisonment of the town's magistrate, and called for public whippings of the main perpetrators. Yet these punishments were not carried out or commuted into fines because the town – though legally part of the Hungarian Kingdom – enjoyed the patronage of the Polish Crown as one of the so-called Thirteen Zips (Szepes) Towns that Vienna had pawned to Poland. Zipser Neudorf also

belonged to this town confederation and likewise escaped severe punishments. In fact, with the help of bribes and the protection of powerful Polish patrons, Wallendorf, Zipser Neudorf, and the other eleven Zips towns negotiated a compromise: they gave up their Slovak churches and paid for the upkeep of Catholic priests but in return their pastors stayed put and continued to perform services in the towns' German churches. For Bishop Bársony this leniency was a disaster: he warned the Polish king that the Thirteen Zips Towns were becoming "the most secure safe haven of heresy" in Hungary as they began to attract expelled pastors from nearby Szepes County villages.[85]

Thus, we observe again that in many market and small mining towns, popular resentment was only pushed underground or – in the exceptional case of the Thirteen Zips Towns – put into a holding pattern (as these towns' magistrates eased local tensions by negotiating with the authorities). The Catholic priests who had ventured into these almost completely Protestant communities acted like canaries in a coal mine: they sent constant warning signals of a coming disaster as they protested their parishioners' lack of cooperation and lamented the futility of their mission.

Similar observations can be made about the Hungarian Kingdom's largest commercial towns and the so-called Mountain Cities (*Bergstädte*) – a confederation of seven large mining towns in Lower Hungary. Here outbursts of popular anger occurred as well. But resistance was much more subdued than in smaller towns for two principal reasons: first, the greater likelihood of military intervention (most of these towns had garrisons), and second, the engaged efforts of powerful magistrates to negotiate a compromise. The six Upper Hungarian royal towns, for example, embarked on an elaborate strategy of direct talks with the imperial court. From September 1671 to February 1672 their emissaries lived in Vienna for almost daily meetings with officials, courtiers, top ministers, and even Emperor Leopold to ameliorate their populations' sufferings at the hand of Habsburg soldiers and Catholic clergy. They were not successful, as Habsburg commander in chief Montecuccoli and other high-ranking officials of the Aulic War Council refused to reduce the size of military garrisons in light of the growing Ottoman danger. Montecuccoli also set the tone when he rudely dismissed the emissaries' oft-repeated declarations of eternal loyalty. In fact, he angrily accused the town magistrates of secretly promoting sedition and plots against the emperor.[86]

Whether or not Montecuccoli was right will be examined in the next chapter. Here I want to call attention to the massive popular discontent that town

magistrates more or less successfully kept from bursting into the open.[87] At least three of the six Upper Hungarian royal towns – Kisszeben, Késmárk, and Leutschau – witnessed popular revolts provoked by attempts to seize their churches.[88] Suffice it to highlight the Kisszeben revolt. In late December 1671 Habsburg troops occupied Kisszeben's Slovak and German churches and introduced the Franciscan Ciprianus (Saladinus) as the town's Catholic priest – the first such priest since the town had accepted the Lutheran faith in the 1520s. However, the troops had hardly left town when a large crowd led by the German pastor Paul Regius broke into the German church while Ciprianus was saying Mass. They dragged the priest from the altar, kicked him out of the church building, and beat him so severely that he barely survived. Ciprianus was restored to his church only five months later by another military intervention and kept there by the arrival of a large military garrison.[89] The town magistrate accepted the inevitable and tried to appease the soldatesca with money, foodstuffs, wine, and presents. However, the priest was not given a penny and was constantly harassed by the populace (who he claimed was encouraged by the town's mayor). In fact, he feared for his life because Lutheran students (*companones*) whose school he had closed were threatening to kill him.[90]

Popular rage provoked by the Counter-Reformation was also running high in the mining centres of Kremnica (Körmöcbánya, Kremnitz) and Schemnitz. In Kremnica, people were outraged by the Catholic clergy's protection of a fratricide who had converted to the Catholic faith to escape punishment. The murderer had received shelter from Jesuit missionaries, and the Catholic treasurer of the mining district had hired him as a scribe. During the murder victim's funeral, the German pastor, Daniel Neckel, denounced these developments as contrary to the laws of God and promised divine retribution. When Habsburg officials called for Neckel's punishment, the magistrate immediately intervened to prevent a popular revolt. It allowed the pastor to be interrogated, but prevented his removal from office. The magistrate also informed Vienna that the residents of Kremnica "had always been loyal and obedient to their King." Popular hostility again bubbled to the surface in early April 1672 when the town's Slavic pastor tried to prevent the burial of a Catholic in the town's cemetery. Shortly afterwards, the Catholic director of the local mines issued an ultimatum that all miners had to convert to Catholicism within twenty-four hours or lose their jobs. The town was on

the verge of exploding. Again the magistrate saved the day by convincing the mining director to abandon his reckless ultimatum.[91] Similarly, a large popular revolt was in the making in the town of Schemnitz. But this revolt did not break out into the open until the second Upper Hungarian uprising in September 1672.[92]

Last but not least, turmoil engulfed Hungary's historical capital of Pozsony from February to April 1672 when Archbishop György Szelepcsényi tried to seize the town's churches. Here the magistrate lost control of the situation despite numerous efforts to talk the populace out of rebelling while calling in vain on Vienna to stop the archbishop.[93] For almost two months ordinary women and men faced off against the archbishop's agents, imperial officials, and Habsburg soldiers. They came from all walks of life: workers (*operarii*), day labourers (*paholci*), shopkeepers, homeless people (*vagabundi*), sailors from the town's port, servants, peasants from nearby villages, miners (*fossores*), and artisans.[94] A wide spectrum of professions was represented: butchers, bakers, furriers, booksellers, goldsmiths, shoemakers, hatmakers, tailors, carpenters, vineyard workers (*Hauer*), fishermen, harbour pilots (*aurigae*), mechanics, blacksmiths, locksmiths (*serarii*), and glass blowers (*vitrearii*). The entire community was on its feet, armed with guns, swords, daggers, axes, pickaxes (*Hacken*), clubs, canes, prongs, and pitchforks.[95] They forced Habsburg troops to hand over a popular Lutheran noble (who had been arrested for rebellion), patrolled the streets at night, protected churches and schools, and made sure nothing happened to their clergy.[96]

The town's masses did not surrender even when the magistrate sided with the archbishop in March 1672 – after repeated threats from Vienna – and Lutheran patricians gave speeches full of warnings. In fact, popular moods radicalized as Catholic vigilantes and Jesuit students got ready to storm Lutheran churches and the Lutheran school. This never happened; it would have been a hopeless undertaking given the large crowds standing ready in defense.[97] Increasingly one could hear calls for violence against the Catholic clergy and murder of "the Catholic dogs [who] want to occupy our church[es]." The tailor David Salbert, for example, called on women to take up clubs to beat "the thousand-times damned priests [*die dausent sakerments Pfaffen*]." Sophie Zopf, Sabine Rott, and Susanne Stayer – and they were far from the only women – did precisely as Salbert suggested: they assaulted and badly beat a member of Szelepcsényi's Cathedral Chapter. Some radicals wanted more:

"Why don't we kill the thousand-times damned *Pfaffen*," Johannes Steger incited a crowd, "so that we have peace from them. If only we would unanimously have the will we could accomplish this very easily." Some women guarding the Lutheran school threatened to make mincemeat (*Kuttelflecke*) out of the town's military commander if he dared to show his face again.[98]

The Pozsony revolt vividly illustrates the precariousness of Habsburg rule over Hungarian towns in the aftermath of the Upper Hungarian uprising. Only mass arrests and a large military operation – fifteen companies occupied the city street by street – smothered the popular turmoil.[99] The investigation of more than seventy eyewitnesses and participants gives us a more detailed picture of urban resistance and revolt than the other cases discussed here. But one can discern several common features: first, the attack on Protestant religion was the catalyst that generated urban discontent; second, the anger of ordinary people – particularly artisans, miners, and women – was the fuel feeding resistance and revolt; third, Protestant magistrates and nobles kept their distance from the common folk in large cities but joined them in market towns and small mining towns; fourth and finally, Habsburg officials were powerless in the face of such vast popular hostility and relied on military intervention, or the threat thereof, to restore order. But as we have seen repeatedly, popular discontent was only pushed underground, turning into passive resistance or emerging again after troops had left.

UNRELIABLE GARRISONS: THE PLIGHT OF HABSBURG SOLDIERS AND BORDER GUARDS

Though the Pozsony revolt showed that a town garrison was not necessarily sufficient to contain popular discontent, even more troublingly from the perspective of Vienna, it also revealed that soldiers could not necessarily be counted on to take action against rebels. An unknown number of Lutheran soldiers – and at least one German officer[100] – refused to take action against the Pozsony crowds, and some even joined the rebels, claiming that "they are Evangelicals as well and want to protect their church with their lives."[101] A similar collusion of noncommissioned officers (*Unteroffiziere*) and soldiers emerged during an initial investigation of the Turaluka peasant revolt (in late August 1672).[102] Calvinist soldiers had already indicated in February 1670 – on the eve of the Upper Hungarian revolt – that "they would not go to battle against their brethren in faith [*Glaubensgenossen*]," and this reluctance likely

explains why at least one German border garrison joined the April 1670 uprising.[103] Here we need to consider an important but little-studied historical reality: the vast majority of soldiers manning Hungary's fortresses were either Lutherans or Calvinists. And as Hungary's pivotal fortresses were crucial defense posts against the Ottomans – making up the so-called Bulwark of Christendom – the Vienna court became increasingly obsessed with turning these soldiers into Catholics.[104]

What exactly happened in Hungarian border fortresses during the two years following the aborted Upper Hungarian revolt remains largely unknown due to a gap in scholarship.[105] The analytical challenge is enormous because relevant sources (e.g., reports by field commanders, inspectors, commissars, and *Musterungskommissionen*) were destroyed by nineteenth-century archivists. What little we do know must be gleaned from brief summaries compiled in the protocols of the Aulic War Council's incoming (*Expedit*) and outgoing (*Registratur*) correspondence. The scanty protocols can be supplemented with data from the archive of the Zipser Kammer that houses soldiers' petitions, letters by border commanders, investigations, the Chamber's instructions to local officials, and its communications with the Hungarian Chamber. These widely dispersed data allow us to reconstruct what likely were the principal factors that opened up a precarious chasm between Habsburg army leaders and its rank-and-file soldiers.[106]

Soldiers' petitions, officers' letters, and administrators' reports dwell on three main themes: first, the lack of provisions and the miserable economic conditions under which garrisons had to survive; second, Ottoman incursions that were constantly intensifying and made the lives of frontier soldiers more and more precarious; and finally, the drastic measures taken to destroy the economic and institutional underpinnings of Protestant religion. I will dwell briefly on the first two factors and then turn to the Counter-Reformation that became the touchstone of soldiers' resistance and revolt.

In April 1671 the Hungarian soldiers of Upper Hungary's seven most important border fortresses – Kálló, Tokaj, Szatmár, Ónod, Szendrő, Diósgyőr, and Putnok – submitted a collective petition to Emperor Leopold. They lamented that they had not received any regular payment for seven years (!) in spite of having fought heroically to counter Turkish encroachments. As they had been languishing in unbearable misery for so long, they were now forced to sell their weapons, horses, and other military equipment.[107] In February 1672 General Strassoldo appealed to the Zipser Kammer supporting a petition

of his Hungarian cavalrymen. These soldiers lived without any provisions even though they were vital for the forward defense of Szatmár Fortress, "standing sentry … day and night against frequent incursions by the Turks." For sheer physical survival they were now forced to feed themselves by extracting foodstuffs from the villages where they were stationed. If these soldiers were not paid immediately, their foraging would generate "enormous harm and throw many Christian souls to the other side [i.e., the Ottoman side] as has never happened before." In another letter from the same month General Strassoldo called attention to the plight of his Hungarian infantrymen: they were in desperate need of money but he could not pay them for more than one month. They had told him that they needed at least five months' pay to survive.[108]

The economic misery of Hungarian soldiers is confirmed by a plethora of sources from Upper and Lower Hungary.[109] However, it would be a mistake to assume that rank-and-file German soldiers were doing much better, as historians Takats and Benczédi have argued. In theory they were paid more than twice as much as Hungarian soldiers, and they were typically paid first, but this did not prevent a long series of complaints about lack of supplies, hunger, and poverty.[110] For example, equipment master (*Zeugwarth*) Andreas Hirschberger, in charge of artillerists in Upper Hungary's fortresses, warned in July 1672 that his men were starving. They were in a state of extreme misery (*höchste noth*) and "harassing [him] daily, even by the hour, with their lamentable complaints begging for their payments."[111] He could not offer them anything except words of consolation, which could neither satisfy them nor quench their hunger. In late August 1672 Colonel Georg Wilhelm von Schöningh, commander of Szendrő Fortress, reported that his garrison's magazine was falling to pieces, grain supplies were completely rotten, and the remaining provisions of grain, flour, and salt were so small that they were hardly sufficient to support his soldiers. He warned that immediate action was needed – otherwise he requested pardon in advance for what might happen in case of enemy action.[112]

One of the reasons for the lack of provisions and pay was the constant danger of Ottoman ambush. In the past Hungarian soldiers had been able to cultivate produce on small plots of lands outside the fortress walls to support themselves and their families. Other pursuits had included viniculture, fishing, cattle herding, and sales of booty from raiding (including slaves from Ottoman territory held for ransom). But now pillaging Ottoman troops made

traditional economic activities very dangerous, if not impossible, while the soldiers' customary raids into Ottoman-occupied Hungary became riskier than ever because of unprecedented Habsburg and Ottoman countermeasures.[113] Procurement officers who ventured into fortress hinterlands discovered to their dismay that they had taken their lives in their hands. For example, the provisor of Szendrő, István Pethő, reported in June 1672 that large parts of the estates assigned for the upkeep of his fortress were now under Ottoman control (*hódolt*). He would be very happy to obey orders "if [he] were not afraid of the Turk." The last time he and his men had ventured out to collect some sheep they had been forced to "hide many times in alien forests and meadows until late evening." Pethő informed his superiors at the Zipser Kammer that "only God knows how [they] could carry out [their mission] with so much fear and horror." Even under the cover of darkness one was not safe outside the fortress walls "because the Eger Turk can come any time, night or day."[114] There are numerous similar reports from other Upper Hungarian fortresses.[115]

It is not surprising that border soldiers despaired about going hungry while putting their lives on the line for the defense of the Habsburg Empire. Yet perhaps even more sensitive was the unprecedented attack on their religion as demonstrated by several revolts that involved not only soldiers, but also the Protestant nobles, burghers, and ordinary residents of the towns where Hungary's most important border fortresses were located. The religious nexus apparently gave border soldiers and townsmen a common cause to resist Habsburg repression.

Most Hungarian border soldiers were Calvinists, but there was a distinct Lutheran minority in a handful of fortresses such as Komárom, Fülek, and Győr where Calvinist and Lutheran congregations coexisted. Purely Lutheran congregations existed only in the fortresses of Légrád and Korpona. The number of Catholic soldiers was minuscule, if not zero, in Upper Hungarian fortresses, and very small in Lower Hungarian fortresses where efforts had been made since the 1650s to Catholicize the officer corps.[116] For example, of the 339 Hungarian soldiers who served in Pápa Fortress in 1659 – a year for which we have statistics – only forty-eight were Catholics vis-à-vis 233 Calvinists and fifty-eight Lutherans. The religious composition of Pápa's German garrison is unknown, but the proportion of Catholic soldiers was probably higher, as Emperor Ferdinand III had already given orders in 1653 to turn the German soldatesca into a defender of the Catholic faith. Still,

their number was not large enough to prevent the mutiny of Pápa's Hungarian garrison six years later when the Aulic War Council tried to impose Catholic officers. Perhaps this mutiny explains why Pápa's Hungarian soldiers remained without pay during the following years, leaving fifty or more to die from hunger (*vor Hungern gestorben*) and at least 300 incapacitated from malnutrition and serious illness during the height of the 1663–64 Ottoman invasion.[117]

The close nexus between Protestant soldiers and the almost completely Protestant towns in which their fortresses were located becomes most visible in collective petitions signed by soldiers, nobles, and burghers. Such petitions grew significantly in number after the Aulic War Council withdrew its opposition to the Catholicization of border fortresses in July 1671 – that is, coinciding approximately with Emperor Leopold's decision to support the agenda of the Hungarian Catholic clergy (as outlined in the previous chapter). The petitioners demanded the free exercise of their religion, unmitigated use of their churches and schools, the restitution of confiscated church endowments and properties, and the immediate liberation of arrested pastors from jail. They also vehemently refused to live without the sacramental offices of their pastors (e.g., the performance of marriage ceremonies), to participate in Catholic processions, or to give up the ringing of church bells.[118]

Given these historical circumstances, the attempt to Catholicize Protestant border garrisons was bound to lead to significant resistance. One of the first outbreaks of popular revolt occurred in the Upper Hungarian border town of Ecsed in December 1671.[119] This is perhaps not surprising, as Ecsed's Calvinist soldiers, nobles, and townsmen had been in a tug-of-war with the Habsburg occupation army since summer 1670. They freely admitted that they had joined the Upper Hungarian uprising and had in fact captured and massacred German soldiers, but unlike other fortress towns, the Ecsed soldatesca and populace refused to surrender. When Habsburg troops got ready to storm the fortress in early July 1670 delegates from Ecsed warned that any attack would generate a counterattack by Turkish and Tatar troops. Habsburg commanders believed them (having sighted an estimated 800 Ottoman troops nearby) and quickly negotiated a compromise: in return for surrender, all inhabitants of Ecsed were guaranteed complete amnesty, the free exercise of their religion, and unimpeded access to all lands and economic resources granted by Habsburg emperors and Hungarian magnates. In a curious side note, one might mention that the surrender was negotiated by one of the

Habsburg army's highest-ranking Protestant officers: Colonel Count Johannes Adolphus of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst, prince of Norway and Schleswig Holstein, whose signature and seal are found underneath the agreement next to that of General Spankau.[120]

The origins of the Ecsed revolt can be traced to Emperor Leopold's refusal to ratify the surrender agreement. Before the end of 1670 Ecsed faced military German occupation, arrests, and the seizure of endowments supporting Calvinist pastors and schoolmasters. The soldiers and town leaders appealed to the Calvinist nobility of Szatmár County for help, but these nobles' call on the Habsburg authorities to honour the surrender agreement had no effect.[121] Tensions emerged into the open as early as January 1671 when General Spankau accused the town's pastor of having encouraged the desertion of a German soldier. The runaway soldier was captured and, in addition to the pastor, he implicated a noble, a tailor, and a school rector in what the Aulic War Council feared was a larger conspiracy to talk German soldiers into leaving their posts. What kinds of *persuasiones* the alleged conspirators are supposed to have used, or if they tried them out on other German soldiers, remains unclear; but they likely appealed to the deserter's religious faith, given that he was a coreligionist from Calvinist Baden in Germany. The schoolmaster still languished in prison more than a year later but the pastor either escaped arrest or was released soon afterwards. It was the attempt of magnate Ferenc Rákóczi – eager to please the emperor – to arrest the pastor and seize Ecsed's churches that generated the revolt (*rivolta*) in December 1671.[122] A similar intrusion by the overzealous Rákóczi also triggered a popular revolt in the fortress town of Tokaj at about the same time. In both cases military detachments from other parts of Upper Hungary had to be called in to subdue the insurgents.[123]

The fortress of Szendrő – like Ecsed and Tokaj, crucial for Upper Hungarian border defense – erupted in revolt a few months later. In late April 1672 "insurrectionary people" (*aufständige Leuthen*) made an attempt to overthrow the Catholic vice-captain, an officer named Gábor Bossányi who had recently been imposed upon the Hungarian garrison by General Spankau. The uprising may or may not have succeeded as Bossányi still claimed to be in charge of the fortress in mid-June 1672. However, his position was seriously undermined by the refusal of his predecessor, the Calvinist officer János Horváth, to resign. On 16 May 1672 Horváth wrote to the Aulic War Council demanding immediate reinstatement and the same payment given to other

reformed officers.[124] Horváth had the support of the Calvinist garrison and town, which for more than a year had been resisting the attempts of a Catholic minority to get their hands on the financial and economic resources that were supporting the pastor and schoolmaster. The problem was that the Catholic minority and Vice-Captain Bossányi had powerful supporters in Bishop Ferenc Szegedi of Eger, the Zipser Kammer's Zsigmond Holló, and the imperial mining director Giovanni Andrea Joanelli (who was eager to punish the fortress for its role in the 1670 revolt).[125]

Tensions at Szendrő Fortress did not flare up again, however, as Horváth was restored to office in July 1672, apparently as a quid pro quo for allowing the confiscation of the Calvinist church (while keeping the Calvinist pastor and schoolmaster in Szendrő).[126] Did the Aulic War Council fear that the Calvinist garrison would make good on its threat not to defend the fortress if their wishes were not granted?[127] If so, keeping Vice-Captain Horváth was only a tactical measure to win time: already in June the German commander of Szendrő, Colonel Schöningh, asked General Spankau for reinforcements (Spankau, however, did not act, forwarding the request to Vienna).[128] Fresh imperial troops finally arrived in late July, but the Aulic War Council hesitated: General Spankau was to assess the situation and decide for himself if it was safe enough to force Vice-Captain Horváth into retirement.[129] On 13 August Horváth was removed from office but not without being paid a bonus. Horváth's removal coincided with "the payment and demobilization [*Abdankung*] of unqualified hussars and Heyducks" – a euphemism for the expulsion of Hungarian Calvinist soldiers from the fortress.[130]

Similar tensions over religion occurred in other Upper Hungarian border castles including Szatmár, the flagship of eastern border defense, where a large German garrison kept a lid on popular discontent.[131] In Ónod (Borsod County) Calvinist soldiers deposed the Catholic vice-captain in June 1672 and brought back the Calvinist officer György Tolvay, who had been their commander for at least six years. Shortly after Tolvay's return the Hungarian garrison rebelled against the confiscation of their Calvinist church. Troops from outside the fortress led by a Hungarian general eventually restored order, but without succeeding at breaking popular resistance against the new Catholic priest.[132] In Kálló (Szabolcs County) a rebellion broke out in April 1672 that led to the arrest of several Hungarian hussars who had allegedly been foraging in the fortress's hinterlands despite strong prohibitions. However, these predatory hussars (*räuberische Hussaren*) – as General Spankau

called them – were quickly freed from prison by other soldiers and spearheaded a second revolt in June. The trigger was most likely the arrival of German troops with a mandate to discipline the troublemakers. These troops almost certainly attempted to confiscate Kálló's Calvinist church.[133] This is strongly suggested by the timing of the second revolt – it overlapped roughly with the Ónod uprising – as well as a peculiar policy reversal of the Zipser Kammer in these revolts' aftermath: on 11 July 1672 the chamber struck out its already written order to confiscate the Calvinist church of Putnok, a fortress town pivotal for guarding Gömör County.[134] This unprecedented step suggests that the Habsburg authorities had learned an important lesson: drastic intervention in border fortresses' religious affairs could generate significant instability along the borders.

Even Hungary's strategically most important fortresses, the modern citadels of Lower Hungary built to protect Vienna and its hereditary provinces, were not immune to religious turmoil. While the new fortress town of Leopoldstadt (Lipótvár, Leopoldov) appeared to be securely in the hands of a largely Catholic garrison, this was not the case in Győr and Komárom, the other two flagships of Lower Hungarian border defense.[135] The assumption that the forced Catholization of these castles – and smaller nearby fortresses like Pápa and Veszprém – could provide greater border security was first pushed by the Catholic clergy and accepted by the Aulic War Council with unusual speed. In fact, the pastors of Győr and Komárom were among the first Protestant clerics to be targeted by the Vienna court after the 1670 revolt.[136] It is likely that the previously reticent war council's remarkable rush to arrest these pastors was due to the fact that the Ottomans considered Győr ("Salamander Castle") and Komárom prime targets for their next campaign on Vienna.[137]

The troubles that engulfed Komárom after the arrest of its pastors in July 1671 illustrate how counterproductive attacks on the religious faith of border soldiers could be.[138] At Győr a large contingent of well-paid German troops commanded by the war council's president Montecuccoli – who was also the fortress's top commander – kept a semblance of peace (hiding the seething discontent of many Calvinist and Lutheran soldiers),[139] but the situation in Komárom became increasingly explosive. Townsmen, nobles, and soldiers protested the arrest of their pastors and demanded their immediate liberation from jail. The Aulic War Council caved in during late summer or fall 1671, released the pastors (two Calvinists and one Lutheran), and allowed them to

resume church services. However, things got out of hand in January 1672 when the bishop of Győr and his Croat mercenaries tried to chase the pastors from their churches and houses. The town was in uproar and General Karl Ludwig von Hofkirchen, the commander of Komárom, resorted to drastic force (*militare brachium*) to disperse a large Calvinist crowd determined to defend their church.[140] Less then two months later a mysterious fire (*Feuersbrunst*) erupted, which Hofkirchen reported to Vienna with other routine business. But the general's suspicions were aroused in June 1672 when a much larger fire consumed the town's confiscated Calvinist church and other buildings that had been taken over by the Franciscan and Jesuit orders. In his reports Hofkirchen attributed this fire to arsonists. During the next weeks four other fires broke out, consuming more than 200 homes; an attempt to burn down the fortress itself was thwarted at the last minute by the accidental discovery of smoldering fuel and gunpowder piled up next to the fortress's parapet.[141]

The measures taken by General Hofkirchen in response to the crisis demonstrate how precarious his hold over Komárom had become.[142] First, Hofkirchen tried to appease his soldiers – both Hungarian and German – by paying them well, but it is not clear that he succeeded, because the fortress's musketeers demanded to be paid in gold.[143] Second, he implored the Aulic War Council for new troops "for the better occupation of Komárom." These troops started arriving in July and August 1672.[144] Third, he expelled the town's Protestant pastors and threatened them with death if they ever returned. The townsmen were similarly threatened if they ever entered the fortress in secret. Finally, Hofkirchen instituted a tribunal that imposed death sentences on a number of minor characters: an obscure Calvinist pastor from a nearby village was burnt at the stake, an unnamed Catholic soldier shared the same fate, and an eighteen-year-old youngster and the elderly widow of a former town pastor were decapitated. Neither the fortress's Protestant soldiers nor the town's pastors, nobles, and other elites were targeted for punishments.[145] Such reprisals almost certainly would have been too risky. The curious singling out of a lone Catholic soldier – it is unclear if he was German or Hungarian – likely demonstrates that Hofkirchen wanted to send a warning signal to Catholic soldiers whose support the Aulic War Council had come to see as absolutely vital for Hungarian border defense.

The imperial court was very concerned about the growing crisis in Hungary's border fortresses, and on 11 December 1671 Emperor Leopold I – after

consulting with his inner circle at Laxenburg Palace – gave orders to carry out a military reform project that had been promoted by Count Montecuccoli since the 1663–64 Ottoman war. The plan was to create a well-paid, well-disciplined, and highly motivated standing army that would be able to withstand an Ottoman invasion. This meant drastically reducing the number of Hungarian border soldiers to concentrate them in smaller garrisons while increasing the number of German soldiers. For example, the Hungarian garrisons of Szendrő and Győr, which comprised about 500 and 600 soldiers respectively in early 1672, were to be reduced to 200 and 250 soldiers each. The remaining soldiers would receive regular monthly pay, sufficient food provisions, barrack-style housing, good weapons and ammunitions, and other needed supplies. Ideally, the demobilized soldiers would be absorbed into new regiments that were to be organized in the fortress hinterlands.[146]

In actuality, implementation of the reform project was haphazard and only further deepened the crisis. Confronting an already discontented soldatesca with demobilization orders was a risky business. This likely explains why Hilarius Feichtinger, chief of the imperial *Musterkommission*, had trouble carrying out his orders. In Putnok, for example, he failed to reduce the Hungarian garrison from 300 to 100, leaving almost 240 soldiers in place. He had to make similar adjustments in Kálló and Tokaj.[147] The privileging of a small minority of Catholic soldiers – Feichtinger was "to keep as many [Catholics] … as possible in active duty" – and the introduction of new Catholic officers caused more bad blood, as highly qualified soldiers were dismissed while "unqualified subjects" (*untaugliche Subjekte*) were kept on the muster registers.[148] And the continued lack of financial resources – given the failure of the *repartitio* – meant that the soldiers left in Hungary's garrisons did not become a disciplined fighting force. They remained as unruly as ever and were forced to make a living by plunder if they did not want to starve. It was questionable if such soldiers would defend their fortresses against an Ottoman attack. They certainly did very little, if anything, to stop the Ottoman takeover of lands inside Royal Hungary.[149]

The imperial court's flawed reform efforts had one other important consequence. The massive dismissal of Hungarian soldiers left an unknown number of them – perhaps several thousand[150] – without employment and without a place to live (as there was never sufficient money to absorb such soldiers into new regiments). Where would these dislocated soldiers go? Would they join the Hungarian exiles who were organizing rebel armies on

Ottoman and Transylvanian territory? Or would they enlist in the Ottoman army, whose recruiters – as we have seen – were actively looking for new soldiers? Or would they join the elusive bands of the *szabad legények*, that is, former soldiers who were somehow eking out a living in the Ottoman-Habsburg borderlands?

In sum, Hungarian border soldiers, countless dismissed Hungarian soldiers, and an unknown number of German soldiers (due to religion or lack of pay) joined the growing reservoir of popular discontent that spread in Habsburg Hungary in the aftermath of the 1670 revolt. While the soldiers' grievances had a number of distinctive features, such as complaints about the lack of pay and increased exposure to Ottoman incursions, they shared with the rest of Hungary's Protestant majority the experience of forced Catholicization. This helps to explain why both elite and ordinary residents of the border towns where these soldiers were stationed joined repeatedly in revolts against the removal of Protestant officers, the confiscation of churches, and the expulsion of pastors.

Thus, the Habsburg court confronted a society in deep turmoil. Wide swaths of the still largely Protestant and Orthodox country resisted the Counter-Reformation. While army violence, overtaxation, and mass arrests were certainly important mobilizing factors, the systematic attack on traditional religion was the decisive catalyst. Confiscation of churches, expulsion of pastors, and the imposition of Catholic or Uniate priests impacted the lives of hundreds of thousands of ordinary people: Ruthenian Orthodox and Slovak Lutheran peasants, Hungarian Calvinist residents of small agricultural towns, German and Slovak Lutheran inhabitants of mining towns, the mostly Hungarian Calvinist and Lutheran border soldiers, and the common folk of large incorporated German-Slovak towns such as Pozsony were united in their rejection of forced Catholization. Women played a visible role in this resistance, particularly in Slovak villages and German-Slovak towns. The forms of popular resistance varied widely, ranging from open revolt to various forms of passive resistance such as the refusal to pay new Catholic clergy. With the remarkable exception of the unfolding peasant war in Nyitra and Trencsén counties, popular resistance did not form a cohesive wider movement. Rather, individual episodes of resistance occurred in widely dispersed localities.

"This thousand-faced popular resistance" (László Benczédi), never studied before,[151] is vital for understanding why army leaders like General Spankau

began to question their ability to defend Hungary against the Ottomans. While the Vienna court breathed a sigh of relief that Grand Vizier Köprülü was turning the Ottoman army against Poland instead of Hungary, local army commanders on the ground were less sanguine. They saw with their own eyes the misery, anger, and unruliness of their soldiers, particularly those in border fortresses. They were increasingly forced to send their most reliable troops, the German recruits, into villages, towns, and even fortresses to quell revolts.[152] Recruitments of new soldiers in Silesia, Austria, Bohemia, and the German Empire reached their zenith in summer 1672.[153] But what difference would these reinforcements make if the soldiers were not sufficiently paid? Would these soldiers be able to quell a general uprising, that is, a repeat of the April 1670 revolt? And what would happen if this uprising coincided with an Ottoman attack, even a minor one, or an invasion by the rebel troops assembled by Hungarian refugee nobles?

Archbishop Szelepcsényi had already predicted another major rebellion in Hungary. As Szelepcsényi conveyed to Emperor Leopold I in a December 1670 memorandum, "when grains of cannon powder come together and even the smallest spark falls onto them, they all – each single one of them – will erupt in flames at one and the same moment." But the archbishop mistakenly believed that such an explosion could be prevented by the mass arrest of nobles and the eradication of Protestantism.[154]

When Spankau issued a decree in May 1672 warning that sparks might fly across the Habsburg-Ottoman border and ignite a larger conflagration, he was speaking from his day-to-day experience. He faced an increasingly rebellious population that he found more and more difficult to control. In addition, he observed multiplying border crossings by fugitive nobles and their agents. He considered these border crossings to be very dangerous and described them as "an infestation [of Upper Hungary] by alien itinerants" (*infestatio itinerantium alienigenarum*).[155] Who were these border crossers? And how successful were their efforts to recruit ordinary Hungarians to join them in liberating Hungary from the Habsburg yoke? These are questions that will be addressed in the next chapter.

6

Trans-Imperial Networks

Hungarian Exiles, Ottoman Power Brokers, and Popular Rebels (1670–72)

From the perspective of the Habsburg court, the Hungarian exile communities that emerged on Ottoman and Transylvanian territories after the collapse of the April 1670 uprising constituted a growing danger; these exile communities could easily destabilize Vienna's already volatile hold over the Hungarian lands. Not surprisingly, the court devoted enormous intelligence and military resources to penetrating and thwarting the exiles' designs. These designs included almost constant lobbying for military support at the Ottoman and Transylvanian courts; efforts to foment rebellion inside Hungary; cross-border raids; and the recruitment of soldiers for future invasions from Transylvania and the *vilayet* of Varad. The exiles relied on intricate communication networks that reached all the way from their places of refuge in Huszt (Transylvania), Kecskemét (close to Buda),[1] or Debrecen (close to Varad)[2] to the Ottoman courts of Edirne, Buda, Varad, Eger, and Uyvar. These communication networks also extended to Hungarian border fortresses, noble manor houses, towns, and even remote villages in the Tatra Mountains along the Polish border. Intercepting the secret communications that flowed through these invisible webs became a priority for Habsburg spies and military commanders such as General Spankau. They feared that agents carrying messages back and forth across the Habsburg-Ottoman border could provide the sparks that would set off a large explosion in a society already deep in turmoil due to military occupation and religious persecution.

Little is known about these exile communities, even though Hungarian historians Ferenc Deak and László Benczédi long ago recognized their key

importance for understanding internal developments inside Habsburg Hungary. The Turkish historian M. Tayyip Gökbilgin seconded their work and elucidated the larger geopolitical dimension of the exiles' protection by the Ottoman court.[3] Clearly, the Hungarian exiles were both potential intruders intent on stirring up rebellion and an Ottoman proxy in an undeclared war with the Habsburg Empire. Their actions were therefore never just of local importance but could easily lead to imperial warfare. Similar historical roles were played by other better-known exiles communities: the Dutch in England during the Spanish occupation; English Calvinists and Puritans in the Netherlands after the Stuart Restoration; Armenian exiles in the late Russian Empire; Bosnian exiles in pre-WWI Serbia; or Cuban exiles in Miami after the Cuban Revolution. The great potential of such communities to destabilize the affairs of the mother countries from which they had fled is illustrated by the Dutch Revolt, the Glorious Revolution in England, Armenian terrorism in Anatolia, the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo, and the Bay of Pigs.

The purpose of this chapter is not to reconstruct the elusive composition of the exile communities – this remains an important task for future historians.[4] Rather I will attempt to capture some of the most significant actions taken by the exiles and their agents. First, I will look at the exiles' efforts to garner Ottoman support. These efforts achieved two principal successes: meetings with Grand Vizier Ahmed Köprülü and his courtiers in early summer 1671, and Köprülü's secret permission to invade Habsburg Hungary in late summer 1672. Second, I will outline some of the communication networks that connected the exiles with Habsburg Hungary and how these networks facilitated cross-border conspiracies in the spring and summer 1671 and the spring of 1672 (i.e., overlapping with exile missions to the Porte). These conspiracies included an aborted peasant uprising organized with the help of "hidden rebels" (i.e., nobles who had escaped arrest and continued to live inside Hungary); and a carefully planned attempt to organize the mass defection of discontented Hungarian border soldiers. Third, I will sample popular moods as rumours of imminent invasions by exiles, Transylvanians, and Turks spread like wildfire through Hungary's hinterlands. While it is not clear to what extent these rumours spurred ordinary men and women into action, it is remarkable to see more and more spontaneous initiatives to reach across the borders for Ottoman help. By late August 1672 it appeared that the

time was ripe for a major cataclysm, as the Ottomans were gaining stupendous victories in Poland, and as two exile armies stood poised to invade Upper Hungary.

LOBBYING THE OTTOMANS: EXILE EMISSARIES IN EDIRNE, BUDA, AND BANJA LUKA

In May 1670 hundreds of Hungarian nobles started fleeing into Transylvania and the Ottoman Empire. These refugees came from Hungary's easternmost counties bordering on the Ottoman *vilayets* of Eger and Varad and Transylvania. The first to flee were the leaders of Upper Hungary's Calvinist nobility who had been the driving force behind the April uprising.[5] They were joined by a handful of Catholics while the rest of the Upper Hungarian Catholic elite – including the magnate Ferenc I Rákóczi – threw itself at the mercy of the Habsburg court. Nobles from Lower Hungary held out longer, apparently hoping to sit out army occupation and persecution in their relatives' castles or other hiding places. For example, the Catholic magnate Imre Balassa, a towering figure in Lower Hungary, fled with his wife and children only in late November 1670 after a royal mandate had been issued for his arraignment.[6] Upper Hungary's most powerful Lutheran nobles delayed their departure until December 1670, after vainly putting their hopes in the magnate's István Thököly's ability to defend his eagle's nest in the Tatra Mountains. They included Thököly's son Imre, his brother-in-law István Petrőczy, and his close adviser Menyhért Keczer.[7]

It is difficult to say with any certainty how many Hungarian nobles actually fled into the Ottoman world, as some returned secretly or moved back and forth gauging dangers of potential arrest. But the number of those who became refugees must have been significant, as entire districts were suddenly depleted of their nobles.[8] For example, on 18 August 1670 Captain Schöningh, the German commander of Tokaj Fortress, reported that many local nobles had disappeared without a trace and their homes stood empty. Among those who had absconded were important organizers of the April uprising such as Pál Szepessy, Mátyás Szuhay, and László Kubinyi, but most were minor figures who had not even been slated for arrest. In winter 1670 Pastor Martin Novack reported from another part of Upper Hungary that all the Lutheran nobles who had protected him and other pastors in the past had disappeared.[9] Even if we allow that the greatly reduced numbers of local

nobles could have been due to other factors – for example, being arrested, being murdered, or going into hiding – there is good evidence that the Hungarian exile communities were growing and probably comprised thousands of people by 1672.[10] These refugees included unknown numbers of students, teachers, and professors driven from Protestant schools and colleges;[11] pastors expelled from their churches;[12] peasants and townsmen;[13] and Hungarian soldiers abandoning Habsburg border garrisons.[14]

The Hungarian exiles did not speak with one voice when approaching the Ottomans. There was a Lower Hungarian faction dominated by the Catholic baron Imre Balassa; a Lutheran faction made up of former Thököly servitors led by István Petrőczy; a largely Upper Hungarian Calvinist faction led by Pál Szepessy; and a Croatian faction represented by Péter Zrínyi's former majordomo Ferenc Bukovacky. These different factions launched multiple initiatives in different places and at different times, and it remains unclear to what extent, if at all, they were connected with each other. The leaders of these factions agreed only on one issue: Ottoman support was crucial for launching an invasion of Hungary by exile troops. What form this support should take, however, remained widely disputed.

The evidence that has survived in the Austrian and Hungarian archives strongly suggests that the Calvinist faction was by far the most active and ultimately the most successful in garnering Ottoman support. However, this picture is probably skewed because it was Szepessy and his men who first came to the attention of Habsburg spies and were then pursued with much greater scrutiny than any other agents seeking contact with the Ottomans. In addition, there remains a significant correspondence between members of the Calvinist faction and Transylvanian dignitaries. And the Transylvanian court's frequent intervention on behalf of the Calvinists at the Porte – which did not remain a secret to Resident Casanova's Ottoman informants – greatly added to the perception that the Calvinists were the most diehard advocates of a Hungarian-Ottoman alliance against the Habsburgs.

Thus, before turning to Calvinist lobbying at the Porte, let me survey what can be gleaned from Habsburg records about the other factions' initiatives. No Hungarian exile was more frequently mentioned by name in the reports of Habsburg resident Casanova than the Croat Ferenc Bukovacky. As we have seen, Bukovacky acted as Péter Zrínyi's emissary to Sultan Mehmed IV. It is therefore perhaps not surprising that he was welcomed with open arms when he fled to Bosnia after Zrínyi's arrest. More than any other Hungarian exile,

this Croat noble was supported at the Porte in the immediate aftermath of the Upper Hungarian uprising: he was close to the pasha of Kanisza and personally "protected by the … pasha [of Bosnia] and others from Bosnia." He resided in Banja Luka with his wife and eight body guards (*kattana*) but spent significant periods in Edirne where he was received by Grand Vizier Köprülü. Bukovacky was so close to leading Ottoman dignitaries that he came under pressure to convert to Islam (which, however, he refused to do).[15]

Habsburg agents had great difficulties finding out details about Bukovacky, apparently because he was well guarded by his Ottoman minders. A Catholic merchant from Bosnia was the only spy who succeeded in talking to Bukovacky in March 1671 but what he learned was hardly illuminating and seemed fabricated, too obviously creating the false impression that Bukovacky was persona non grata at the Porte. Bukovacky claimed to be depressed about the failure of the Upper Hungarian uprising and complained about living in poverty after the confiscation of his estates. Not surprisingly, a hopeful Casanova began to fantasize about luring Bukovacky back into the Habsburg camp by promising him a royal pardon and restoring his estates.[16]

We know very little about Bukovacky's secret machinations but it is clear that Casanova considered them important. He discovered, for example, that Bukovacky's lobbying of the Ottomans went hand in hand with a secret correspondence between Croat nobles and leading Ottoman dignitaries. These nobles begged the Ottomans to help them overthrow the German tyranny (*teutsche Tyranney*) as soon as possible. In spring 1671, when Sultan Mehmed IV was preparing to leave for Sofia with his troops, the Croat-Ottoman correspondence reached a peak and Bukovacky's good standing at the Porte came into relief. He was given money and his plan to surrender large parts of Croatia to the Porte – which he had presented to Köprülü – finally seemed to come to fruition.[17] In addition, Bukovacky had contacts in France as he had been dispatched by Zrínyi to win French support for Hungarian secession from the Habsburg Empire (and had returned with a promise of one million francs, as he bragged to Casanova's spy). He was thus rooted in the camps of the Habsburgs' two most significant competitors, and Casanova believed that Bukovacky was well informed not just about pro-Ottoman nobles but also about those still interested in an alliance with the French (who apparently had kept their distance from the pro-Ottoman party responsible for the April 1670 uprising).[18]

Casanova may not have been mistaken when he considered Bukovacky a central figure in the post-1670 conspiracies to gain Ottoman support. However, Bukovacky's extensive archive of "original documents" (*Originalschriften*) – which Casanova considered a unique treasure trove –has apparently not survived.[19] Nor are there any other spy reports to shed light on this elusive figure. We therefore do not know how he and his supporters were connected with the other factions of Hungarian exiles. All we know is that the plan of a coordinated uprising involving both Croatia and other parts of Hungary remained very much on the agenda of Hungarian exiles.

A less elusive but nevertheless mysterious figure was the Catholic magnate Imre Balassa. Until November 1670 the master of Divény Castle in northern Nógrád County – the only part of the county which that had not yet submitted to the Ottomans – he had long behaved like a ruthless robber baron. During the mid-1660s Vizier Gürcü Mehmed Pasha of Buda denounced him for raiding the Ottoman hinterlands for slaves, killing Ottoman border commanders, and harassing Ottoman subjects with his private armies. At the same time Balassa was involved in a vicious feud with Nógrád County high sheriff (*főispán*) Ádám Forgács over a lawsuit, laid siege to his castle, and pillaged his villages. And Palatine Ferenc Wesselényi had him tried and incarcerated on thirty-two counts of banditry, murder, house-breaking (*ház feltörés*), and other acts of violence in late 1665.[20] However, Balassa escaped and got in touch with the Ottomans, offering to surrender his castle if they would make him prince of Transylvania. In fact, he vowed to "become a perfect servant of the Ottoman nation" and let it be known that he could easily keep 20,000 soldiers on his payroll every year. The Ottomans did not accept this offer but Balassa refused to give up. He declared himself "general in chief of all the troops of Transylvania with its adjacent provinces" ready to fight "against the German or any other Devil." Meanwhile rumours starting circulating in June 1666 that Tatar troops were ready to assist Balassa.[21]

Like Bukovacky, Count Balassa had impressive contacts among the Ottoman elite despite his reputation as a ruthless brute or brigand (*tolvaj*), as the Eger Turks called him. In July 1666 the vizier of Buda, the pasha of Uyvar, and the beğ of Esztergom mobilized their troops to defend Balassa when he was under siege in Divény Castle by Palatine Wesselényi. Balassa was eventually defeated and captured by the Palatine's troops but fear of a larger conflict with the Ottomans quickly induced Wesselényi – apparently after urging

from Vienna – to pardon Balassa.[22] Balassa also was high sheriff of Pest-Pilis-Solt County, that is, a county completely under Ottoman rule whose interests he represented in negotiations with Ottoman leaders. In this capacity he expanded and consolidated his far-flung estates in Ottoman territory. And unlike other Hungarian nobles who struggled to access their lands on the Ottoman side of the border, Balassa was allowed to exercise almost total control over his peasants and tax them much more harshly than Ottoman tax collectors. After his flight from Habsburg Hungary Balassa settled somewhere on his "Ottoman" estates. They remained a reliable source of revenue after the confiscation of his estates in Habsburg Hungary, so Balassa did not exaggerate when he claimed that he could easily field a large army of insurgents.[23]

Balassa pushed for a second Hungarian revolt almost immediately after the collapse of the April 1670 uprising. In summer 1670 he assembled a guerilla force of 300 cavalrymen in Upper Hungary, claimed the title of general, and bombarded Hungarian nobles with calls to mobilize again. Balassa's eagerness to resume the war against the Habsburgs strikes one as peculiar as he had not participated in the April 1670 revolt, apparently because he resented that the insurgents had not recognized him but the magnate Ferenc I Rákóczi as the future king of Hungary.[24] It is thus hardly surprising that some nobles denounced Balassa's scheme as a dangerous provocation that only served the Habsburg cause. And, in fact, Balassa never could shake off the suspicion that he was a Habsburg agent provocateur. Calvinist exiles accused him of having "offer[ed] many services to the Germans in the persecution of the Hungarians."[25] It certainly did not help Balassa's reputation that at some point in summer 1670 the imperial court had discontinued trial proceedings against him while many other nobles were thrown into jail. But it is also a fact that the Habsburg court issued a warrant for Balassa's arrest after his scheme to launch an insurrection was discovered in November 1670.[26]

When Imre Balassa claimed in early summer 1672 that the Hungarian exiles had elected him the future king of Hungary, Grand Vizier Ahmed Köprülü supposedly laughed and dismissed him as an insignificant player who had "been rejected without a response and gotten rid of" (*seye ohne weitere antworth verworffen und abgeschafft worden*).[27] The truth was much more complicated, albeit shrouded in mystery. Beginning in July 1671, Balassa was mentioned repeatedly as a participant in the secret planning of an invasion of Hungary, together with the principal leaders of the Lutheran and Calvinist

factions. He joined the latter in written appeals to Köprülü, and may have been present when they met with him.[28] Yet he appears to have operated for the most part independently of these Protestant leaders: he did not rely on Transylvanian intermediaries to approach the Porte but acted directly or through Wallachian dignitaries. In early July 1672 he offered his brother as a pawn (*Pfandt*) to Köprülü and vowed that under his military leadership the exiles were strong enough to launch an attack on Habsburg Hungary without Ottoman help. At about the same time Balassa's son Kristóf appeared at Köprülü's camp – not far from the Polish border – and requested to be instructed in Turkish.[29]

Whatever Balassa's intention in declaring himself Hungarian king may have been, his scheme of invading Hungary had at least some support at the Porte until late August 1672. It was only then that Grand Vizier Köprülü instructed Prince Grigore Ghica of Wallachia to cut his ties with the Balassa clan.[30] In a letter addressed to Prince Ghica and intercepted by Habsburg intelligence Balassa complained that he had fallen victim to unspecified intrigues. He and his son stood falsely accused of treason "in front of the grand vizier" even though "he had never betrayed anyone and would never do so and consequently had never any intention of involving [his] son Kristóf in such matters." He had been too trusting and had been deceived. If given an opportunity, nothing would be easier than to prove his innocence. In the meantime he would accept that he had been silenced and forced to live at the mercy of the Ottomans (*in aliena potestate existens*). But apparently hoping for future opportunities to play his role in Hungarian affairs, Balassa concluded his letter with expressions of his high regard for the Wallachian prince: he would continue to trust in the prince's good will and consider himself the prince's most humble servant.[31]

While we do not know exactly who was responsible for undermining Grand Vizier Ahmed Köprülü's support for Balassa, it was likely the work of the Hungarian Calvinist faction led by Pál Szepessy. By late summer 1672 this faction seems to have won out in the competition for Köprülü's favour and it had formed a close alliance with the Lutheran faction. In fact, both Pál Szepessy and István Petrőczy, the Lutheran leader, had already started collaborating in summer 1671 when they both met with Köprülü. I will therefore not attempt to trace independent Lutheran initiatives: István Petrőczy's separate attempts to win Köprülü's good will are just as shrouded in mystery as those of Imre Balassa and Ferenc Bukovacky. We know that

they occurred, but since Habsburg spies largely ignored Petrőczy and only tidbits of Petrőczy's correspondence survive, we do not know how significant they were.[32]

Intelligence relayed to the Habsburg court from the Porte described Pál Szepessy as a towering figure who dominated exile encounters with Ottoman leaders. For example, during meetings with Köprülü and other leading Ottoman dignitaries at the Ottoman camp in Macedonia between 3–13 July 1671 it was Szepessy alone who spoke while Petrőczy and another unidentified Hungarian emissary sat in silence. In fact, if we can believe the Habsburg spy privy to these meetings, the other two exiles never once opened their mouths. Resident Casanova described Szepessy as "the most wicked of these three and the most active in this business [*thuet das maiste bey der sach*]." The Secret Conference with Chancellor Hocher and Emperor Leopold I in attendance concurred and characterized Szepessy as follows: "It is impossible to describe the kinds of mischievous motives and untruths that Szepessy employed … in their favour so that they could be taken under the Porte's protection. One rarely encounters a presumptuous and reckless person with such formidable eloquence and a good head on his shoulder who knows so well how to present his business."[33]

Other sources originating in the Hungarian-Ottoman borderlands also suggest that Szepessy was the driving force behind exile attempts to enlist Ottoman support. Spies working for Habsburg border commanders discovered already in September 1670 that Szepessy was actively lobbying Hungarian pashas, and in fact had won the trust of Bulyuk Pasha of Eger. If we can believe these spies the Calvinist exiles under Szepessy became part of an invasion plot hatched by the sultan: Ottoman troops under the command of the pashas of Eger, Varad, and Temesvár – and the vizier of Buda – were to join Prince Apafi of Transylvania who would spearhead the invasion. The staging ground was to be Debrecen, that is, the town in Ottoman-controlled territory where Szepessy had found refuge with his wife and children. In early October 1670 Szepessy and other Calvinist leaders were eagerly awaiting the arrival of Prince Apafi and the pasha of Varad in Debrecen. However, they waited in vain because Grand Vizier Köprülü had apparently refused to endorse the sultan's plan.[34] On 27 October Szepessy and other Calvinist exiles met with Transylvanian magnates under the greatest secrecy (*igen nagy titokkal*). Shortly afterwards, a Transylvanian envoy left for Edirne, where he met with Köprülü and the sultan on 6–7 November.[35]

For the next half-year, Szepessy and his supporters operated under a cloud of extreme uncertainty as the Porte remained silent and Transylvanian emissaries were unable to shed light on Köprülü's intentions.[36] Two surviving letters by Szepessy from this period reveal his almost desperate efforts to penetrate the Ottomans' intentions. In November 1670 he was making the rounds (*circálván*) of Turkish border fortresses and spoke to soldiers and officers; he became convinced that the Ottoman army stood poised to invade Hungary. However, he found no evidence that these Ottoman troops were at all interested in the fate of the exiles; in fact, they spoke with great animosity about Prince Apafi of Transylvania, whom Szepessy and other Calvinist exiles then considered their most important advocate at the Porte. He feared that Hungary might very well become a second Serbia (*nem többé Magyar-, hanem Ráczország*), that is, an integral part of the Ottoman Empire after the emasculation of its noble elite.[37] In April 1671 Szepessy was no less despondent: he complained that "the Eger Turks" were keeping him in the dark about a top-secret emissary who had just arrived from Köprülü. All he could find out was that an invasion of Hungary was imminent, but he feared it would not involve the Hungarian exiles. In fact, Köprülü had supposedly given orders to depose Prince Apafi and make his rival Miklós Zólyomi king of Hungary, thus reviving a plan that – as shown above – had first appeared in early 1670. Szepessy was utterly hopeless: no matter how hard he tried "[he] could not hear anything … that might give the slightest consolation."[38]

Given these seemingly hopeless circumstances, one wonders how Szepessy gained access to Köprülü in early July 1671. It is likely that Prince Apafi's efforts to ingratiate himself with Köprülü and the Ottoman Empire's chief mufti, as well as a renewed Transylvanian diplomatic offensive, played a role.[39] However, just as important was the fact that Szepessy and his Debrecen associates never ceased to lobby Ottoman border commanders and pashas. They finally appear to have won support from the pasha of Varad. In early April 1671 one of Szepessy's closest allies, Pál Wesselényi, reported that his contacts in Varad were encouraging: undoubtedly the exiles would soon receive a positive answer from Köprülü. The pasha was very ill, but he had sent his brother to Köprülü to discuss the situation.[40] Shortly afterwards Köprülü replaced the sick Varad pasha with Kücsük Mehmed Pasha, who for nearly a decade had been the Ottoman Empire's most prominent power broker in Hungary.[41] Kücsük Pasha quickly turned into an active supporter of the Hungarian exiles. Among others, he sent letters to the Porte endorsing Szepessy's call for

Ottoman military assistance and the immediate invasion of Hungary. In fact, while Szepessy spoke with Köprülü and his courtiers, Kücsük Pasha exerted pressure, emphasizing that the Habsburg army was in a miserable state and that now was the time to attack.[42]

According to the Habsburg spy who witnessed Szepessy's conversation with Köprülü, his request for military assistance was relatively modest in comparison with Kücsük Pasha's call for an immediate large-scale invasion. Only 5,000 Turkish soldiers were needed at the present moment to assist a Hungarian rebel army of 18,000 who were ready for combat. These troops had been "distributed over various places of the Kingdom" ranging from Upper Hungary to Croatia. Szepessy refused to specify the exact location of these troops but he emphasized that they would closely coordinate their operations with Ottoman commanders. In particularly, he urged that the attack on the Habsburg Empire should consist of two major strategic moves. First, Ottoman forces should march on Hungarian border fortresses; they would gain easy victory since these fortresses were badly fortified and too poorly equipped with foodstuffs and military provisions. In fact, Szepessy predicted the quick mass surrender of Hungarian border soldiers. While Ottoman troops penetrated into Habsburg Hungary, rebel units would break into Austria and launch a pillaging campaign into the vicinity of Vienna (*bis auf Wien*) and create havoc by doing much damage (*große schaden thun*). Then, "when the Turks have Hungary in their possession His Imperial Majesty's hereditary provinces would also surrender." The Habsburg court would be helpless to respond, as there was great chaos (*großer müßverstandt*) in Germany and everywhere else in the Habsburg Empire – claims that Szepessy did not support with evidence but which were nonetheless correct in the case of Germany, where the French court was expanding its influence at Vienna's expense.[43]

Even the spy's hostile summary of Szepessy's speech could not disguise that the Calvinist emissary spoke with religious zeal. He blamed the Jesuits for his nation's predicament. They had convinced the Habsburg emperor to "force the Hungarians into the Catholic faith with violence" and in fact, had taken charge of the Vienna court. This latter assertion made Köprülü laugh, as he found it astounding that the Habsburg emperor "allowed himself to be ruled by monks." Yet the Habsburgs could never succeed, Szepessy insisted, because "it was impossible to coerce [people's] conscience" (*das gewissen wehr nit zu zwingen*).[44] In a letter he handed Köprülü during this meeting, Szepessy

Figure 6.1
Portrait of Grand Vizier Ahmed (Achmet) Köprülü (1635–76)

During the 1670s, Köprülü became the target of intense lobbying by Hungarian exiles and rebel leaders. The most successful of these lobbyists, the Calvinist noble Pál Szepessy, met with Köprülü on at least four occasions. He admired Köprülü's "generous magnanimity" and was convinced that the grand vizier had taken the Hungarian rebels under his protection. Habsburg intelligence often learned about rebel meetings with important dignitaries at the Porte from the master spy Panaiotti (Panagotis Nikousios) who enjoyed Köprülü's confidence. The text below the portrait reads: "Ahmed [Achmet] Commander in Chief of the Great Lord of the Turks."

further elaborated on the horrors of the Habsburg occupation. He expressed the fervent belief that the future of Hungary lay with the Ottoman Empire: "We would like to recognize the authority of more powerful and more gentle overlords than the Germans. They have gotten used to raging over the living, dead, and even our souls … May Europe recognize Your generous magnanimity [*nagylelkű nemességeteket*] towards the suffering and may other nations hold up Your example in front of their eyes because those who have suffered iniquities from others have found refuge with You and they are now in the habit of fleeing under Your wings."[45]

Köprülü "did not give [the Hungarians] a categorical response but only kind words [indicating] that he would see and consider what was to be done."[46] Still, there were very encouraging signs. For example, Köprülü gave instructions to his favourite, Vizier Ibrahim Pasha of Buda, "to handle [the Hungarians'] affairs from now on [*ihre negotia ferner zu tractieren*]."[47] Also, when Szepessy and the other two emissaries left the Ottoman camp on 18 July 1671 they received assurances from Köprülü's chief of staff that "the most powerful and most insuperable padishah [*unüberwindlichste Padischah*] is taking the Hungarians under his special protection." On their departure, the Ottomans dressed the Hungarian envoys in honourary vestments made from marten. A high-ranking courtier accompanied them to Buda carrying a letter from the sultan to the Vienna court with an ultimatum: "After emptying the [Hungarian] state of his entire army the former king of Hungary should abdicate unless he wants war [*Magyarország eddigi királya mondjon le, ha nem akar háborút*]."[48]

After July 1671, as the Ukrainian crisis deepened, things remained hanging in the balance for Szepessy and his fellow Protestant exiles. But they continued to lobby the Porte and were greatly helped in this endeavour by the vizier of Buda.[49] In fact, Szepessy and Petrőczy lived for nearly five months at Ibrahim Pasha's court while Habsburg spies tried to zero in on their secret machinations.[50] The little these spies managed to find out was that Buda had likely become the nerve centre of a top-secret conspiracy to prepare a joint Hungarian-Ottoman invasion of Royal Hungary. The secret undertaking, which already had the support of the pasha of Varad, was also promoted by the pasha of Uyvar who praised the Hungarian rebels and spread false rumours about the death of Emperor Leopold. While Ottoman military preparations were intensifying messengers traveled on behalf of the exiles between

Buda and Uyvar, Buda and Transylvania, Buda and Edirne, and Buda and Ottoman army headquarters (when Köprülü and the sultan moved in the direction of Poland).[51] Those who proceeded to Edirne and army headquarters brought along letters that spoke in the name of all Hungarians (*ex parte omnium Hungarorum*), memoranda signed and sealed by large numbers of Hungarian exiles, or simply long lists with the names of noble co-conspirators welcoming the Ottoman invasion of Habsburg Hungary.[52]

It remains a historical mystery whether or not Ahmed Köprülü actually accepted the Hungarian exiles' plan for the invasion of Hungary. On the one hand, there is evidence that he rejected the scheme. For example, starting in November 1671 Köprülü repeatedly warned Prince Apafi of Transylvania not to get involved, refused to meet again with Szepessy and other exiles, and on occasion rudely expelled Hungarian emissaries from his court.[53] On the other hand, Köprülü never ordered the exiles to abandon their plan, and he also did not forbid Ottoman power brokers in Hungary to maintain relations with them. In fact, he remained greatly interested in the exiles' plans and eavesdropped on their emissaries' conversations with his chief of staff while sitting hidden from view behind a screen.[54] And when Pál Szepessy explicitly asked Köprülü's deputy (*vicegerens*) in February 1672 "whether the Powerful Emperor would mind if we Hungarians do something against the German," he received the response that the sultan was not opposed. They should take position along the Transylvanian borders and wait until they received the signal to move.[55] In early July 1672 a close associate of Szepessy's received similar encouragement from Prince Grigore Ghica of Wallachia, a Köprülü favourite who claimed that the grand vizier had written him a top-secret letter.[56] And in late August 1672 Prince Apafi gave tacit permission to his courtier Mihály Teleki, a passionate supporter of the Hungarian Calvinists, to prepare an army to join the exiles in their imminent attack on Hungary. Given Apafi's great fear of the Ottomans – the constant threat of removal was hanging over him – it is very unlikely that he acted without Köprülü's approval.[57]

If indeed Köprülü gave his support to the exiles – which the Habsburg resident feared that he had, despite the grand vizier's repeated assurances to the contrary[58] – then he was most likely convinced not by the continuing appeals of Transylvanian emissaries but by the vizier of Buda and the pasha of Varad. Both repeatedly sent emissaries to the Porte on the exiles' behalf,[59] and one of the vizier's most important courtiers, Ali Beg, in fact became the Szepessy

faction's principal liaison to Köprülü. Ali Beg first accompanied Szepessy to Edirne in November 1671 and in July 1672 carried out Köprülü's orders to verify the signatures and seals of 280 Hungarian nobles who had vowed "to commit themselves under the protection of the Great Sovereign" (*rendersi alla protettione die Grand Signore*). He apparently visited each of the conspirators to find out "if they had in fact given their signatures and if the seals were [in fact] their own." After returning to Buda Ali Beg followed Köprülü into Poland and received ample rewards for his services. A well-placed Habsburg spy at the vizier's court, the Jew Heschel Leble (*der Jude Löbl*), discovered Ali Beg's secret movements and informed the Habsburg emissary Meninski, who promptly warned the Aulic War Council.[60]

Whether or not Köprülü approved the Szepessy and Petrőczy factions' plan to invade Hungary in summer 1672 cannot be resolved conclusively without exploring the Ottoman archives. However, it is important to emphasize that Szepessy, at least, was fervently convinced Köprülü *had* given permission to launch an attack against the Habsburg army.[61] Why Szepessy was so sure of Ottoman support remains unclear; it is possible that Ali Beg, a Hungarian renegade with obvious sympathy for the exiles' cause, gave Szepessy access to top-secret information that even the best Habsburg spies and Transylvanian emissaries were unable to penetrate.[62] If not from Ali Beg, such information might also have come from Vizier Ibrahim Pasha or Kücsük Pasha of Varad. Both of these Ottomans continued to play important roles in the exiles' invasion plans. Alternatively, the information could have come from the Buda vizier's top courtiers who had assured Szepessy that "once the Powerful Emperor had taken the Hungarians under his protection there would be no more change [in his support]." After all, they had insisted, the sultan was not duplicitous about giving his word (*császárnak két szava nem szokott lenni*).[63]

One of the Buda vizier's servitors, Mustafa Agha, appeared in Vienna in November 1671 after traveling to the Porte on the exiles' behalf. He boasted carelessly to a Habsburg spy about the Ottomans' impending campaign against the Habsburg Empire's capital city of Vienna. As he indicated, Christian armies had been unable to defend the mighty fortress of Candia. It was now time to fulfill the legacy of Sultan Süleyman who had besieged Vienna without success in 1529. The Ottoman army would not repeat Süleyman's failed military strategy, and the Habsburgs would have no way to prevent the Ottomans from entering Vienna triumphantly.[64]

Even if Köprülü's endorsement of the Protestant exiles' invasion plan remains uncertain, there can be little doubt that Szepessy and Petrőczy enjoyed support from two of Ottoman Hungary's most powerful leaders, that is, the vizier of Buda and the pasha of Varad. The Protestant exiles also had ties with the pasha of Uyvar and Prince Ghica of Wallachia. These Ottoman power brokers filled the vacuum left by Prince Apafi of Transylvania. While the prince was eager to help Hungary's Protestants militarily, he remained paralyzed by fear that Köprülü was about to topple him.[65]

The extent to which the Protestant factions coordinated their invasion plans with the Croatian and Lower Hungarian factions led by Ferenc Bukovacky and Imre Balassa remains unknown, as the Habsburg archives provide very limited clues. We know only that Balassa settled somewhere in "neutral villages between Hungary and Transylvania" in August 1672 after he had fallen from Köprülü's grace. Habsburg spies reported that Balassa was pursuing his own invasion scheme with the goal of imitating the Ukrainian Cossack leader Petro Doroshenko's success in Poland.[66] As we shall see, however, Balassa's scheme – whatever it may have looked like – came too late: Protestant exiles had already assembled an invasion army that stood poised to cross into Habsburg Hungary.

SECRET WEBS OF INTRIGUE AND DRESS REHEARSALS FOR REVOLT

While actively lobbying Ottoman, Transylvanian, and Wallachian power brokers, the exiles kept in close touch with their compatriots inside Habsburg Hungary. An intense cross-border traffic of secret communications developed that even elaborate schemes by the Aulic War Council to close the border and impose limitations on travel (e.g., by enforcing an internal passport system) could not curb.[67] The evidence for this quickly developing system of information exchange is abundant, though the historian struggles at least as much as Habsburg officials and military officers to recover the system's basic functioning (not to speak of the messages transmitted). Secrecy was fundamental as discovery typically entailed arrest, incarceration, confiscation of property, or worse. The couriers – often the serfs and domestic servants (*famuli*) of nobles – were sensitive to this danger hanging over their patrons' or matrons' heads. They found ingenious ways to hide letters (e.g., by sewing them into their clothes or hats), carried harmless fake letters ready for

inspection, circumvented roadblocks by walking along remote mountain paths, and traveled via villages under Ottoman control (*gehuldigte Dörfer*).[68] At the same time, the recipients of these letters often destroyed them because keeping them in their homes was much too dangerous; even the slightest suspicion of underground activity could lead to house searches. Thus, a former official of the deceased magnate István Thököly burned an entire bundle (*fasciculus*) of letters when he became the target of an investigation in summer 1671.[69]

What efforts did the Habsburg authorities make to penetrate these secret networks of communication that were consciously hidden from view? Archbishop Szelepcsényi, the Hungarian palatine locumtenens who commanded an elaborate network of intelligence gathering inside Royal Hungary, urged dissimulation. By winning the trust of known rebels who had not yet fled and by making them feel secure, it would be possible to trace their contacts. However, this posed a forbidding challenge, as Szelepcsényi himself quickly recognized: kinship and family solidarity, even across religious divides, made discovery of secret ties almost impossible. In fact, dissimulation seems to have worked only in a few cases (e.g., several of Imre Balassa's close relatives named the principal supporters of this unpopular robber baron).[70] Not surprisingly, the principal methods used to break through the wall of silence involved the interrogation of arrested rebels and their confrontation with eyewitness testimony. Often there were multiple investigations conducted by different agencies that generated many different testimonies.[71] Of course, the records of these investigations require careful analysis. But if read together with letters written by Hungarian exiles, the reports of Habsburg spies, and the stunningly detailed written confessions of a few major players desperate to evade severe punishment, it is possible to reconstruct a hidden world of secret intrigue. This intrigue had one principal goal: to prepare the hinterlands of Habsburg Hungary for the coming invasion and general uprising.

The first major exile scheme to ignite widespread popular discontent with the Habsburg occupation developed in spring and summer 1671. It very likely was part of the larger mobilization that Pál Szepessy had in mind when he told Grand Vizier Köprülü in July 1671 that 18,000 men were standing ready to take up arms inside Habsburg Hungary if the Turks invaded. While the secret conspiracy largely focused on the Lutheran territories of Upper and Lower Hungary, and perhaps indeed was limited to these territories, it nevertheless sheds light on two important developments. First, the exiles main-

tained elaborate ties with fellow nobles inside Royal Hungary. And second, the exiles drew on non-elite networks that connected brigands, peasants, demobilized soldiers, Protestant pastors, and the many local clients who remained loyal to their noble patrons even after the patrons had fled their manor houses and castles.

On 12 May 1671 Mihály Czeróczy, a Habsburg official entrusted with confiscating the lands of the deceased Lutheran magnate István Thököly in northern Szepes County, reported the arrest of "three chief brigands" (*három főtolvajt*). The arrest in itself would have been hardly noteworthy if the captives had not made revelations that greatly alarmed Czeróczy. They claimed to be participants in a plot organized by Hungarian exiles to raise an underground army "against His Majesty." Their leader, a lieutenant (*hadnagy*) named István Bocsko, had been dispatched from Transylvania to enlist 500 peasants "for Lord Imre Thököly," István Thököly's fugitive son. Bocsko, they claimed, was closely connected with members of the local nobility: the administrator of one of Thököly's castles had given him refuge and the wealthy widow Klara Keczer was his principal liaison with the exiles.[72] Klara Keczer was not a minor figure: she was the sister of the prominent exile Menyhért Keczer, who managed the affairs of the then-sixteen-year-old Imre Thököly in Transylvania.[73] Klara's brother Menyhért also happened to be a trusted confidant of Pál Szepessy and István Petrőczy. In fact, he was the principal addressé of top-secret letters they dispatched from the Macedonian mountains after negotiating with Grand Vizier Köprülü.[74]

The news conveyed by Czeróczy's letter spread quickly among supporters of the Habsburg dynasty. On 13 May 1671 Czeróczy's superior in Leutschau forwarded the letter to the Zipser Kammer within minutes of receiving it. He called for the immediate removal of the captives to Késmárk Castle, "from where as far I know one cannot escape easily." Given Czeróczy's suspicion that local nobles were not trustworthy, the affair was to be turned over to reliable investigators.[75] On 17 May Bishop György Bársony, Emperor Leopold's confidant in Szepes Castle, demanded the swift arrest of Klara Keczer, "that evil woman [*mala illa foemina*]" whom he believed was single-handedly responsible for hiring István Bocsko and his men. But this was not all. She stood in correspondence with her brother Menyhért in Transylvania and had arranged for the dispatch of military undercover operatives led by Mihály Vér, the former vice-captain of Kálló and a prominent leader of the 1670 insurgency. Vér was to take command of an army of "hidden rebels" (*occulti*

rebelles) made up of peasants and nobles. If General Spankau did not send troops right away to dissipate this forming underground army, Bársony feared the imminent outbreak of a large-scale uprising. In fact, he believed that István Bocsko might step into the role of the Hussite leader Jan Žižka or the legendary peasant rebel Péter Császár, who had led a devastating peasant revolt in the Szepes region and beyond forty years earlier.[76]

At least four investigating agencies – the Aulic War Council, the Pozsony Tribunal, the Zipser Kammer, and the Szepes Cathedral Chapter – tried to get to the bottom of what was happening in Szepes County. While much of the groundwork was carried out by local investigators, the Aulic War Council took charge in early June 1671 after the capture of István Bocsko.[77] A protocol of Bocsko's interrogation and his confrontation with witnesses was forwarded to Emperor Leopold I on July 24 and likely presented or summarized in a meeting of the Secret Conference on July 27 to discuss possible measures in anticipation of imminent war with the Turks (*in causa imminentis belli Turcici*).[78] Even though the investigators had the Vienna court's strong support, they faced significant obstacles: Bocsko and other arrested suspects were only partially cooperative, and many witnesses were unwilling to testify against him and Klara Keczer. In fact, very few nobles agreed to speak to investigators. There is no evidence that Klara Keczer herself was ever interrogated before her arrest in February 1672. Yet, the Habsburg court also had a number of willing witnesses: they included clients of the Catholic magnate István Csáky and a few of Bocsko's closest associates who agreed to cooperate in return for release from prison. Most important among them was the mercenary-bandit Ádám Svitanko, who became a well-paid undercover informant. Until his fake identity was blown in early September 1671, Svitanko traveled from village to village pinpointing hidden rebels for arrest.[79]

The following picture emerges from the archival record: at some point in early spring 1671 Bocsko appeared with a small band of armed men in Lutheran villages and market towns of the High Tatra Mountains. He gave speeches calling on people to take up arms and join him in an insurrection against the Germans. They had nothing to fear, he promised, because they would be joined by 20,000 troops made up of Transylvanians, Turks, and Hungarian exiles ready to invade under the leadership of the István Petrőczy, Imre Thököly, Menyhért Keczer, and Imre Balassa. The purpose of the insurrection was to close all mountain passes leading into neighbouring Poland and prevent Habsburg troops from escaping. Then, the surrounded

German occupiers would be massacred to the last men (*interclusos Germanos omnes interimendos esse*) and the rebels would have the opportunity to take revenge against the Catholics, "especially the priests because they alone are the cause of this war." Bocsko had his recruits swear allegiance to himself and Imre Thököly "in the name of God and the Holiest Trinity." They had "to promise and pledge that they were willing to take up arms and obey him unconditionally."[80]

There is substantial evidence that Bocsko enjoyed significant popular support. Kristóf Horváth, the Vienna court's chief local investigator, repeatedly pointed to his own powerlessness and, as the investigation stretched into the fall, the growing dangers to his life. He also noted that without the mole Svitanko and a few other local collaborators, he would be groping in the dark, not knowing where to turn next. In fact, Horváth warned his superiors that Svitanko lived in constant danger of detection and could fall victim to an ambush as "the bandits have many supporters."[81] Bocsko himself was convinced of his own popularity: he told interrogators that he could easily stir the entire peasantry (*az egesz parasztságh*) of the mountain region into revolt.[82] He was probably not wrong. Investigators reported that peasants told admiring stories about Bocsko's supernatural powers. For example, they claimed that after Bocsko had been arrested on a previous occasion, he had easily escaped from prison because "chains and locks fell off by themselves." Bocsko himself promoted this myth of invincibility. He showed off an amulet he was wearing around his neck that supposedly protected him against German arms. He promised his followers that "he would make such [amulets] for all of them during the night of the New Moon [*in novolunio*]" so that they too would be protected by magic.[83]

Yet, even if one grants Bocsko's great popularity – which seems to have remained undiminished even after his incarceration by the Aulic War Council – it is also a fact that the uprising so much feared by Habsburg officials and Bishop Bársony did not occur. In fact, Bocsko's actions remained limited to a series of guerrilla-type actions: attacks on military personnel crossing the passes without convoys; ambushes on wagon trains carrying chests with valuables from Imre Thököly's confiscated estates; extorting money, food, and drink from supporters of the Habsburg emperor (including minor servitors living on confiscated estates); and scolding, beating, and threatening Habsburg supporters with death. In one case, Bocsko and his minions occupied the castle of a Catholic noble. They unloaded a fuselage of bullets at the

noble's domestic servant who had climbed a church steeple in a desperate attempt to save his life.[84] Bocsko appears to have particularly enjoyed humiliating Habsburg loyalists. He had them marched around on mock thrones while his men took off their caps in sarcastic veneration. Several men who failed to abjure their loyalty to Emperor Leopold were likely killed, but this is impossible to say with certainty, because participants in Bocsko's rituals of violence claimed to have prevented such killings.[85]

One wonders what would have happened if the Ottomans had invaded or given permission to the exiles and Transylvanians to invade. Indications are that a major uprising would have ensued as the infrastructure for such an uprising was already in place. Bocsko operated at the centre of several overlapping underground networks that extended into different social milieux. His most influential supporters were county nobles and former servitors of the Thököly clan. They provided him with money, food supplies, and weapons while hosting him and his men in their manor houses and castles. Klara Keczer was a crucial player in this elite network.[86] At the same time Bocsko had close ties with peasant strongmen, brigands, artisans, and Lutheran pastors. Investigators identified at least twenty villages and six small towns that had associations with Bocsko – including the mining towns of Schmölnitz and Krompach.[87] Bocsko also was very much at home among soldiers. He had contacts among Heyduck (*hajdú*) peasant warriors, carried a seal of the legendary Heyduck leader István Bocskai (1557–1606), and had been charged with recruiting armed escorts (*satrapae*) for Sáros County. And it had been Bocsko and his soldiers who had prevented Imre Thököly's capture by smuggling him out of Árva Castle, the surrounded stronghold of his father István Thököly, defending him heroically in Likava Castle (Liptó County) and then facilitating his escape to Transylvania.[88]

Habsburg investigators made little headway in discovering any specifics about Bocsko's grassroots support networks. All they managed to ascertain was that Bocsko commanded influence in a far-flung territory that stretched along Royal Hungary's northern borders in Árva, Szepes, and Trencsén counties. Bocsko's prestige was particularly strong in villages along the major mountain roads leading into Galicia and Silesia.[89] He and his band also operated in the hinterlands of Sáros and Liptó counties. They used the market town of Topschau (Dobsina) in northern Gömör County, a town that had accepted the sultan's authority (*den Türken gehuldigt*), as a staging ground for their operations.[90]

Bocsko communicated not only with peasant and town leaders, but also with Lutheran pastors.[91] The most important of these was his own father, István Bocsko Senior, the parson (*duchovný*) of the market town of Namestovo (Námesztó) in Árva County. Bocsko Senior corresponded with his son and with István's brothers Augustin, Zacharias, and Jónás, who were also skilled military leaders.[92] In spring 1671, Bocsko Senior held regular meetings with Árva Lutheran clergy, peasant elders, and town leaders in the home of Namestovo's mayor (*šoltýs*). They discussed the ongoing confiscations of Thököly's lands, the eagerness of "the people and local residents belonging to [Thököly's] domain" to return the young Thököly from Transylvania, and the general readiness of the population to take up arms (*so zbraňou v ruke*).[93]

The elite networks that sustained Bocsko and his men are easier to trace than these grassroots networks. Habsburg officials quickly discovered that Bocsko was largely a creature of the nobility, so there are many traces of his contacts with nobles in the archival record. While not a noble himself, Bocsko was certainly equal, if not superior, in education; he spoke fluent Latin. He enjoyed high prestige for having saved the life of Imre Thököly. Nobles from several counties enthusiastically encouraged his actions, both orally and in writing. They knew that he might easily lose his life and claimed "that if he should perish, many from the nobility would follow after him [*multi nobilium sequerentur eundem*]."[94] The list of Bocsko's elite supporters is long, but it will suffice to introduce the two principal groups: first, the so-called *Tokoliani*, that is, clients of the Thököly clan; second, the extended Keczer clan and its clients. These two groups were tightly intertwined. Few noble families were closer to the Thökölys than the Keczers; Ambrus and Klara had been István Thököly's closest advisors. Still, the distinction between these two groups is useful because the Keczer family quickly became the prime mover behind the insurgency.[95]

In its initial phase, the Bocsko insurgency was orchestrated by officials and servitors of the deceased magnate István Thököly. The most important of these was János Ghillány, a senior courtier of Thököly's. It was Ghillány who ordered Bocsko to conscript soldiers after engineering Imre Thököly's escape to Transylvania. He gave him money, corresponded with him, and sent him to the Keczer strongholds in Sáros County where Bocsko was to make contact with the exiles.[96] Four other Thököly servitors also played significant roles: Ferenc Almássy, the bailiff of Thököly's castle in Késmárk; András Jelenik, Thököly's principal tax agent (*preceptor*); Valentin Rosneroszky,

the administrator (*provisor*) of Thököly's Késmárk estates; and Ladislav Zavor, the sheriff (*szolgabiró*) of Szepes County. They ran an elaborate system of couriers that disseminated messages over a far-flung area, provided safe houses for rebel leaders, dispatched agents to Transylvania, hosted visiting exiles and their emissaries, and organized peasants for the defense of the mountain passes.[97] Of these five influential figures, only Ghillány was arrested. The others remained free because István Thököly's brother Zsigmond protected them. Zsigmond's unbroken local power is baffling considering that he was himself implicated in the Bocsko insurgency: his personal secretary hosted Bocsko and "used ugly and foul language [*rutt mocskossan szolott*] against His Majesty."[98] Did Habsburg officials avoid challenging Zsigmond Thököly and his protégés because they no longer trusted their own authority in the northern mountain regions of Upper Hungary?[99]

The figure of Klara Keczer looms large over the Bocsko affair since the Habsburg court was preoccupied with "that nasty [and] very evil woman [*pessima foemina*]." Apart from misogyny, the most important reason for this obsession was likely that Klara eluded arrest until early 1672.[100] Until then she traveled at least three times to Transylvania to meet her brother Menyhért and other leading exiles; she corresponded with them (especially her husband Ferenc Szinnyei); and she hosted a few on her estate, including András Radics, a close relative who also repeatedly visited the court of the vizier of Buda.[101] In addition, Klara's manor functioned as a clearing house for money transfers, a safe house for insurgents, a smuggling centre for the evacuation of exile property (e.g., chests and horses), and a mailbox for letters traveling back and forth across the border.[102] Klara Keczer enlisted support from several prominent clans (e.g., Baranyay, Berzeviczy, Csernel, Forgács, Péchy, Semsei, Székely),[103] and drew on an extended kinship network. She lived on her fugitive husband's family estate in Szinye (Sáros County) where she was surrounded by his relatives; she appears to have been particularly close to the widows of her husband's two brothers. Klara also paid visits to her sister-in-law Elizabeth Mariássy, the wife of her brother Menyhért, and she enlisted the help of the Szirmay clan through her sister, the widowed Anna Szirmay, and her nephew András Szirmay (who adored Klara like a second mother). The Szirmay clan's castle in Pazdics (Pozdišovce) in Zemplén County became an important stopping point for secret travel across the Habsburg-Ottoman border.[104]

The full extent of the Bocsko insurgency remains mysterious but the available evidence strongly suggests a vibrant cross-border conspiracy that went hand in hand with the exiles' lobbying of Ottoman leaders. The conspiracy did not end with Bocsko's arrest as the exiles mustered significant support not only in elite milieux but also among peasants, townsmen, and pastors. This widespread support explains why exile leaders – including Menyhért Keczer, who was one of the most wanted men in Habsburg Hungary – could travel to the heart of the insurgency in Szepes and Sáros counties without being detected.[105] It also explains why the exchange of letters between Transylvania and the Lutheran regions of Upper Hungary did not diminish – but likely even intensified – after summer 1671.[106] And it finally explains the confusion of the Habsburg authorities about what to do with the jailed Bocsko. Local officials called for his execution because they feared for their lives. But top military officers like Vice-General Zsigmond Pethő and General Spankau wanted to pardon Bocsko in an apparent effort to defuse popular hostility. Bocsko was still in jail in December 1671 and it does not appear that he was ever set free.[107]

There is evidence that the Bocsko conspiracy was not an isolated event. A secret informant or mole from the inner circle of the Upper Hungarian Calvinist elite warned the Aulic War Council in June 1671, and again in early July 1671, that illicit cross-border trips and contacts with fugitive rebels posed the number one security risk for the Habsburg court. Anna Lónyay, for example, the wealthy widow of two magnates, had recently smuggled "money and valuables worth up to 400,000 Reichstaler" across the border into Transylvania. And the secretary of István Bocskai, an escaped leader of the 1670 revolt, had become a primary conduit of information for Calvinist exiles. Living on the estates of Bocskai's wife Kata, he was "acquainted with all the exiles' secret and ongoing plots [*verschlossene und jetzige Handlungen*] in Transylvania." No one could be trusted anymore. According to the mole the exiles even had supporters inside the Hungarian Chancellery and the Zipser Kammer; that is, they could easily obtain "copies of Your Imperial Majesty's secret memoranda." Everyone had sworn an oath (*es seye alles schwürig*) of allegiance to the exiles and "they are just waiting for Apafi [of Transylvania] and the Turks."[108]

The mole's warning received immediate attention at the Habsburg court. This warning was not a hoax (*keine Narrerey*) but rather a very serious matter

of direct interest to Emperor Leopold I.[109] Indeed, such a large number of exiles and their agents traveled back and forth across the Habsburg-Ottoman and Habsburg-Transylvanian borders that Habsburg border controls had become practically irrelevant.[110] And it was not unusual for the exiles' relatives and local allies to cross in the opposite direction; some carried letters and the latest news, others brought money like Anna Lónyay, and a few arrived with conscripted soldiers to join rebel contingents that were forming on Transylvanian and Ottoman territories.[111] In addition, small guerilla bands made up of exiles, Transylvanian border soldiers, and freebooters were making forays across the border. They plundered confiscated estates and tyrannized the administrators of such estates; launched an attack on the main church of Rozsnyó, which had been confiscated by orders of the Hungarian primate; ambushed, killed, abducted, and tortured Habsburg soldiers; and likely scared other soldiers into defecting to their side.[112] There were also a few larger schemes which likely would have come to fruition if the Ottomans had given permission: a cavalry expedition to seize Munkács Castle, the powerful citadel of the hated Rákóczi clan; a similar undertaking to defend Medgyes Castle, the home of Anna Lónyay, which was about to be seized by Habsburg troops; and a largely undecipherable plan that involved sending small numbers of armed insurgents into the imperial cities of Késmárk, Leutschau, and Eperjes, where they were to make contact with local supporters.[113]

Despite all efforts Habsburg investigators rarely succeeded in discovering specifics about the secret channels of communication that tied together rebels on both sides of the border. One notable exception was the capture of the Calvinist Israel Pap, the former sheriff of Borsod County and an experienced military officer whom the exiles had entrusted with preparing the logistics for the coming invasion. Pap had traveled back and forth across the border many times before he was intercepted in late March or early April 1672.[114] He was at home among Hungarian border soldiers and their commanders, stayed with them repeatedly, and in fact had left his wife and children in Szendrő Fortress before going into exile. But Pap had more than just personal ties in Hungarian border fortresses; he was also very well aware of the plight of the demobilized and unemployed soldiers, that is, the so-called *szabad legények* who were eking out a living in the Habsburg-Ottoman borderlands.[115]

Israel Pap's first interrogation focused on the burning question of Ottoman involvement. Would the Ottoman assist the exiles militarily? If so, how?

Pap was remarkably forthcoming, perhaps because he wanted to impress General Spankau, who had personally taken charge of the interrogation and reported directly to the emperor. He revealed a carefully orchestrated plan that involved the push of Ottoman troops under the vizier of Buda into Lower Hungary, a joint Transylvanian-Wallachian invasion of Upper Hungary, and a pincer attack by two exile armies from Transylvania and the Hajdú district – that is, the Heyduck lands that belonged to the *eyalet* of Varad. The assault on Habsburg Hungary would be synchronized with the Ottoman invasion of Poland. As Pap put it, "[our] intention is to invade the [Hungarian] Kingdom immediately and liberate [it] from the yoke of the Germans." Then "[we] will return [the kingdom] to its pristine state" and "have an agreement with the Turks like the Transylvanians so that all of Hungary will give tribute to the Turks [*tota Hungaria det tributum Turcis*]."[116] This testimony provided nothing more than a confirmation of what was already known to Habsburg intelligence: the Ottomans were well aware of the exiles' secret plans and were at the very least encouraging them with promises of military assistance.

The second interrogation provides further insights into the exiles' own military planning. Pap first discussed the troops that would spearhead the exiles' invasion under the command of Hungarian or Transylvanian officers. He identified several assembly points and elaborated broadly on the troops' numbers, weapons, battle readiness, and whether or not they received pay. The best equipped and best paid soldiers were stationed in the Transylvanian county of Máramaros and the Transylvanian border districts of Szilágy and Kővár; these troops were strategically poised to march into Szatmár County from east and south. They included Hungarian and Transylvanian hussars (*equites*), infantrymen recruited from Heyduck peasant warriors, and German musketeers who had apparently deserted the Habsburg army. Some detachments were rather small, such as a band of twenty horsemen commanded by Pál Wesselényi, but there were also an unknown number of additional German soldiers and a substantial force of Wallachian cavalrymen. In addition, the exiles could count on a militia for the most part comprising artisans (*opifices*) in the town of Kolozsvár (Klausenburg, Cluj). The Saxonian towns of Transylvania would likely bankroll additional soldiers. Unlike in his first interrogation, Pap downplayed the role of Transylvanian troops. He contended that these troops would probably be rather small in number, or

of poor quality, since Transylvanian counties had not yet recovered from the Ottoman invasions of the late 1650s and early 1660s.[117]

The remainder of Pap's testimony develops a blueprint for conscripting an army from unpaid and demobilized soldiers inside Habsburg Hungary. According to Pap, these soldiers could easily be absorbed into military detachments when offered good pay and provisions. The principal challenge would be to discipline them and to keep them from committing acts of violence against each other or against peasants. One way to achieve this was to concentrate them in a few strategic outposts in Gömör, Abaúj, Zemplén, and Ung counties, and thus prevent "the common people [*populus*] [from being] scared away by the usual pernicious deeds." One such outpost would be the Lutheran town of Rozsnyó, located in the middle of Gömör County, which was then largely under Ottoman control. Another outpost, the Calvinist market town of Szepsi, was situated on a major road juncture southwest of Kassa, the Habsburg capital of Upper Hungary. Yet the gross of the rebel army would be concentrated in the border fortresses of Szendrő, Ónod, Szerencs, and Putnok. These fortresses were to become primary targets of recruitment as they held numerous "destitute free soldiers who were waiting for payment." Recruitments should also absorb soldiers who had either left these fortresses in search of booty or had been expelled after Emperor Leopold's demobilization edict from December 1671. Rather than roaming around and pillaging in the borderlands, they would join a paid fighting force commanded by generals, captains, and decurions.[118]

It is astounding that the fugitive Israel Pap, who had been condemned to death in absentia in June 1671, could travel so easily back and forth across the Habsburg-Ottoman border. But it is perhaps even more astounding that he lived so openly among the soldiers and officers of Habsburg border fortresses. As he put it, "I never shunned the [soldiers] of Ónod and Szendrő or concealed [my identity] but ate and drank with them." In fact, he was hosted by the fortresses' "eminent soldiers" (*insignes milites*) – Hungarian officers such as György Tolvaj, the Calvinist commander of Ónod Fortress, whom the Aulic War Council had tried unsuccessfully to remove from office. Pap had been instructed by his minders in Transylvania to convey the following message: "God will soon liberate the Hungarian nation from its current yoke … [You] should hold up the banner of true Hungarianness and true Christianity and consider that if Hungary remains subjugated [you] soldiers will definitely be

forced to give up your weapons and become serfs." They should "be a bit patient" and wait until the exiles had received permission from the Ottomans to invade. Under no circumstances were they to engage Turkish troops "because Hungary will not be liberated from its current yoke without the mercy of the Turkish Emperor [*az török császár kegyelmessége*] … Keep your horses in good condition, clean and sharpen your weapons. I trust God that the time of the true Hungarian and Christian soldiers will soon arrive."[119]

The activities of Israel Pap and István Bocsko shed light on the secret networks of cross-border communications that connected the exiles to Habsburg Hungary. These networks extended not just into noble milieux but also into villages, towns, and border fortresses. As Habsburg oppression increased, the volume of information crisscrossing the borders along these invisible pathways increased as well. Couriers and agents from Ottoman Hungary and Transylvania handled most of this traffic. But it was not unusual for eminent exile leaders such as Menyhért Keczer to cross secretly into Habsburg Hungary. These visitors brought the news that another uprising against Habsburg power was imminent; Hungarians should prepare for an invasion of exiles, Transylvanians, and Ottomans. Meanwhile, undercover operatives such as Israel Pap and István Bocsko – along with other more nebulous figures[120] – were charged with drafting peasants, townsmen, and soldiers into an underground rebel army that would rise up as soon as invading troops crossed the borders. How successful these operatives were is impossible to tell precisely; all we do know is that the villages, towns, and border fortresses visited by István Bocsko and Israel Pap played significant roles in the general uprising of fall 1672.

GETTING READY FOR THE INVASION: POPULAR RUMOURS AND HOPES

In March 1672 István Kálmánczay, a Habsburg undercover agent monitoring the activities of the Hungarian exiles, wrote a series of letters about popular moods in Upper Hungary. He reported that everyone was talking about the exiles and the Ottomans. No one had accurate information, but people were consumed by a firestorm of rumours that swept through towns, villages, and border fortresses. Everyone was sure that the exiles stood poised to invade: "According to the common rumour (*communis fama*) it is certain that

they are going to erupt" from Transylvania and Debrecen. The exile leader István Petrőczy "has just now finally come back from the Turks and brought happy news (as they say) to the Transylvanians" – that is, the exiles could purportedly count on Transylvanian military support. Meanwhile Ottoman border troops were getting ready for war: the Turkish Caesar had given orders "that everyone take up arms no matter how young or old [*valaki fegiver foghato akar nem akar iffjú legien*]." In Varad messengers were proclaiming the sultan's decree with great fanfare in the streets, and for the last two weeks "the Turks have been preparing eagerly in Eger and other border fortresses." But would the Ottomans actually join the exiles' attack? On this point there were competing rumours: some believed that the Turkish army would push into Ukraine, but others were not so sure because Ottoman border soldiers "were not eager to go into Poland."[121]

The intensity of rumours in spring 1672 was also attested to by other witnesses. On 5 March a Hungarian noble from Szatmár reported talk that the exile leaders Szepessy and Petrőczy had returned from the Porte with promises of 20,000 Turkish soldiers (which curiously enough were to be commanded by Imre Balassa). On 16 March a Habsburg official noted that "rumours are beginning to flow in from Transylvania that changes are likely to come here in this region."[122] On 26 March similar rumours were discussed by the Vienna court: the exiles were about to attack Upper Hungary with Transylvanian support and Prince Apafi would use the opportunity to reunite the counties of Szabolcs and Szatmár with Transylvania.[123] There were also rumours about the large size of the rebel army poised to invade; intensifying Ottoman recruitments with French money (suggesting a secret French-Ottoman alliance); and a defeat of the Poles by the Crimean Tatars and a mutiny against the Polish king (suggesting that the Ukrainian Cossacks no longer needed Ottoman intervention).[124] And in April and May 1672, according to Habsburg resident Casanova's informants in Eger and Buda, rumours that "the Turks were not moving against Poland but [on Kassa and Upper Hungary] to protect the rebels" were gaining intensity among soldiers and commanders of Habsburg border garrisons.[125]

What do these rumours tell us? Why are they important? The issue is not whether they were fabricated or grounded in actual facts. Even a cursory look reveals that they were full of half-truths, inventions, and wishful thinking. Clearly, the size of the rebel army gathering on Transylvanian and Ottoman

territory was blown out of proportion – a fact quickly recognized by a Transylvanian officer who recorded such rumours with disbelief.[126] And Ottoman commitment to the exiles was by no means as certain as many Upper Hungarians assumed – as demonstrated by the described ups and downs of Pál Szepessy's lobbying efforts at the Porte. Thus, the crucial issue here is not the rumours' veracity, but rather, as social scientists and historians have well recognized, the understanding that a rumour "is not an individual creation that spreads but a collective formation that arises in the collaboration of many." According to Marc Bloch, a rumour "does not spread, it does not take on life, unless it harmonizes with the prejudices of public opinion. It then becomes a mirror in which the collective consciousness surveys its own features." And according to George Lefebvre, the celebrated historian of the French Revolution, rumours reveal widely held societal sentiments – a kind of public opinion – with significant historical consequences.[127]

Habsburg officials believed that rumours were planted by the Hungarian exiles and their "hidden" supporters inside Hungary to undermine official authority. This opinion was encapsulated in an imperial mandate dated 5 January 1672 and addressed to Hungarian chancellor Tamás Pálffy, who was also the high sheriff (*főispán*) of Nyitra County. The mandate, signed by Emperor Leopold I, alerted Pálffy that rumours coming from "among the perfidious rebels in the Upper Parts of My Hungarian Kingdom" were now running wild in Lower Hungary. According to common talk, "everyone in this Kingdom of Ours was willing … to join the named rebels [i.e., the exiles] in case [Imre] Thököly had prevailed in his attack [*tentatam obtinuisset*] and reported victory." This likely allusion to the aborted Bocsko insurgency attributed Thököly's failure to lack of Ottoman assistance. With such assistance in place, the emperor assumed, all inhabitants of the Hungarian Kingdom would be willing to join the exiles spontaneously (*adhaerere velle de sponte*). Leopold warned that such rumours were extremely dangerous: "Seduced by such reports and the many times repeated promises of the rebels," the kingdom was in a precarious position; in fact, the rumours "[were] setting off machinations destructive to all of Christendom." Leopold demanded that nobles of Nyitra County sign written oaths to prove that their "loyalty is with us and not with the aforementioned Ottoman Porte." A Habsburg courier reported that nobles in neighbouring Pozsony County, which like Nyitra County bordered on Austria, were disseminating rumours of an imminent

Ottoman attack in villages along the Danube. It is therefore no wonder that Emperor Leopold demanded written loyalty oaths from "the other counties on this and that side of the Danube."[128]

It would be a mistake to attribute the agency of rumour-mongering entirely to the exiles and their supporters. Ottoman border commanders and pashas likely also contributed, as suggested by the dissemination of so-called Turkish leaflets (*Türkische Zettel*) and the dispatch of renegades (*Pribeken*) and explorers (*Kundschafter*) to Hungarian villages.[129] Kücsük Mehmed Pasha of Varad, who according to Habsburg resident Casanova was on the exiles' payroll, disseminated all kinds of false news. His alleged purpose was to drag Köprülü into war (e.g., by exaggerating the size of the German army or by announcing Prince Apafi's death and the readiness of Transylvanians to defect to the Habsburgs). News fabricated in Varad, Eger, and other Ottoman border outposts easily spilled across the borders.[130]

No *Türkischer Zettel* has apparently survived from the Upper Hungarian border region. But we are fortunate to have a specimen (in Serbo-Croatian) from the western regions of Hungary. Written shortly after the collapse of the April 1670 revolt and likely composed in Kanisza Fortress, the leaflet called on Hungarians and Croats not to despair. The "Radiant [Ottoman] Tsar" (*čestíti car*) would come to their rescue. The Germans were destroying Christian unity by "plundering and burning the servants of the Radiant Tsar and had forgotten who they are." The Germans were the oppressors of the Christian world, not the Ottomans. No wonder the sultan perceived the Germans as worthless creatures, "lower and worse than a Jew." This leaflet gave Hungarian and Croat rebels legitimacy by assuring them that they were entirely justified "in the face of God and the world to change … their king."[131] Clearly, other similar leaflets must have encouraged the spread of rumours that the Ottomans would come to the rescue of Hungarians languishing under Habsburg occupation.

Rumours moved in waves that culminated first in spring–summer 1671 and again in spring–summer 1672. Peaks in rumour-mongering largely overlapped with peaks in Ottoman military mobilization and exile lobbying for Ottoman support. They can be described as upsurges of popular hope and expectation in the face of great uncertainty about the Ottomans' actual intentions vis-à-vis Hungary – an uncertainty that neither Habsburg espionage nor exile networking was able to alleviate. And, of course, they must be understood against the backdrop of intensifying Habsburg repression. In an

atmosphere laden with the threat of violence and uncertainty about the future – an experience shared by other societies in turmoil – ordinary Hungarians latched onto rumours "to establish a reliable understanding of a dangerous world … [and] to make sense of events for which intelligence [was] inadequate."[132]

Prior to spring 1671 there had been only singular and largely isolated rumour episodes that quickly dissipated. For example, in November 1670 people in Upper Hungary were crying from the housetops (*beszélni közhírrel*) that Emperor Leopold I had died. There was speculation that German troops would now be withdrawn. These rumours went hand in hand with false news that Grand Vizier Ahmed Köprülü would spend the winter in Moldavia and Wallachia to prepare for a spring campaign.[133] In January 1671, rumours circulated that Turkish troops from Varad were poised "to visit some villages in Szatmár County" and that only bad weather and impassable roads had prevented their arrival. And in February 1671, people in and around Szatmár gossiped that a Transylvanian emissary had procured a green light at the Porte for an invasion by the exiles. The exiles would come soon under the leadership of the Transylvanian magnate Pál Béldi; the Ottoman army (*terek tabor*) and Transylvanian troops with Prince Apafi at their helm would immediately follow.[134]

In late March 1671, the number of rumours suddenly increased. There was hearsay in Upper Hungary and Transylvania that a German army of 18,000 soldiers was ready to hunt down the exiles. The Calvinist magnate Mihály Teleki, an astute observer of developments in Upper Hungary, noted that "there was nothing to these rumours" because the Germans did not have enough soldiers and were not ready for war with the Ottomans.[135] At the same time, there were counter-rumours about Ottoman and Transylvanian machinations along the Upper Hungarian borders: 20,000 Turkish troops were already in position; Prince Apafi "had received a secret commission from the Turkish Emperor to support the Upper Hungarians and it was now time to help them"; and the pasha of Varad was turning Bihar County, until recently part of Transylvania, into a Turkish dominion.[136] For the next two months "the common people's talk" (*vulgo szova*) about Habsburg schemes to neutralize the exiles continued. In early May 1671, ordinary people spoke widely about a secret Habsburg-Ottoman deal to eliminate the exiles.[137] But at the same time there were rumours of Ottoman war preparations and secret intrigues: Grand Vizier Köprülü was on his way to Belgrade, the sultan had

refused to accept presents from the Habsburg resident, the sultan's messenger was on his way to Transylvania and Buda, and from there would be sent on to the magnate Ferenc I Rákóczi to entice him to join the Ottoman side. This latter is a rather perplexing story considering how commonly despised Rákóczi was then among the mostly Protestant population of Upper Hungary.[138]

Soon rumours of an imminent Ottoman attack on Upper Hungary were gaining the upper hand. On 10 May a Hungarian officer from Szatmár Fortress reported the following: "We are in very great uproar [*igen nagy zendülésben*] here. We hear that our enemies are making preparations against us … The Transylvanian prince, Moldavia, and Wallachia … are determined to march on Szatmár; Miklós Zólyomi [i.e., the Transylvanian pretender] wants to move on Kassa with some hundreds of Turks; and the Radiant [Grand] Vizier [*Fényes Vezer*] intends to set out for Vienna with great fanfare." The rumour-mongers even claimed to know the exact timing of this concerted invasion: the various armies would begin a closely coordinated campaign on 12 June 1671.[139] The town leaders of Nagybánya, an important mining centre in eastern Szatmár County, wrote with apprehension to Transylvania to determine whether the coming invasion would be "beneficial or detrimental to our poor ruined fatherland." They asked for reassurances and a positive reply that would exhilarate them (*bennünket exhilárálni*).[140] While Nagybánya's well-to-do merchants and entrepreneurs may not have trusted the coming of a large Ottoman army because they had much to lose, ordinary men and women had little to lose. This at least was the opinion of the Dutch resident Hamel Bruyninx, a well-informed observer of Hungarian affairs. He noted that people were in extreme despair and had no choice but to seek help from the Turks. The similarly well-informed Venetian resident concurred: rumours about the Turks were taking hold among the victims of Habsburg violence (*tutti violentati*) and rapidly undermining the Vienna court's control over Hungary.[141]

Rumours of imminent Ottoman intervention and war proliferated until late July 1671, then ceased almost completely, only to revive dramatically in late August and September.[142] The nearly month-long lull in rumours can be explained by the fact that the anticipated Ottoman intervention did not materialize. No one could tell if the giant Ottoman armada, allegedly ready to invade, had been a mere phantom army. The exiles were clamouring for good news but there were few promising signs. There was only some elusive gossip about a large French army invading the German Empire, and the mysterious

rushed departure of General Spankau from Kassa at eleven o'clock one evening. Perhaps Spankau was moving all of his troops to confront the French, thus exposing Upper Hungary to the Ottomans. But nobody could tell; "only [Spankau] knows why he was in such a hurry."[143]

From late July to late August 1671, stories of doom and gloom took over. Hope had apparently collapsed, and people were overwhelmed by fear of disaster. There was a lot of talk, for example, about the brutal execution of Pastor Mikulaš Drábik, whose apocalyptic sermons had predicted the collapse of the Habsburg Empire. The horrified exile Miklós Forgács related what he had learned from his wife's servant who arrived in Huszt (Transylvania) about three weeks after Drábik's death: "He tells me that they have already killed several pastors; among others they cut out the tongue [of Drábik], nailed it to the pillory, and then burnt him alive. There is no limit to how many churches are going to be confiscated unless God has mercy on us for the sake of His Glory." László Gyulaffy, another exile living in Huszt, heard the same story through the grapevine with additional details about the mutilations inflicted upon Drábik.[144] A third exile, Pál Csernel, picked up stories about the violence directed against Protestant nobles: those who were not willing to convert to the Catholic faith were taken to Vienna where they would certainly be killed. In fact, Csernel had just learned the "undeniable bad news" (*bizonyos rossz híreim*) that "they massacred [his] poor elder brother György Csernel with six others." The slaughter allegedly occurred on the day when Emperor Leopold I was hosting a banquet for the Catholic estates at the Hofburg. The emperor gave a speech at the banquet in which he underlined "that several more of them must die."[145]

It did not matter to those who disseminated these stories whether they were true or not. And, for the most part, they were indeed exaggerations or sheer fabrications. Drábik, for example, was neither burnt alive, nor was his tongue cut out before he was executed. There is no evidence that any other pastors were put to death. György Csernel and the other six nobles presumed dead were not executed.[146] Most of these horror stories contained kernels of truth: many Protestant pastors were brutally humiliated, some came close to being killed, and a few died under mysterious circumstances, like the legendary preacher István Czeglédy. The execution of nobles did occur, even if it remained limited to three Catholic magnates (including Péter Zrínyi) and the Calvinist noble Ferenc Bónis. Others died in prison or were shamed after death. For example, István Thököly was denied a funeral.[147]

Among Hungarian Protestants, stories circulated widely about humiliations and pains suffered at the hands of the Habsburg soldatesca, Catholic magnates, and Catholic clergy.[148] These stories, if not exactly true, nevertheless emerged from real collective trauma. One must keep them in mind to understand why hopes for Ottoman assistance and protection grew significantly as religious persecution intensified. We can see this development much more clearly during the year 1672 when rumours about Ottoman intentions vis-à-vis Hungary developed unprecedented momentum.

Hamel Bruyninx, the Dutch resident who was in close touch with fellow Protestants in Lower Hungary, reported already on 7 January 1672 that rumours were spreading about Ottoman offers to protect the persecuted. Bruyninx believed that these offers were sincere: "The Turks are extending their hands to these people [i.e., the persecuted Protestants] in areas closest to [Turkish territory] and letting them know that their 'men of God' [*Godtsmannen*] – this is how they call their pastors – should come over to them. They will host, supply, and shield them. This is how the Turks put to shame those who … want to be considered the most Christian." Bruyninx expressed his hope that Emperor Leopold I would be moved to show at least as much sympathy for the suffering Hungarians as the non-Christian Turks. Otherwise the threat to his empire would greatly increase: "It is to be feared that God will finally use [the Turks] to punish the unchristian behaviour of the so-called Christians [*Naem Christenen*], and [thus] discredit and expose their irrational zeal and injustice."[149] On 10 January 1672 Bruyninx expressed great concern that the daily supplications for mercy that "these poor people" were addressing to the emperor would most likely have no effect.[150]

Only a month later, Bruyninx reported that Hungarian Protestants were so traumatized by the brutal Counter-Reformation that they had no choice but to approach the Ottomans: "[They] are hanging their heads towards the Turk. [This is] where most of the expelled pastors who are good Hungarians are directing their paths. They cannot do anything else and they are well received."[151] And in late March 1672, when rumours of an imminent Ottoman invasion peaked, Bruyninx observed that the Ottoman governor (beğ) of Esztergom and the vizier of Buda were actively preventing the Counter-Reformation in villages that had accepted the sultan's authority. They warned that they would not allow the expulsion of any Protestant pastors and "let it be known everywhere that they would take the Lutheran and Calvinist

men of God under their protection." According to Bruyninx, the Ottomans strongly rejected the demonization of the Protestant clergy as dangerous conspirators who "have been inciting and animating [the people] against the Most Powerful [Habsburg] Emperor and now are appealing to all the heretical princes of the [German] Empire for help."[152] Unlike the Protestant princes of the German Empire, who merely registered their bitter complaints in Vienna, the Ottomans were actually in a position to help the persecuted Protestants.

Rumours of the Ottomans' benevolence greatly influenced the hopes and behaviours of Hungarian Protestants.[153] An unknown number of Protestant pastors sought, or already enjoyed, the protection of Ottoman power brokers,[154] as did countless ordinary men and women.[155] In mid-February 1672, for example, Calvinist pastors and numerous others (probably their parishioners) fled from Komárom County across the Danube into the market town of Szőny. This town was located in the very same region where the governor of Esztergom and the vizier of Buda were then acting to prevent implementation of the Counter-Reformation. These refugees were later accused by Hungarian bishops of offering public prayers for a successful invasion by the exiles.[156] The townsmen of Senica, the Lower Hungarian market town in revolt against the Counter-Reformation, wrote to the pasha of Uyvar. He apparently responded with sympathy as several letters written in Turkish (*literae Turcicae*) were later discovered in the townsmen's possession. It is likely that these were letters of protection. Whether the town's Lutheran pastor initiated correspondence with the pasha, as alleged by Hungarian bishops, remains uncertain.[157] What is certain, however, is that cries for protection were daily received by Vizier Ibrahim of Buda. The vizier's majordomo told a Habsburg courier about this constant flood of appeals. He added that only recently a Protestant refugee "has come with his wife and little sons to Esztergom [Strigonio] and they have become Turkish."[158]

Unable to control intensifying popular expectations of Ottoman benevolence among Hungarian Protestants, the Habsburg court seems to have decided to blame the Protestant clergy for confirming and amplifying pro-Ottoman rumours. Between 30 April and 28 July 1672, Emperor Leopold I issued at least four imperial mandates with orders to put a stop to the clergy's alleged pro-Turkish sermons and prayers. And on 25 April and 27 May the Aulic War Council instructed the Hungarian Chancellery and General

Spankau to use military force to crack down on the clergy perpetrators (*Thätter*) who "were organizing public prayers for the Turks [*für die Türken öffentliche Gebette anstelten*] in Upper Hungary."[159]

There is, however, not much direct evidence that Protestant pastors were principally responsible for raising pro-Ottoman hopes. I have found only three specific examples for the years 1671 and 1672.[160] The most notorious case[161] involved Pastor Mikulaš Drábik, who had predicted that the Ottomans, whom he considered God's chosen instrument of punishment, would annihilate the Habsburg Beast and end the reign of the Roman Antichrist. Drábik's treatise *Lux in Tenebris* circulated widely among Lutherans in Árva, Sáros, and Szepes counties, and his apocalyptical ideas were also known in Upper Hungarian fortress towns.[162] Another pastor, the Calvinist Laurentius Privegius, traveled to the court of the pasha of Eger to warn him of a secret Habsburg plot to invade Ottoman Hungary. Privegius claimed to have learned this from his brother, who allegedly worked for the Hungarian chancellor and knew all the imperial court's secrets. He insisted that the sultan must be warned and must take immediate action to prevent disaster. It is important to note that Privegius was an isolated figure who was later denounced by other Lutheran and Calvinist clergy.[163] Finally, there were the angry sermons of the obscure Calvinist minister Péter Azari, who apparently enjoyed significant sympathy among peasants, townsmen and nobles in Zemplén County. After expulsion from his church, he told people "that the [exiles'] wagons are already in place in Debrecen, the Turk is ready, and he must only start moving. Within a few days they will follow each other into our fatherland." Azari's sentiments echoed those of his supporters who denounced Catholics as pagans and dogs – epithets that European rhetoric typically reserved for the Ottomans – while insisting "that the Turk or Tatar is better than the idol-worshipping Papist."[164]

Rumours were much more significant than the sermons of the Protestant clergy for galvanizing popular hopes and behaviour. This was well recognized by the aforementioned undercover agent István Kálmánczay in March 1672. While Catholics "were shaking with fear," Protestants "were putting on airs as a result of these rumours [*ex his rumoribus cornua crescent*]." In fact, in Szatmár Country most of the expelled Protestant pastors were returning to their churches; two pastors had successfully resumed their positions on the estates of the powerful Rákóczi clan. According to Kálmánczay, no Hungarian in this almost completely Calvinist region was willing to follow General Span-

kau's call for military mobilization. And the few loyal supporters of His Majesty who otherwise would be willing to join a Hungarian army (*Hungaricus exercitus*) did nothing because they knew "that if they move into the field … all their properties will be plundered while their wives and children will be taken captive." Neither Hungarian fortress soldiers nor the Heyducks would join the Habsburg side. Kálmánczay predicted that peasants "seeing the opportunity will rise and become our enemies [*videntesque occasionem, insurgent et inimici nostri effecientur*]." In case of invasion, all of Upper Hungary would join the exiles, with the exception of a few isolated pockets. The invaders would encounter little opposition. The German soldatesca would quickly be surrounded in Szatmár and Kassa fortresses, with food supplies lasting no longer than two weeks.[165]

The powerful impact of rumours on popular behaviour and sentiments can be illustrated with numerous other examples. During the Upper Hungarian rumour epidemic in March 1672, the Aulic War Council ordered military commanders to punish village and town leaders (*Richter*) who failed to report the infiltration of Turkish troops or other unidentified Turks.[166] At about the same time, ordinary people in Lower Hungary were consumed by rumours that the Turks had declared war and that an Ottoman army with 80,000 cavalrymen and 60,000 infantrymen was getting ready to march on the Habsburg Empire from Belgrade. These rumours thrived particularly among peasants; they complained bitterly about the exorbitant contributions and taxes extracted by the Habsburg military which were simply impossible to endure. A Catholic nobleman, who sympathized with the plight of the poor peasants (*arme Bauren*), warned that "in case of war an even greater misfortune may happen as they will have good reason for rebellion." The same observer predicted that Catholic peasants would most likely follow the example of the persecuted Protestant majority.[167] And in late May 1672, a Transylvanian officer with close ties to Upper Hungary observed that a false rumour of an upcoming Transylvanian invasion had been so strong that it intoxicated (*bódította meg*) people's minds. This rumour had circulated widely during the previous weeks. Even though the rumour had become much weaker, it continued to terrify (*megrémíti*) Catholic missionaries and nobles, who were ready to flee to secure fortresses at any moment.[168]

Rumours reached a fever pitch in August 1672 when the Ottoman army gathered in Moldavia for the invasion of Poland. The large size of this army fired the popular imagination: 300,000 Turks and Tatars were with the sultan

in Jassy; 150,000 Tatars and 20,000 Turks were already in Poland and closing in on Kamianets' Fortress; 20,000 Wallachian troops were in Transylvania; 12,000 troops were under the leadership of the voivode of Moldavia; and unspecified numbers of Transylvanian troops were also mustering.[169] No one knew for certain what this huge military assembly would mean for Hungary. Some believed the Ottomans were abandoning the exiles because the sultan and grand vizier stood so clearly poised to take the Ottoman army into Poland. But countless others were more hopeful, even if they did not agree on what secret scheme the Porte had hatched to come to their rescue. Some believed that the sultan had "issued orders [to the voivode of Moldavia] to help the Hungarian rebels who are in Transylvania." At the same time people whispered (*rebezgetik*) that the vizier of Buda had given instructions to coordinate an attack on Upper Hungary with the exiles: "Then after joining forces with them here [in the Szatmár region] he will slam into Poland." But the strongest rumour was initially about secret Ottoman directives to the Transylvanian army to join the exiles in an invasion of Upper Hungary.[170] Towards the end of the month, as news of the first Ottoman successes in Poland seeped in, rumours about direct Ottoman help gained remarkable strength. According to one version, the sultan had ordered the vizier of Buda to move towards Upper Hungary with the Bosnian army. The pasha of Uyvar was to block Habsburg reinforcements from entering the Hungarian Kingdom, and the victorious Ottoman army, already in Cracow, would soon move on to Vienna.[171]

According to contemporary observers, such rumours decisively turned the population of Upper Hungary – and some claimed also Lower Hungary – against the Habsburg regime. István Kálmánczay, for example, was convinced that even a small invasion force of 300–400 exiles would generate a general levée en masse: "They would multiply into the thousands [*ezerekre szaporodnák*] as even the pastors are calling on the heretics to come out." And he also doubted very much that the border soldiers would remain loyal: "The officers, most of all the Lutherans, and the military rank and file [*vitézlő rend*] … are not chasing after the Turks even though the [authorities] paid them only the other day. Two companies even refused to accept any pay."[172]

In parts of Upper Hungary, armed peasants – so-called *talpasok* or *talpasones (Talpaschen)* – began to ransack Catholic churches and commit acts of violence against Catholics. A helpless Habsburg official observed that vineyard workers left the hills around Szatmár Fortress to join peasant bands in droves. In Ugocsa County, peasant irregulars pillaged a Franciscan Monastery,

castrated two of the friars, and plundered the counting houses of tax collectors. They were joined by runaway soldiers and armed students from closed Protestant colleges.[173] County nobles did nothing to stop peasant violence. They also refused to pay taxes and sometimes threatened to kill Habsburg officials. According to two officials, significant numbers of these nobles were "bind[ing] their hearts to the Turk … with great conceit and claiming to know that things will become much better afterwards." Some nobles stated openly that they preferred to pay the Ottomans rather than the Habsburgs.[174]

The power of rumours to mobilize large populations into action cannot be underestimated.[175] However, one must not forget that rumours about the invasion plans by Hungarian exiles, Transylvanians, and Ottomans found such fertile soil in Hungarian society only because of intensifying Habsburg repression and brutal religious persecution. The invisible networks of the Hungarian exiles undoubtedly played a significant role in the rapid dissemination of such rumours. In August 1672, when rumours reached their zenith, these networks bristled with intense activity: couriers, emissaries, and letters were going back and forth daily across the border from both sides.[176]

In addition, more and more Hungarians turned spontaneously to the Ottomans on their own initiative. These Hungarians included not only Protestant clergy, but also unknown numbers of peasants, townsmen, and soldiers who crossed into Ottoman territory or appealed to the Ottomans for help.[177] One wishes to know what was contained in the letters that were regularly dispatched after the collapse of the April 1670 revolt from inside Habsburg Hungary to Turkish border fortresses, the courts of Hungarian pashas and the vizier of Buda, and the sultan's court. The sheer volume of these letters[178] overwhelmed Habsburg intelligence. Resident Casanova demanded as early as July 1671 that he be given a competent Hungarian expert who could read the letters he managed to intercept or that were leaked to him by Porte officials. This was in lieu of the Transylvanian translators whom he no longer trusted.[179]

Casanova, like so many other Habsburg officials and agents, anticipated disaster. What a well-placed Habsburg undercover agent in Upper Hungary had predicted a year earlier seemed to be coming true in August 1672: "There never has been a greater danger than now … When [Apafi and the Turks] are ready to move everything will be topsy-turvy, no one will be safe [here] even for an hour … As soon as Apafi is in the field and crosses the Tisza River or the Turk moves in the direction of Uyvar everyone will stand up. All social

estates will again turn to rebellion, kill the Germans in the towns, and all hell will break loose."[180] Habsburg officials believed that the hour of disaster had finally struck. Some resorted to flight while others called on God to intervene and thwart the exiles' malevolent scheme. Meanwhile, General Spankau made hectic last-minute efforts to secure Upper Hungarian border fortresses to "resist the imminent threat of invasion by the Turks, Wallachians, rebels, and others."[181]

The Hungarian exiles, by contrast, felt confident that the right moment for action had come: their cause was just (*igaz causája*), and God was on their side. Menyhért Keczer, for example, glorified the coming invasion as a divinely inspired crusade.[182] Inside Hungary popular hopes were spreading. Messengers from Ugocsa and Bereg counties conveyed to the exiles in late August 1672 that "people of all ranks were only waiting for the hour of God" (*minden rendek csak várnák az istenes órát*). There must not be any further delay to the invasion because otherwise "[the people] will fall into complete despair."[183] The scene was set for invasion and a repeat of the April 1670 revolt. Would this second revolt be more successful than the first? Would the Ottomans actually intervene this time to help the rebels? No one knew for sure, but countless men and women from all layers of Hungarian society believed the hour of liberation had come at last.

7

The World Turned Upside Down

The 1672 Revolt, Habsburg Collapse, and the Ottomans

The invasion of the exiles that commenced in the first days of September 1672 led to nothing less than a total catastrophe for Habsburg power in Upper Hungary. On the surface, it looked like a repetition of the 1670 disaster, but this time the crisis went much deeper: while nobles and soldiers had been the main initiators and players of the 1670 revolt, now their actions were accompanied by a stupendous popular uprising. Ordinary men and women – among them principally peasants, craftsmen, and students – joined with enthusiasm; the Protestant clergy welcomed the rebels as liberators who reintroduced them into their confiscated churches; and merchants and town magistrates bankrolled and supplied the constantly growing rebel army. Within a few weeks any semblance of Habsburg authority had been swept from Upper Hungary's villages, small towns, and the many estates and castles Habsburg administrators had confiscated since summer 1670. All border fortresses were quickly surrounded, and only a few with large and well-paid garrisons held out. Habsburg officials, loyalist magnates and nobles, Catholic clergy, and military officers – among them Commander in Chief Paris von Spankau – fled to the presumed security of heavily fortified towns such as Eperjes, Kassa, Szatmár, and Munkács. Here they awaited their doom, as it was generally expected that the firestorm was only the prelude to a massive Ottoman invasion. Indeed, the prospects for ever restoring the Habsburg emperor's authority seemed slim: Ottoman troops were involved with the rebellion at the very beginning and likely participated in a decisive battle defeating General Spankau, and there were multiple indications that the

Ottoman army – after achieving quick victory in Poland – would now turn against Hungary.

The purpose of this chapter is to give a sense of the massive popular revolt triggered by the exiles' invasion. Never before in Hungarian history had so many ordinary people risen so fast: everywhere men and women welcomed the invaders with open arms, and thousands joined them as irregulars, together with the countless soldiers whom the invaders attracted like a magnet. The populace's fury was aimed at the representatives and symbols of Habsburg power, but the newly imposed Catholic faith became the primary lightning rod: a wave of iconoclasm swept over Upper Hungary similar to the *Bildersturm* in the Low Countries during the Dutch Revolt.[1] Catholic clergy and laity suffered devastating violence and unknown numbers were beaten, mutilated, or killed. While it is important to reinsert this forgotten popular uprising into the historical records, it is also important to understand that this revolt was much more than a local drama; it cannot be separated from its larger geopolitical context. Rebel leaders were convinced that they had support from Sultan Mehmed IV and Grand Vizier Ahmed Köprülü. If only they could hold out long enough, the Ottoman army would invade and change things for the better once and for all. This expectation was shared by large numbers of ordinary people. The second part of this chapter explores the level of Ottoman involvement in the revolt as well as the extent to which pro-Turkish hopes motivated the rebels.

THE POWDER KEG EXPLODES

What happened in Upper Hungary during late summer and fall 1672 remains one of the great unwritten dramas of European history: a mass revolt of huge proportions directed against the representatives and benefactors of the Habsburg occupation regime imposed after the 1670 rebellion. Within less than a week the exiles' relatively small invasion army of 200–300 men grew to 10,000–15,000 in size and may have become as strong as 25,000 – or even 40,000 according to popular rumours – when it reached the zenith of its power in mid-October 1672.[2] In addition, there was a constant proliferation of independent rebel bands under the command of county nobles, former border officers, soldiers, townsmen, peasant strongmen, and even a handful of pastors.[3] We will never know how many of these bands sprang up, but no locality within the Upper Hungarian thirteen counties was safe from them.

These local bands were largely responsible for a wave of violence and destruction against Catholics, Catholic clergy, and Habsburg officials. The rebel army's commanders – mostly exiles and leaders of the 1670 revolt – tried to stop such excesses, but they were largely powerless (though they repeatedly managed to save some victims' lives). The commanders' many calls for restraint and religious toleration were rarely heeded: in many places peasants and townsmen joined the arriving rebel bands in orgies of violence, and shocked leaders had to accept these outbreaks even as they played out in front of their eyes.

As we delve into these dramatic developments it is important to discard stereotypical assumptions of Habsburg and Central European historiographies that confessional relations in Hungary were more congenial than in the rest of Europe and that Hungary therefore was spared religious war.[4] This may have been true for the century and a half before the brutal Counter-Reformation of 1671–72, but now a significant part of Hungarian territory fell into a state of religiously motivated mass violence that recalls the French wars of religion.[5] The second Upper Hungarian revolt certainly does not fit into the post-Westphalian order of religious coexistence, and perhaps, if modern Hungarian or Slovak scholarship had paid more attention to it,[6] Western historians' generalizing assumptions about a new European order of religious peace and conflict resolution could have been avoided.[7] The revolt fits much better into a pattern of Eastern European revolts of the seventeenth century: it recalls the massive devastations of the Stepan Razin and Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi revolts, even if we allow for the principal difference that the Hungarian elites who had unleashed the rebellion – unlike Ukrainian and Russian Cossack leaders – did their best to contain violence and defuse the popular fury that their invasion from Ottoman territory had unleashed.[8] But in this they were only moderately successful.

It did not seem that the Habsburg authorities had much to fear when Pál Szepessy, Mátyás Szuhay, and other exile leaders left Debrecen on 25 August 1672 to advance towards the Upper Hungarian borders: they had only a small force of 200–300 soldiers at their disposal.[9] General Spankau believed that he could easily disperse them and marched into Szabolcs County to nip the invasion force in the bud. But a surprise was in store for him when he learned – falsely, as it turned out – that 3,000 Ottoman soldiers had joined the exiles. In fact, only 100 Janissaries and *sipahis* had joined under Agha Huszein, the top military commander of Varad. But thanks to Agha Huszein the exile army

swelled to more than 3,000 within a few days: he issued strict summons to Hungarian hussars roaming in the no man's land between Habsburg and Ottoman fortresses to join the rebel force, ordered the residents of Debrecen and nearby Heyduck towns to enlist en masse, and facilitated additional recruitments in other localities of the Varad *vilayet*. When some of the Heyduck town magistrates refused to cooperate, Agha Huszein took hostages and threatened reprisals.[10] Thus, the very beginning of the uprising owed much more to Ottoman help than it did to popular enthusiasm.

But this was to change dramatically when the invaders crossed into Szabolcs County on 1 September 1672. General Spankau almost immediately found himself surrounded by an openly hostile population. Village headmen (*birók*) reported the whereabouts of the Spankau regiment to rebel commanders; they intercepted couriers and turned over Spankau's letters, allowing rebel leaders to see the general's intentions; they obstructed his attempted withdrawal to the presumed security of nearby Tokaj Fortress (surrounded by the waters of the Tisza and Bodrog rivers); and they helped facilitate an ambush near the village of Rakamaz, which Spankau avoided only by accident. Even though his calvary regiment was more than 1,000 men strong, Spankau beat a hasty retreat via a circuitous route to avoid combat. He claimed that he had no choice because his soldiers were hopelessly outnumbered and powerless without any infantry support: "I have been forced to go back across the Tisza River since I have not dared in the least to show myself to this strong enemy [*huic forti inimico me presentare*] or go on the offensive against it with the few soldiers that are with me." He estimated that the ranks of the rebel army had swollen to 9,000–10,000 literally overnight and contemplated what could possibly be done to stop this stunning explosion of rebel forces before it was too late. For Spankau was convinced that in no time "many malevolent people [*malevoli*] will join them in all the other counties [of Upper Hungary]."[11]

The arrival of the invasion army and General Spankau's flight led to the complete collapse of Habsburg power in Szabolcs County. Only the garrisons of Ibrány, Kálló, and Kisvárda fortresses held out.[12] All three were well fortified and well supplied, but hopelessly surrounded by thousands of rebels. Imperial soldiers found beyond the walls of Kálló Fortress were hunted down and butchered (*niedergemacht*). They included a company of German cavalry and Hungarian hussars who had been cut off from their fortress by the suddenness of the revolt.[13] The fate of Kálló's defenders

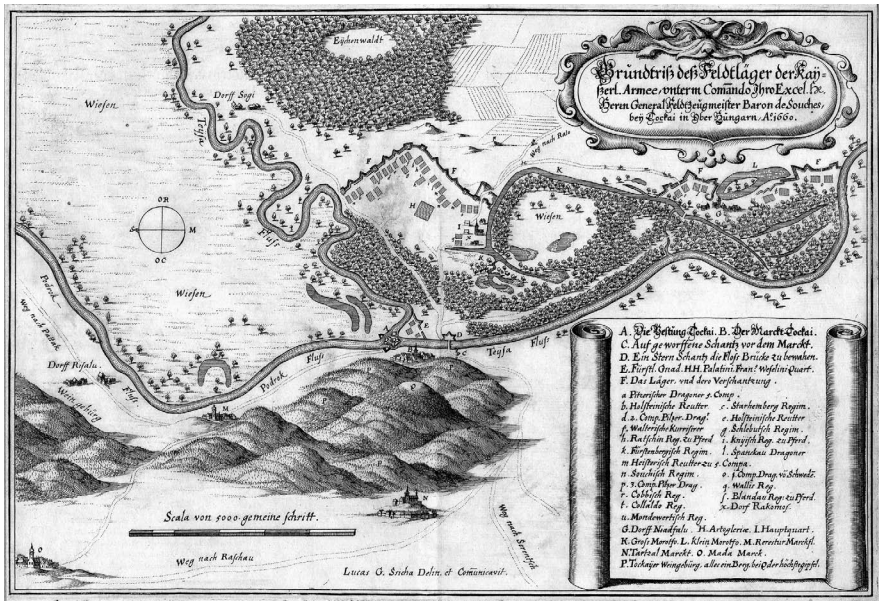

Grundriß deß Feldlager der Kayserl. Armee, unterm Comando Ihro Excel. &c.
Herrn General Feldzeugmeister Baron de Souches,
bey Tockai in Ober Ungarn. Ao 1660.
Eichenwald
Wiesen
Dorff Sigi
Fluss
Wiesen
Wiesen
Dorff Rafalu
Weg nach Raschau
Scala von 5000 gemeine schritt.
Weg nach Varadin
Lucas G. Sroba Delin. et Comunicavit.
A. Die Vestung Tockai. B. Der Marckt Tockai.
C. Auf 20 wurffeine Schantz vor dem Marckt.
D. Ein Stern Schantz die Holtz Brücke zu bewahren.
E. Fürstl. Gnad. HH. Palatini. Franz Wesselini Quart.
F. Das Läger. und dero Verschantzung.
a. Pfeterischer Dragoner 5. Comp.
b. Holsteinische Reutter
c. Starhemberg Regim.
d. a. Comp. Pfeter. Drag.
e. Holsteinische Reutter
f. Walterische Kornetten
g. Schlickisch Regim.
h. Ratschin Reg. zu Pferd
i. Kayserl. Reg. zu Pferd.
k. Fürstenbergisch Regim.
l. Spankau Dragoner
m. Heisterisch Reutter zu 5. Compa.
n. Serinisch Regim.
o. 1. Comp. Drag. v. Schwed.
p. 3. Comp. Pfeter Drag.
q. Wallis Reg.
r. Colbitzisch Reg.
s. Blanckau Reg. zu Pferd.
t. Collalto Reg.
x. Dorf Rakamaz.
u. Montdewerbisch Reg.
G. Dorff Nradfalu
H. Artegleriæ
I. Hauptquart.
K. Groß Marcktf.
L. Klein Marcktf.
M. Kirnitzer Marckt.
N. Türckisch Marcktf.
O. Nacka Marck.
P. Tockayer Weingebürg, alles ein Berg, bey Ober höchstgegipfel.

Figure 7.1
Ground Plan of Tokaj (Tockai) Fortress

In 1660, an imperial army took up positions in and around Tokaj to protect Szabolcs and Szatmár counties against Ottoman incursions. The plan shows Tokaj Fortress (position *A*) and the market town of Tokaj (position *B*) below vineyard-covered hills (position *P*). The camp and bulwarks are visible above Tokaj and further to the right, under the inscription (position *F*). Colonel Paris von Spankau, the future commander in chief of Upper Hungary, participated in this 1660 military operation. The location of his dragoons can be found in the camp (position *l*) near the village of Rakamaz (Rakomos) (position *x*). During the 1672 revolt Spankau and his dragoon regiment managed to escape a peasant ambush in this same location. Pursued by thousands of popular rebels, Spankau beat a hasty retreat. He succeeded in reaching Tokaj Fortress, but fled almost immediately to Kassa. The text at the top reads: "Ground plan of the imperial army's encampment under the command of His Excellency Lieutenant General Baron de Souches, near Tokaj [Tockai] in Upper Hungary in the year 1660."

remains a mystery: the Hungarian garrison quickly surrendered, but more than 200 German soldiers managed to hold out in the most heavily fortified section of the fortress, which rebels could not penetrate without strong siege weapons. These soldiers surrendered on 12 October and most of them appear to have joined the rebel army. But at least three or four dozen were taken prisoners and handed over to the pasha of Varad (perhaps as a present

for his assistance). News received by the Aulic War Council in December 1672 suggests that thirty of these abducted soldiers converted to Islam and entered the Ottoman army.[14] In Ibrány and Kisvárda the Hungarian garrisons also appear to have switched sides while the German soldatesca held out for almost seven weeks; in Kisvárda forty-nine survivors finally surrendered after promises of safe conduct, but when they left the fortress they were set upon and summarily killed by crowds of insurgents.[15]

What happened in the hinterlands of Szabolcs County during the first days of September 1672 remains murky, but one can observe several larger trends: the mass flight of Habsburg officials leading to the breakdown of tax collection and the abandonment of confiscated estates (which were quickly taken over by their former owners); a campaign of pillage and arson directed against the estates of perceived Habsburg loyalists (including holdings of the Rákóczi, Homonnai, and Csáky clans); the systematic takeover of confiscated churches, and the expulsion of Catholic priests and reintroduction of the Calvinist clergy; acts of violence against Catholics ranging from murder (e.g., a landowner and his teenage son) to public shaming (e.g., stripping the prominent noble Miklós Kállay and his wife naked); the abduction of Catholic clerics; and countless excesses committed by roaming bands of soldiers and *talpasones* (*talpasok*), that is, large armed groups consisting mostly of peasants. These bands, which operated without explicit orders by rebel commanders, left a long trail of indiscriminate violence that included plundering assets belonging to peasants, townsmen, and Calvinist ministers who had sworn allegiance to the invasion army.[16]

The exiles did not yet understand during these early days what random powers of destruction they had unleashed. Rather, they marveled at the popular enthusiasm their arrival was generating. Mátyás Szuhay was so engrossed with the amount of spontaneous support that he did not mind the departure of the Ottoman troops under Agha Huszein on 4 September. Turkish support was no longer needed, he believed, because they could rely on "the populace [*népség*] which had been deprived of all human hope but now has already risen and joined us with great enthusiasm." The crowds encircling Kálló Fortress included artisans and other rank-and-file townsfolk who had welcomed the arriving rebel army with flying banners. In addition to a regiment of armed townsmen and peasants under the command of two former border officers, two light cavalry and infantry regiments drew on a constant stream of soldiers and petty nobles.[17] Clearly, a mental threshold had been passed

among the exiles: anxiety and uncertainty gave way to great hope and increasingly the conviction that their endeavour would succeed. While they had previously appealed to God's intercession and entrusted the success of their mission to Divine Judgement,[18] they now rejoiced that God had, in fact, heard their prayers and provided them with a unique – and not to be missed – opportunity to liberate Hungary. As Pál Szepessy put it, "the Finger of God" (*digitus Dei*) had shown them the way, and "what has been written in Heaven is now happening on earth [*hoc fit in terris, quod scriptum est in coelis*]."[19]

News of the invasion army's successes in Szabolcs County traveled very quickly to surrounding areas and triggered a veritable levée en masse.[20] General Spankau, who had escaped to Tokaj Fortress, reported with considerable alarm on 5 September that the entire territory between Tokaj and Kassa – comprising Abaúj, Torna, and Zemplén counties – was up in arms. As he put it, "the inhabitants of this land are running together in all places with their guns and no German can safely make it to Kassa," the capital of Habsburg administration in Upper Hungary. He likened the armed masses to a huge swarm (*großer Schwarmb*) of insects that were everywhere and ready to sting at any moment. He hardly dared escape Tokaj, as wagonloads of *talpasok* were roaming the roads and following in the paths of fast-moving Hungarian light cavalry.[21] Rebel commander Gábor Kende rejoiced about these developments. As his army was moving towards Kassa – he noted in retrospect on 11 September – "the entire rural population has stood on our side with joy [*örömest mellénk állván*]" and "wherever we arrived [in the counties south of Kassa] we have always enlisted the common people." Kende also noted that General Spankau had fled from Tokaj Fortress for his life: "We chased him but he ran so fast that our troops could not reach him." The Habsburg commander in chief barely made it to Kassa, where he joined panicked multitudes of fugitive officials, loyal nobles, and Catholic clergy (including the bishop of Eger).[22]

Yet this was only the beginning. On 14 September 1672 General Spankau suffered a crushing defeat a few miles outside Kassa. He had ventured out with more than 2,000 of his best soldiers ("the flower of the German army")[23] to break the siege of Kassa, but a combination of poor reconnaissance and bad weather led to disaster. Spankau literally marched into the midst of the rebel army without being aware of it, giving rebel commanders a huge advantage on the battlefield. In addition, heavy rains did not allow Spankau's soldiers to employ their superior firepower (the cannons and guns could not be lit); instead they had to engage in hand-to-hand fighting against a force

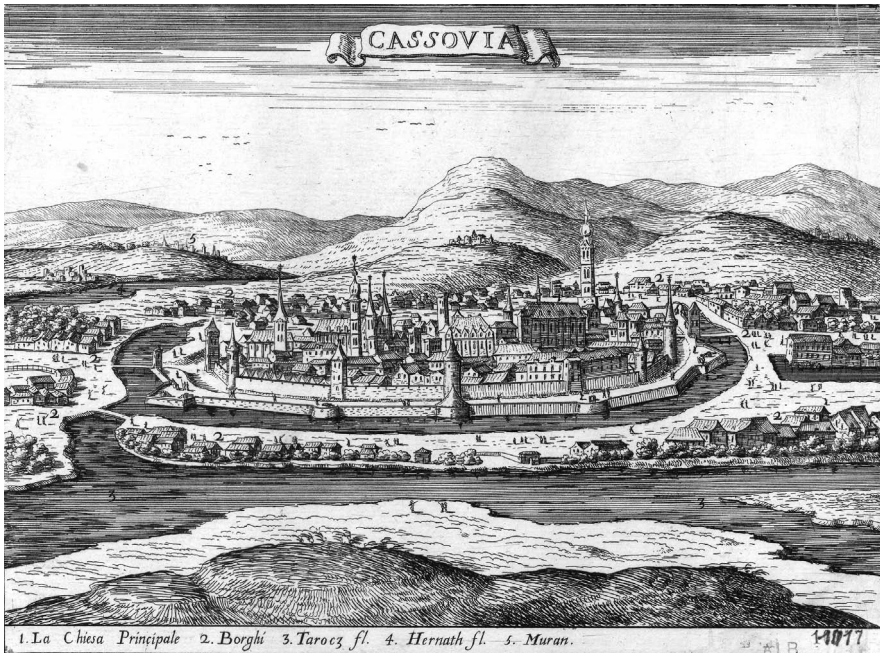


Figure 7.2
The Town of Kassa (Cassovia, Kaschau, Košice)

Kassa was the administrative and military nerve centre of Habsburg power in Upper Hungary during the second half of the seventeenth century. For six weeks during September–October 1672, this heavily fortified town came under siege by rebel troops and likely would have fallen into rebel hands if Emperor Leopold I had not dispatched a large army to rescue the town. The Ottomans considered Kassa a prime military target and encouraged the plans of Hungarian rebel leaders to turn it into the capital of a Hungarian vassal state under Sultan Mehmed IV. The town was strategically located near the confluence of two rivers, Tarca (Tarocz, position *3*) and Hernád (Hernath, position *4*). Kassa's main Lutheran church (*La Chiesa Principale*, position *1*) was confiscated by Hungarian Bishop Ferenc Szegedi of Eger in November 1671. It is puzzling to see Murány Castle in the background (Muran, position *5*), since it is located approximately 100 kilometers to the west of Kassa. This castle belonged to Hungarian palatine Ferenc Wesselényi, and was the site of an important pro-Ottoman conspirators' meeting in August 1666.

estimated between 10,000–12,000 men. After three hours of gruelling combat with many casualties on both sides – according to one source Spankau lost 800 men – the remnant of Spankau's army escaped back to Kassa.[24] News of this stupendous victory spread with lightning speed. Within a few days the diets of twelve Upper Hungarian counties declared their allegiance to the rebel army. Only Szepes County held out, apparently because the Catholic magnate István Csáky and Bishop György Bársony prevented a vote in favour of the exiles.[25] But very soon both Csáky and Bársony found themselves in the same position as the other Catholic strongmen of Upper Hungary: they came under siege in Szepes Castle (Szepesvár) in the High Tatras. They thus shared the fate of Ferenc Rákóczi (in Regéc Castle), Zsófia Báthori (in Munkács Castle), and the Hommonai clan (in Ungvár Castle), not to speak of lesser figures who had fled to Kassa and Szatmár, the only remaining fortresses with significant Habsburg garrisons.[26]

For the next six weeks until the end of October – when the first of two large Habsburg expeditionary armies arrived – Upper Hungary was de facto no longer part of the Habsburg Empire. As Pál Szepessy put it triumphantly on 18 September, "the House of Austria, the priests, the Jesuits, and the treacherous Papist estate are leaving no stone unturned but it is all for nothing. God is with us and who [can be] against us?"[27] Szepessy and other rebel commanders had people of all ranks swear allegiance "to the Hungarian Kingdom (*Regnum*) and to whomever this Kingdom will belong." Such swearing-in ceremonies took place in villages and towns everywhere in the thirteen counties.[28] While there was no agreement on who would be the next king of Hungary – Imre Thököly, István Petrőczy, Prince Apafi of Transylvania, and Sultan Mehmed IV were mentioned as candidates – there was no question that Emperor Leopold I would ever again be Hungary's ruler.[29] With the oath, nobles and non-nobles (*ignobiles*) committed themselves to join the fight "against the common enemy … for the common good of the Fatherland" (*pro communi bono Patriae*) and "the recovery … of [our] golden freedom totally oppressed and crushed by foreigners."[30]

Rebel commanders threatened violence against anyone refusing to swear the oath of allegiance to the Hungarian Kingdom. A manifesto dated 23 September 1672 threatened nobles hesitating to enter "the service of the fatherland" (*servitium patriae*) with the destruction of their estates and loss of their lives. A proclamation dated 2 October repeated this grim warning: "So God

may help us in our soul but if there is anyone who does not want to join us he shall expect fire and sword."[31] In Zemplén County the judge of the nobility (*iudex nobilium*) produced a written mandate by Mátyás Szuhay and started threatening nobles with impalement if they did not enlist in the rebel army.[32] The magnate Ferenc Rákóczi found himself confronted with an ultimatum to make "a demonstration of his true Hungarianness" and join the rebel army. If he refused, rebel commanders would unleash the fury of their "completely exasperated soldiers … whom [they] even now could hold back only with difficulty."[33]

But the leaders of the rebel army also emphasized that threats of violence were not to extend to anyone who swore the oath of allegiance, no matter who he was. In fact, the leaders promised to protect all Habsburg officials and supporters of the Habsburg dynasty who pledged allegiance to the Hungarian Kingdom (and many did so to save themselves and their properties).[34] Even much-hated officials such as Kristóf Czeróczy and Kristóf Horváth, who had overseen the mass confiscation of noble estates and Protestant churches, were given such promises. Rebel commanders also extended protections to German soldiers willing to surrender and ready to join the rebel army, especially if they were Lutherans and Calvinists.[35] And they vowed that Catholics – both laity and clergy – would not be persecuted for their religion, though this vow was later modified to apply only "as long as [the Catholic] is a son of the fatherland and fights with us."[36] There is indeed good evidence that rebel commanders refused on occasion to turn over captured officials and military commanders to popular wrath.[37] They also assigned small bands of soldiers to protect a number of Catholic churches and monasteries. In a handful of places they even facilitated the continued performance of Catholic church services.[38]

But unlike in April 1670, rebel commanders were not in charge of the rebellion they had unleashed. Almost immediately they had great difficulties controlling the Hungarian soldiers who were streaming to them en masse.[39] These soldiers were largely responsible for the massacre of Habsburg soldiers in Kisvárda and Kálló as well as similar horrors that played out in the border fortresses of Putnok, Szendrő, Ónod, and Diósgyőr.[40] The worst atrocities happened in Ónod, which came under attack by 4,000–6,000 rebels in early September. The fortress's demobilized former soldiers spearheaded the siege and were almost immediately joined by the Hungarian garrison, who mur-

dered their newly imposed Catholic captain. As in Kálló, the German garrison held out in one part of the fortress but many of its soldiers were caught and summarily executed. Bloodthirsty crowds of rebels also turned against the town's Catholic inhabitants (who had apparently fled into the fortress). According to an eyewitness report that was forwarded to Vienna a few days later, they committed "murder with unheard of ferocity" that did not even spare the lives of "innocent infants." The report also insisted that "town residents of the Calvinist sect" participated in the mass slaughter.[41] Unfortunately, there is no way to verify how many Catholics (particularly children, if any) were actually killed during the siege of Ónod and other fortresses. The Habsburg court's communications with these places broke down completely after they had been seized and the extent of the actual massacres may have been exaggerated by survivors.

The reported killing of children in Ónod by out-of-control rebel troops becomes plausible, however, if one considers another massacre that occurred not far from Kassa after the victory over General Spankau on 14 September. A detachment of Hungarian dragoons on the payroll of the Catholic magnate István Csáky had assisted the German general and had suffered significant casualties while defending a small castle near the battlefield. When Spankau fled the scene Csáky's troops also gave up their fight and tried to escape under cover of darkness. According to survivors who reached Kassa the next day, they were attacked from behind and could not prevent the slaughter of their camp followers, including all of their wives and children – babies not spared.[42] This massacre certainly must have been on the exile Mátyás Szuhay's mind when he stated in despair four days later: "I love my fatherland and as I see it my life will be consumed for it … but having to see these [deeds] my heart is dying many times over."[43]

Only by late September 1672 did rebel commanders succeed in establishing a semblance of military discipline – at least in some parts of Upper Hungary. Several factors help to explain this: the execution of some of the worst perpetrators; the formation of an officer command structure; the mobilization of county detachments (*banderia*); the rebel army's penetration into the lands of the Thököly clan in Szepes and Sáros counties; the increased reliance on Thököly's officials; and the mobilization of the extended patronage networks commanded by Imre Thököly and his relatives.[44] But perhaps most important was the fact that enormous financial and economic assets had fallen into

rebel hands, including the counting houses of imperial tax collectors (*tricesimatores*), the domains of the imperial fiscus, countless estates of imperial officials and Catholic nobles, an extensive infrastructure of mines, and even the imperial mint. These assets were handed over to experienced administrators – including Habsburg officials switching their allegiance – who raised money and supplies for the soldier masses.[45] In addition, one must consider that almost all of Upper Hungary's wealthy trading towns had fallen under the jurisdiction of rebel commanders. Merchants from Késmárk, Eperjes, Kisszeben and other towns paid large sums of money into the coffers of the rebel army.[46] All of these developments explain why rebel commanders were able to effectively distribute soldiers and armed peasants to various strategic locations in anticipation of a Habsburg counteroffensive. By late September 1672 thousands of soldiers and peasants had taken position along Upper Hungary's most important mountain passes – completely cutting off from the outside world Kassa and a handful of other fortresses where Habsburg supporters were still holding out.[47]

These attempts to create order hardly filled the vacuum left by the collapse of Habsburg power. Contemporary observers repeatedly used terms like "revolution," "chaos" (*zűrzavar*), "overwhelming whirlpool," "eruption," "irruption," and "blazing fire" to suggest a world completely out of control.[48] Even regions where the rebel army did not move or had not yet moved were in uproar. The well-to-do noble Gábor Lónyay, for example, was completely overwhelmed by the disorders that broke out in his neighbourhood when news arrived in early September 1672 that the exiles had invaded. He suddenly found himself surrounded by a sea of popular hostility. The market town of Nagy-Lónya (Bereg County), where Lónyay lived and which he largely owned, was no longer safe: "I don't know what will become of me tomorrow because everywhere there are irruptions and threats … We are caught amongst the enemy who is surrounding us on all sides. I would run away and flee but it is impossible to leave my estates, my wife, and my children in [such] danger."[49] Zsigmond Pethő, a top military commander and confidant of the Habsburg court, reported a similar experience: he found himself stranded in the town of Eperjes (Sáros County) on 21 September 1672 even though rebel troops had not yet surrounded the town. However, the whole countryside was already in upheaval. Nearby villages had joined the rebel camp and a large multitude of peasant foot soldiers was marching on his castle (which was located in Sztropkó [Stropkov] near the Polish border and where Pethő

had left his children). The suddenness with which rebel bands had sprung up in this region north of Kassa was very disorienting to Pethő, and he begged the Habsburg court "for God's sake not to forget about him and this land."[50]

A more specific impression of the turmoil that engulfed Upper Hungary's hinterlands can be gained from the testimonies of forty-one Calvinist and two Catholic villagers who participated in or witnessed the sacking of a Franciscan monastery in their home community of Rad in southeastern Zemplén County (Bodrogköz district).[51] According to their version of events a small group of rebel soldiers entered the village. They did not indicate a date but it must have occurred during the second week of September – when the rebel army temporarily halted its march towards Kassa to lay siege to Szerencs Fortress about 20 miles to the west near Tokaj.[52] The arriving soldiers named the rebel officer under whom they served; they had absented themselves apparently without his permission. Accompanying them was a motley group of peasant soldiers (*talpasones*), one of whom happened to be the village headman of Rad. The newcomers came with a clear purpose, which they started carrying out immediately: sacking the monastery and the village church, which the Franciscans had only recently taken by force.[53]

A majority of villagers admitted openly that they or their relatives joined the rampage and carried away some kind of booty. All together, the witnesses implicated dozens of plunderers by name, strongly suggesting that "the entire village looted the monastery" (as several asserted).[54] The pillaged items included silver drinking cups, money, iron and wooden tools, parts of the fence surrounding the monastery, chairs, beds, and wheat from the monastery's garden.[55] However, with the exceptions of the two Catholics, the witnesses remained silent about the desecration of the monastery's chapel and the village church. Even though investigators pressed the issue, the villagers did not budge, leaving the impression that the soldiers and *talpasones* alone had emptied the two churches of vestments, liturgical vessels, and images of saints.[56] Elizabeth Turi contradicted this narrative: she had asked one of the Calvinist ringleaders, János Király, to prevent the destruction of the monastery's altar, but Király had bitterly denounced her as "a rebel of the wrong faith." She also claimed to have seen another villager, György Pásztor, throwing the image of a saint from the village church. Pásztor then publicly ridiculed the image, saying: "Look! This picture has been dedicated to the Devil. Such a distorted mouth and the teeth sticking out … He is grinding his teeth at me."[57] A second witness, also Catholic, related the spectacle of "see[ing] a small bell that used

to be rung during the holy [transubstantiation ceremony]" dangling from the neck of a cow. The culprit, a Calvinist youth, said that he knew nothing about the origins of the bell; it had been given to him as a present by another villager.[58]

Only one of the villagers said anything about the murder of the Franciscan friars. He claimed that it was entirely the work of the soldiers. Two of these soldiers, whom he had hosted at his home, spoke about the matter quite openly: one had just thrown the corpses into the monastery's well. Everybody in the village – including its few Catholics – remained silent about the horrendous tribulations of the friars who were whipped and beaten before they were hacked to death with sabres. Perhaps most of them did not know what had happened to the friars: two women were convinced that they had been chased away. But the village headman clearly knew better: he had the well filled in and destroyed. The collective silence about the friars' murder extended to the treatment of the small Catholic minority. We can only guess what might have transpired after the wife of the village headman called on him to continue to use his sword and attack the houses of "the Papist sons of bitches" (*Papistás lelkű kurvafinak*).[59]

These testimonies indicate how difficult it is to reconstruct what actually happened in remote villages like Rad. No witnesses were willing to come forward and tell the full story. It was easier to put the blame elsewhere. All we know with any certainty is that the entire village (*totus pagus*) was involved in plundering the monastery, with the likely exception of the few Catholic residents. Entire families participated, including mothers and fathers with their sons and daughters, brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, and in-laws. Women were at least as much involved as men, and youth played a particularly visible role. In short, the riot was a community event that may very well have turned into a carnival mocking the Catholic faith, as insinuated by the testimonies of the lone two Catholic witnesses.[60]

A very similar scenario occurred in the market and fortress town of Nagysáros (Sáros County) in late September 1672. The arrival of rebel troops, among them a large band of *talpasones*, and the quick surrender of Nagysáros Castle provided the trigger for a popular uprising targeting the town's small Catholic community. The parish priest Márton Hedgyéssi and a Catholic woman who tried to save him were the first victims. They were shot point blank by the town noble István Sáarosi in front of numerous witnesses, thirteen of whom later told the story.[61] The murders mobilized the town's rank

and file into action: petty nobles, artisans, peasants, and others joined the *talpasones* in the systematic sacking of at least three churches, that is, the parish church, the castle church, and the church of a nearby village.[62] They smashed the altars and statues, broke the images, threw them out into the street, ripped processional banners to pieces, and destroyed the organ of the castle church. Statues of the Virgin Mary were prime targets: a man named István Rogocs used a statue for target practice and then decapitated it. The young Mátyás Szabó smeared a statue with his excrement and mockingly demanded that the Virgin eat it. Others were content to disparage Catholic Marian worship by insisting that the Virgin was no different from any of the women living in their community.[63]

One Catholic victim claimed that if the town's Lutheran magistrate had had its way, the entire Catholic population would have been eradicated. Apparently this was prevented by the intervention of the Sáros County Diet, which listened to the plea of the Catholic magnate Gábor Kapy (who had joined the revolt) and urged local rebel commanders to restrain the *talpasones*. But what played out in the community was terrifying for Catholics. Traumatized survivors reported that *talpasones* and townsmen broke into their houses and systematically robbed them of their belongings. They were denounced as diabolical Papists, threatened with decapitation, and physically abused. Marina Czadova, for example, reported that she was tortured three times while being denounced as a Catholic dog and as someone who had sold her soul to the Devil.[64] The worst perpetrators came from a hard core of thugs led by István Sáarosi, his son István, and another noble youth named János Iglódi. One of the Sáarosis killed at least one Catholic woman by shooting bullets through the windows of her home. The young Iglódi was a particularly frightening figure: he marched menacingly through the streets whistling on a pipe from the demolished organ and enjoyed stabbing people with his sword.[65] In the evenings the plunderers got drunk on loads of wine: at one of these wild parties a townsman named Matthias Felcs donned the liturgical vestments of the murdered priest. He pretended to celebrate Mass and walked around blessing his drunk audience with the words "God be with you. Let us pray." According to one witness, Felcs jokingly commented on the attractiveness of his disguise, saying that he felt "as if [he] were a beautiful bishop" (*quam pulcher episcopus essem*).[66]

Attacks on Catholic churches, clergy, and laity took place in unknown numbers of villages and towns. Hotspots in the Lutheran counties of Szepes

and Sáros included the Free Royal Towns of Késmárk, Kisszeben, Eperjes, and Bártfa; the villages surrounding these towns;[67] the market towns of Gölnitz, Krompach, Schmölnitz, and Welbach;[68] and several villages and hamlets in the High Tatra Mountains.[69] The three Franciscan monasteries in Sebes, Eperjes, and Csütörtökhely were sacked and their monks severely maltreated. The Pauline fathers of Késmárk had their residence broken into and were threatened with decapitation. But their church appears to have escaped iconoclasm due to the intercession of a rebel officer who also saved the monks from abduction.[70]

The epicentres of anti-Catholic violence in Calvinist counties were located in Abaúj, Torna, and Zemplén counties, particularly in the Hegyalja region, which was already in turmoil before the 1672 revolt. The Pauline Monastery of Sátoraljaújhely (Zemplén County) was sacked, saints' statues tied to the tails of horses, burial crypts opened and plundered, and the corpses thrown from towers. Similar frenzies traumatized the Franciscans of Hommona and Sztropkó.[71] Unknown numbers of monks, priests, Catholic schoolmasters and laymen were terrorized, abducted, tortured, or killed.[72] In Liszka (near Tokaj, Zemplén County) soldiers and *talpasones* forced a priest to burn saintly images before they butchered him; in Hécze (near Gönc, Abaúj County) soldiers abducted the priest and murdered at least seven of his parishioners.[73] The same fate befell the priest of Füzér (about 15 miles southwest of Kassa), who was abducted and "led through the streets [of another town] with drums and pipes … [He] had the skin pulled of his body and put into a fire, had smoke forced into his mouth and nostrils … [and] was urged to abjure the True Catholic faith … to become a Calvinist." When he refused, he was decapitated.[74]

It must be emphasized that there were also localities where the removal of Catholic clergy and the restoration of Protestant worship occurred in an orderly manner. Carrying out such an orderly transition was, in fact, the stated intention of the exiles; but it rarely succeeded.[75] In localities with a prehistory of religious tensions, such as the Hegyalja region, persecutions erupted spontaneously. The town of Nagysáros provides another pertinent example.[76] This town had been in uproar since spring 1672, when its church and school were confiscated by force and Márton Hedgyéssi became the new parish priest. The extremely tense local atmosphere is demonstrated by a mysterious gunpowder explosion that ripped through Nagysáros Castle on the second day of Easter 1672: locals rejoiced that two Jesuits were among the victims ("the

Devil has snatched them") and started threatening Catholics who only the day before had participated in an Easter procession ("You are [all] going down to Hell"). Hedgyéssi himself seems to have foreseen his fate after he barely escaped a mob attack on a procession that he led through nearby villages in early May 1672.[77]

Suffice it to examine one analogous case: the riot that broke out in the wealthy trading town of Kisszeben. As we have seen, popular hostility towards the Catholic faith was already intense in December 1671 when the new priest, the Franciscan Ciprianus (Saladinus), barely survived a mob attack. Ciprianus again became one of the primary targets of popular violence in early October 1672 when the magistrate opened the town gates to rebel troops. While church bells were ringing to celebrate the town's liberation, Ciprianus and another priest were grabbed, stripped naked, and marched through the streets to the town's pillory. They were whipped, kicked, beaten, fed horse manure, had their hair shorn, and had the Last Rites administered by the town's Slavic pastor Andrei Galli. Their death was a foregone conclusion: according to Ciprianus, he was supposed to be hanged, and in fact he was led underneath the gallows (though eyewitnesses reported that he was about to be decapitated and claimed to have seen him kneel down to receive the final blow). Only the intervention of a prominent Catholic noblewoman – a member of the Kapy clan and married into the well-connected Usz clan – appears to have saved Ciprianus's life. Meanwhile the town churches were ransacked by soldiers, townspeople, and a few nobles (including a brother of the exile Menyhért Keczer). The altars were broken up, hosts dispersed and trampled, chalices and liturgical vestments plundered, images thrown around, statues decapitated and smashed into pieces.[78]

The Kisszeben example illustrates that one cannot ignore the mobilizing power of the Protestant clergy. The Slavic preacher Andrei Galli, a refugee from Bohemia, told people that "God has finally heard [us] and He has shed light on our Truth. He has suppressed the falsehood of our enemies." They should celebrate the return of their churches as a Divine Miracle. When Habsburg troops surrounded Kisszeben a few weeks later Galli personally led armed bands of townsmen "with drums beating and banners held high" up onto the town walls. Here they were joined by men and women carrying nothing but stones "to shower them over the Germans [*ad obruendos Germanos*]."[79] Similarly, the Hungarian pastor György Petenáda became a towering figure in the Free Royal Town of Eperjes after the town had essentially

been taken over by its artisans and guilds – or "the black community" (*nigra communitas*) according to the local idiom. When the magistrate hesitated to open the gate to rebel troops Petenáda made himself the spokesman of armed crowds that demanded immediate surrender. He also supported their call for the expulsion of all Catholics, conducted prayer services for victory over the Habsburg army, and inspired an unprecedented religious fervor: every day at 4:00 p.m. the church bells rang all over town and people stopped to pray for God's intercession. And when a large imperial army approached Eperjes in late October Petenáda gave militant sermons that inspired hundreds of armed artisans to follow him into battle.[80]

Still, to attribute violence against Catholic clergy, laity, and church buildings to the Protestant clergy – an oft-repeated accusation by Catholic observers during these months – would be misleading. The case can undoubtedly be made against a small minority, including Pastor Andrei Galli. He led rebel soldiers to the town's main church, was present during its sacking, participated in the brutal rituals denigrating the Franciscan Ciprianus, publicly accused Catholics of idolatry, and called them "perfidious cheats" (*perfidos deceptores*); and – if we can believe two victims – he called for the decapitation of Catholics while making a toast to the victory of the rebel army.[81] But pastors were apparently not involved in the excesses in Rad and Nagysáros. And there is no evidence that the outspoken Petenáda joined the Eperjes crowds in breaking images, smashing vases containing Holy Water, desecrating Marian images, and decapitating saints' statues (including those of St István and St László, who were two of Hungary's principal saints). In fact, he likely helped save the life of a Jesuit whom a town mob had dragged into the local bordello. Similar observations can be made about the town's senior German pastor Paul Sartorius, who did not follow his public invectives against Catholics and the Catholic faith with any documented action.[82]

It is important to emphasize that these massive outbreaks of anti-Catholic violence were part and parcel of a larger picture: the breakdown of Habsburg authority and the failure – and perhaps also the unwillingness – of rebel commanders to rein in their soldiers and an out-of-control populace. The described anti-Catholic excesses went hand in hand with the massacres of German soldiers, the sacking of border fortresses, the plunder of many smaller castles,[83] and the pillaging of hundreds of estates. The invasion of the exiles had unleashed pent-up forces of rage and violence among the lower orders of society and the county nobility. Popular fury about the brutalities

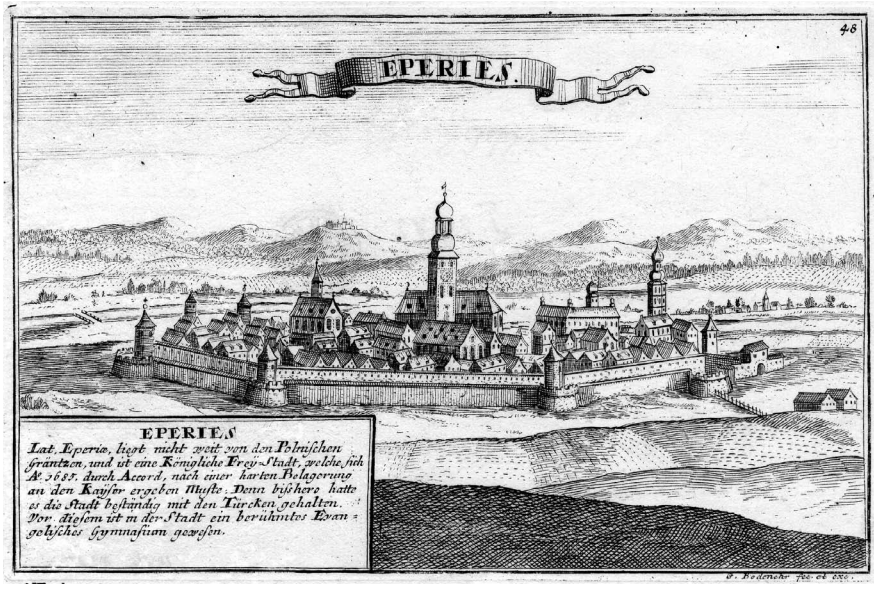

46
EPERIES.
EPERIES.
Lat. Eperio, liegt nicht weit von den Polnischen
Gräntzen, und ist eine Königliche Freÿ Stadt, welche sich
Ao 1685. durch Accord, nach einer harten Belagerung
an den Kayser ergeben Muste. Denn bisshero hatte
es die Stadt beständig mit den Türcken gehalten.
Vor diesem ist in der Stadt ein berühmtes Evan-
gelisches Gymnasium gewesen.

Figure 7.3
The Town of Eperjes (Eperies, Prešov)

Eperjes, a wealthy merchant town and cultural centre of Lutheranism, opened its gates to rebel troops from Ottoman territory in late September 1672. It did not surrender to the Habsburg army until 3 January 1673. The town's rank and file participated in iconoclastic attacks on Catholic churches and monasteries. Armed bands of artisans and students from the town's Lutheran school ambushed Habsburg troops that took up positions around the town. Eperjes later joined the Imre Thököly revolt (1682–85), and its magistrate ordered several days of divine services and fasting to help the Ottomans gain victory over "the hated Habsburgs" in the 1683 siege of Vienna (Špiesz, "Mesto Prešov," 134). In 1687, Eperjes became the site of vicious reprisals that culminated in the torture and execution of eighteen merchants and nobles for "having asked assistance from the Tatars and Turks" (Kónya, "Blutgericht," 103, 114). The text reads: "Latin Eperiae [sic], located not far from the Polish borders, is a Royal Free Town that had to surrender to the emperor by accord after a hard-fought siege in the year 1685: for hitherto, the city had persistently sided with the Turks. In the past there was a famous Lutheran school in the city."

of the Counter-Reformation was perhaps the dominant feature of the rebellion – and one might therefore describe it as a religious war – but one must not forget that much of the violence unleashed when the exile army entered Upper Hungary assumed the character of random plunder and outright robbery. The reasons for this must be regarded as lying in unprecedented tax burdens, the brutal demands of billeting, the need of thousands of former border soldiers to feed themselves, and the poverty of Habsburg soldiers who remained unpaid despite all efforts of General Spankau to improve their lot.[84]

Sky-high plumes of smoke billowing from burning estates were perhaps the most visible manifestation of the rebellion – similar to the fires devouring noble estates in the Volga region during the Stepan Razin rebellion.[85] These fires were observed with utter shock by the officials, officers, magnates, and nobles who had escaped into the few fortresses that had not yet fallen into rebel hands. Shooting cannons into bands of looters could at best drive them away temporarily; it did not prevent them from returning a few hours later. Forays by imperial soldiers did not make much of a difference either, as the attackers vanished quickly into the forests, only to reappear once the soldiers had withdrawn. The more than 2,500-strong garrison of Leutschau, for example, succeeded in preventing the town's defection to the rebel side, but it was powerless against the systematic devastation of the town's hinterlands.[86] The looters did not discriminate by religion: in addition to the estates of Catholic nobles, the looters targeted the farms (*Meyerhöfe*), mills, timber mills, apiaries, brickworks, and barns of Leutschau's Lutheran town elite (including "a large barn full of grain" that belonged to Pastor Christian Seelman). The town's chronicler estimated that the town suffered 20,000 forint in damages "through fire and plunder." This is not an insignificant amount, even if one considers that the two main targets of pillaging, the magnate Ferenc Rákóczi and his mother Zsófia Báthori, suffered much higher losses amounting to more than 100,000 forint each.[87]

Pillaging destroyed the livelihoods of countless nobles. Almost all of the victims were Catholics, but there were also some Protestants, including the Calvinist petty nobles István and Ferenc Bodgány in the small market town of Bogdány (Szabolcs County). The plunderers took "whatever they could find … including twenty-four horses, their clothes, their wives' and servants' clothes, [and] their weapons."[88] Yet typically Protestant nobles were spared while their Catholic neighbours were ruined. An official who ventured into the eastern Calvinist counties in December 1672 – after fresh Habsburg troops

had established a semblance of order – reported that "all Catholic nobles [here] have been persecuted in their persons and in all of their properties." The level of devastation that also affected crown estates was so shocking that he did not even want to give any details: "I do not dare to take up my pen; my mind would be too deficient to describe the desolation of this Upper Land [*felföld*] in a satisfactory manner." He also noted that Catholic victims had begun to make up for their losses by driving away the cattle of nearby Calvinists.[89] Male survivors of the Catholic Viczmándi clan (Izbugya, Zemplén County) described what happened to them and their families: "They invaded our homes in a hostile manner, broke the windows and furnaces, scattered our furniture completely, drove away our horses and cattle, ravaged our vineyards after killing our servants [*famuli*], imprisoned our wives in Csiczva Castle (Zemplén County) and later treated them cruelly and tyrannically with great harm to their health." The male Viczmándys, who somehow escaped to Poland, accused the perpetrators of persecuting Christians as ruthlessly as the Muslim Tatars.[90]

Most of the perpetrators were soldiers and armed peasants (*talpasones*), but we also find townsmen, nobles, students, and pastors. The Viczmándy family, for example, was brutalized by fifty soldiers led by the commander of Cziczva Castle,[91] now a rebel. In Szepes County, the Lutheran noble Ádám Berthóty led hundreds of horsemen and armed peasants to ransack the estates of four top officials of the Zipser Kammer – Zsigmond Holló, János Gundelfinger, Kristóf Horváth, and Gábor Berthóty. The same band also incinerated a large crown estate and the latifundia of the magnate István Csáky in the valley underneath Szepes Castle (with Csáky and his clients watching helplessly from above). At least one Lutheran pastor named Michael Rudini participated in this campaign.[92] The hinterlands of Torna Castle (Torna County) were plundered by armed peasant bands from surrounding villages without any visible leader.[93] And the area around Boldogkő Castle (Abaúj County) became very dangerous after the mass mobilization of peasants, townsmen, and petty nobles.[94] They were joined by armed students (*companones)* from closed Calvinist and Lutheran schools whom a surviving castle official described as particularly ruthless plunderers who "decapitated one serf … and lethally wounded many [others]." Militant Protestant students appeared repeatedly on the scene during the 1672 revolt and may have been attracted to Boldogkő Castle because it belonged to Archbishop György Szelepcsényi, the head of the Hungarian Catholic Church and one of the

chief architects of the Counter-Reformation.[95] One can only imagine what happened to Torna and Boldogkő castles – and their garrisons – after they surrendered in October 1672.[96]

It was as if the exiles' invasion had unleashed a tempest; neither the commanders of the rebel army nor anyone else could control the ensuing chaos. In the absence of strong leadership, rebel commanders became increasingly apprehensive about their ability to gain a final victory. Gábor Kende, for example, could not fathom why they had not yet advanced all the way to the Vág River and Pozsony in Lower Hungary. The rebel army had, after all, assembled significantly more soldiers than the Transylvanian prince György I Rákóczi whose troops had overrun both Upper and Lower Hungary during the 1640s. As Kende put it, "our army is large enough" to go on the offensive. But its strength existed only on paper: there was no leader (literally, head [*fejünk nincs*]), no order or discipline, not enough money to pay most soldiers, and not enough artillery to seize Kassa and the last remaining Habsburg fortresses. If Ottoman or Transylvanian help would not come soon, "a great and beautiful opportunity" would be squandered.[97]

According to Kende, rebel commanders still enjoyed the support of "many thousands of innocent souls." People were willing to fight to the death; but they were beginning to doubt that the rebel army could prevail. He believed rank-and-file rebels shared his conviction that only Ottoman or Transylvanian intervention would save the day: "It is undeniable: they would like the Turk [to come] or a Transylvanian army even if [only] a small one." How many promises and oaths had rebel commanders made that outside help would be forthcoming? These promises and oaths had given people great hope. But Kende wondered how much longer the stirred-up (*fellázzasztott*) masses would be willing to wait.[98]

WAITING FOR THE OTTOMANS: REBEL HOPES AND HABSBURG FEARS

An anonymous spy report that reached the Vienna court in early September 1672 sheds light on the strong pro-Ottoman hopes of rebel leaders like Gábor Kende.[99] The spy claimed that he had been privy to a top-secret meeting of these leaders on the eve of their invasion of Upper Hungary. He described a fervent atmosphere dominated by the strong belief that Sultan Mehmed IV had given them a mandate to move: "The Most Mighty and Most Invincible

Emperor of the Turks has accepted [us] since [we] are seeking refuge with him. [We] therefore have chosen to rather die than to forsake Him." The sultan would provide protection "to those willing to return" under his wings and "has given orders to the princes of Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia to assist [us] in subjugating all of Hungary [to his authority]."[100] This outside intervention would occur in late September when a Transylvanian army joined by Ottoman troops from Varad, Eger, and Szolnok would seize Kassa, the capital of Habsburg power, and assist the thirteen counties in establishing full control over Upper Hungary. Once this was accomplished the princes of Wallachia and Moldavia would join rebel commanders Gábor Kende and Pál Szepessy in a military campaign cutting through Lower Hungary into Moravia and Austria. Another rebel army led by Mátyás Szuhay would then move from Buda through Ottoman territory to Uyvar, join Turkish troops, and systematically occupy all lands east of the Vág River, that is, large parts of Lower Hungary.[101]

The spy report further revealed that the rebel leaders had no illusions about their ability to overthrow Habsburg rule permanently by means of a popular uprising alone. They were confident that they could easily recruit more than sixty thousand armed combatants from border fortresses, villages, and towns in both Upper and Lower Hungary. The loyalty of these fighters would be ensured by a moratorium on taxation for six years and regular pay. However, this levée en masse would not be sufficient "to expel the German army from the Kingdom." It would suffice to cut off and ambush German regiments, expel Catholic priests, seize confiscated estates, and carry out acts of revenge against traitors (*ad vindictam contra foedifragos*), but ultimate victory could only be ensured by Ottoman troops or troops from the Ottoman vassal states of Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia. In particular, rebel commanders feared that large towns with imperial garrisons (such as the mining towns of Lower Hungary) "might not want to submit to the Turkish Empire" – only large cannons from Eger and Varad as well as Ottoman vassal troops would force them into obedience. Thus, Hungarian independence from the Habsburg Empire could only be ensured if the sultan established his authority over the Kingdom. He would not rule directly but appoint two plenipotentiaries – one in Upper Hungary, presumably in Kassa, and the other in Lower Hungary in Neusohl. It appears that the young Imre Thököly was to become prince of Upper Hungary and his uncle István Petrőczy prince of Lower Hungary. Then, "Hungary will be under the authority of the Turkish

Emperor just like Transylvania [*sub Turcico Imperatore sicut Transylvania*] and be liberated from the German yoke in perpetuity."[102]

The identity of the spy remains mysterious but a number of clues suggest that he was the Transylvanian magnate Dénes Bánffy.[103] Bánffy was a well-placed Habsburg agent who had close ties with leading Hungarian exiles and was intimately familiar with the planning of their invasion. He repeatedly met with these exiles and hosted them at his home.[104] Bánffy had worked for Habsburg intelligence for several years and enjoyed the trust of Prince Rottal, the Habsburg court's plenipotentiary in Upper Hungary, with whom he exchanged coded letters.[105] Two of these letters, which reached the Vienna court at about the same time as the spy report,[106] warned that the exiles' invasion was "a plot of the [grand] vizier with a strategic rationale" (*ex factione Vizirii, ratione stratagemmatis*) that could not be separated from the Ottoman campaign against Poland. Ottoman victory in Poland would only be the prelude to the final ruin of Hungary "assigning [*adscribet*] the Turk the keys to many kingdoms."[107] The spy report dwelled similarly on the Hungarian-Polish nexus, stating that, presumably after victory in Poland, Tatars and likely the core of the Ottoman army would join the Hungarian rebels in a campaign across the Vág River towards Vienna.[108]

The spy report takes us into the heart of the Upper Hungarian revolt. This was not just a local rebellion leading to the collapse of Habsburg power, but a crisis of geopolitical proportions. The very future of the Habsburg monarchy was at stake. If the Ottomans would indeed carry out their side of the bargain – as laid out in the spy report – they would destroy the Habsburg Empire's hold over Hungary, leaving the empire's capital and core provinces dangerously exposed. Both rebel leaders and the Vienna court were very much aware of this. But so were the local officials and military officers caught in the middle of the storm. And many of the men and women who joined the revolt believed that their future lay indeed with the Ottoman Empire. They were encouraged to think so not only by the speeches of rebel commanders but also by the presence of the Ottoman soldiers in their midst and the actions of Ottoman pashas and military commanders. The master plan outlined in the spy report was very real: a radical shift in power relations between the two empires seemed imminent. But everything depended on whether or not Grand Vizier Ahmed Köprülü would actually abide by the master plan.

From the perspective of the Vienna court, the author of the spy report was not a double agent planting misinformation. Indeed, a memorandum by the Habsburg emissary Franz Meninski to Buda, discussed by the Aulic War Council in early September, also warned that the Ottoman invasion of Poland could not be separated from the crisis in Hungary.[109] Meninski, a fluent Turkish speaker, noted the jubilant mood among his contacts at the vizier's court: the courtiers were certain that Kamianets' Fortress would soon fall. After all, Köprülü's troops had been able to take Candia; Kamianets' would be easy prey by comparison. This mighty citadel that barred Ottoman entry into Poland was then under siege by Köprülü. Meninski's insistence that the fortress was impenetrable and that the Poles had mighty allies in the Muscovites was dismissed with the ominous remark that "the Day of Judgement was near [*vicino il giorno del giuditio*]."[110] What did this cryptic remark mean? Meninski gleaned further insight from a conversation with the vizier's chief of staff: "Who knows what Our Ottoman Emperor will do after seizing Kamianets' … whether he might not advance farther to make himself the master of Cracow which is not that far removed from His borders [in Hungary] and only a three-day road trip from Eger." Meninski drew from these conversations a categorical conclusion: "I have no doubts that the grand vizier has some dark design [*occulto dissegno*] against Upper Hungary … by way of Poland."[111]

When news of the Upper Hungarian revolt reached Vienna on 10 and 11 September, Emperor Leopold I immediately convoked the Secret Conference in his summer residence of Ebersdorf. According to an analysis of the Aulic War Council – with which the emperor and the Secret Conference agreed – the participation of Ottoman soldiers in the exiles' invasion was irrefutable proof "that the Turks are indeed throwing their lot with the rebels [*sich zu den Rebellen schlagen*] and are mixed up with them." It was obvious "that one would have to deal with them [*daß man mit denselben zu thun haben muss*]."[112] In fact, what was happening in Upper Hungary could easily occur in Lower Hungary as well. The majordomo of the vizier of Buda had just warned that Archbishop Szelepcsényi must stop his brutal Catholization campaign against Ottoman subjects (*Unterthanen*) living in the Lower Hungarian confines. If this did not happen immediately the vizier would report the matter to Köprülü, "who certainly would not approve of such impositions."[113] The warning coincided with increasing Ottoman raids targeting Lower Hungary's mining towns and the area around Leopoldstadt Fortress on the Vág River.[114]

The 11 September emergency meeting in the imperial residence led to a major military mobilization that involved ordering troops from all over the empire to Hungary. Only troop contingents stationed in Silesia along the Polish borders were to remain untouched, "as it is still uncertain how the affairs in Poland will play out." The key purpose was to launch two large expeditionary armies in the direction of Upper Hungary to subdue the uprising before it was too late.[115] The second purpose was to secure Lower Hungary, particularly Leopoldstadt and Komárom, the two linchpins of border defense against a potential Ottoman attack on Vienna. In addition, reinforcements were to be sent to the mining towns, where rumours of imminent Turkish attacks were circulating. Neutra and Sempte (Schinta) fortresses – both surrounded by territory claimed by the pasha of Uyvar – also needed fresh troops. And newly recruited troops were to be stationed along the Hungarian borders with Moravia and Austria.[116]

The great alarm with which the Vienna court responded to the Upper Hungarian revolt is further revealed in the emperor's letters to the two Habsburg residents at the Porte. The first letter penned on 11 September noted a troubling intelligence blackout: the grand vizier had forbidden the residents to follow the Ottoman court into Poland and left them stranded in a Moldavian village with no or only very limited access to their informants and spies. The emperor committed extra money – presumably for bribes – to improve the residents' access to Ottoman court and army headquarters; he also attached conciliatory letters to the sultan and Köprülü that were to be conveyed as quickly as possible.[117] A second letter, dated 17 September and written under the impression of quick Ottoman advances in Poland, pushed the residents with the utmost urgency to reach the Ottoman court. They were to offer Habsburg mediation in the Polish conflict "so that this dangerous war … is averted and calmed down as soon as possible." Given the proximity of the Hungarian borderlands and Leopold's own close kinship ties to the Polish king, the Habsburg court was bound to get entangled (*mit eingeflochten*) sooner or later. In fact, a widening conflict would undoubtedly draw in all of Christendom. To get Köprülü's attention, the emissaries were to imply – but "gently [*glimpflich*] so that it does not appear to be a threat" –that the Ottoman army would have to confront a pan-European coalition. "Never before in human memory have so many [Christians] been under arms"; even the French were ready to join the Poles, and the conflict in the Netherlands could easily be ended by negotiations, freeing up the entire

Habsburg army to fight the Ottomans. The emperor emphasized, however, that he did not want war. He would rather work with Köprülü to make peace in Poland. Had they not "a short while ago concluded and confirmed a peace [in Hungary] for twenty years"?[118]

During the following weeks the Habsburg court received many alarming letters that seemed to confirm that the Ottomans were behind the Upper Hungarian revolt and that the Polish war was only a prelude to an Ottoman-Habsburg war. Upper Hungarian officials under siege in Kassa wrote about the close ties between Hungarian rebels and Turks, warned of imminent invasions by Wallachian and Transylvanian armies, conjured up the likely extermination of the Catholic estate by Turks and Tatars, and predicted the utter ruin of the Hungarian Kingdom, which would endanger the Bulwark of Christendom and the entire Christian world.[119] They also underscored the Hungarian-Polish nexus: "One must fear that once triumphant in Poland the Turk will erupt into this direction and join this rebel army … as we take it for certain that [the Turk] has promised them assistance once he has finished his affairs in Poland."[120] Catholic bishops and other churchmen sent similar letters. Archbishop Szelepcsényi and Bishop György Bársony emphasized the collusion of rebels and Ottomans while denouncing the rebels' anti-Catholic atrocities. A Franciscan from Szepes County asserted that "the brood of heretic and rebellious Calvinists" responsible for the Upper Hungarian turmoil could easily be destroyed by a military campaign against the pasha of Eger. He proposed that Emperor Leopold not get involved directly, but authorize the Catholic magnate István Csáky to join forces with Duke Stanisław Herakliusz Lubomirski, *starosta* of the Polish enclave in Upper Hungary.[121]

These panicked letters can perhaps be dismissed as rumour-mongering but they must be read in conjunction with sober assessments received by the Aulic War Council. On 20 September, for example, Captain István Koháry of Fülek Fortress – which was located in eastern Nógrád County on the margins of Upper and Lower Hungary – reported rapidly increasing Ottoman troop concentrations. The screeching noises of moving artillery and other heavy equipment were irrefutable proof that these troops were moving into position for an attack. In fact, a spy on Koháry's payroll corroborated that Ottoman commanders were ready for action: "[They] no longer are hiding the fact that they have received a mandate from the Ottoman Porte to move." Furthermore, two intercepted letters from rebel commanders and the Transylvanian magnate Mihály Teleki revealed that the Ottoman attack would be

coordinated with Hungarian and Transylvanian troops. The letters also showed the secret involvement of Fülek's vice-captain – with substantial numbers of Hungarian soldiers under his command – and the mayor of the nearby Ottoman tributary town of Rimaszombat (Gömör County). As Koháry put it, "the insurgents are only waiting for the Turk [to move] and I hear that they are also expecting the [Ottoman] army which has triumphed in Poland."[122]

On 21 September, the commander of a small fortress about 15 miles northwest of Fülek corroborated Koháry's account. Drawing on a spy just returned from Eger, he was convinced that the rebels were receiving orders from the pasha of Eger, with whom they stood in correspondence and to whom they sent their captives. In Eger and other Ottoman fortresses, news of the fall of Kamianets' had generated exuberant victory celebrations with spectacular cannon firing. Most importantly, there was now open talk among local Ottomans about the sultan's imminent move against Hungary. While the commander knew nothing about a Transylvanian army, he had learned that a second rebel army stood poised to invade from Transylvania. Among its leaders was Imre Thököly.[123] Also on 21 September, Commander Zsigmond Pethő reported from Eperjes that according to the latest communications Transylvanian troops were on the move and the sultan's camp was only 25 or 28 miles away in Galicia. Many anticipated an Ottoman attack from Poland across the Carpathians and chose to flee. On 24 September, General Spankau related that the pashas of Eger and Varad were actively assisting the rebel army; the rebels had won them over with presents.[124]

Similar reports came in from Lower Hungary. On 20 September 1672 General Hofkirchen, the commander of Komárom, reported the arrival of fresh artillery pieces in Uyvar Fortress. This had just been discovered during the previous night by a spy in Esztergom. Another spy reported from Buda that wheels designed to carry heavy cannons were also being transported to Uyvar. His sources, however, had denied that any munitions and artillery pieces were being taken to Uyvar. To uncover more information, the Aulic War Council ordered Hofkirchen to dispatch additional spies to Buda, Uyvar, and Esztergom.[125] At about the same time General Cobb, the commander of the first expeditionary army marching towards Upper Hungary, wrote to Court Chancellor Hocher that according to reconnaissance he had received, Hungarian rebels intended to attack his troops from territory under the pasha of Uyvar.[126] On 24 and 29 September General Strassoldo reported that the

mining town of Neusohl was in great danger because of the Upper Hungarian revolt. On 29 September Pál Esterházy, the Hungarian commander entrusted with protecting Neusohl and the other mining towns, reported the spread of news (*avviso*) "that the Turkish Emperor had taken the rebels under this protection." The source of this news was Uyvar Fortress.[127] On 1 October the Aulic War Council informed Emperor Leopold about unconfirmed rumours that István Petrőczy was in Uyvar. The only evidence the council had to go on was a rebel proclamation – apparently seized not far from Uyvar – to which Petrőczy was the principal signatory.[128] Such proclamations calling on Lower Hungarian towns and counties to join the Upper Hungarian revolt were then also intercepted near Neusohl and Trencsén.[129] Local commanders warned repeatedly that the entire mining district was in danger and the Aulic War Council made extraordinary efforts to secure the towns militarily.[130]

Such military reports were hardly based on illusions, even if they only captured pieces of a much larger hidden reality. The known pieces fit nicely together when we recall the central claims of the anonymous spy report: there was significant coordination between rebel leaders and the pashas of Eger, Varad, and Uyvar; Ottoman and Transylvanian troops stood poised to invade just at the time when the rebel army had completely surrounded Kassa (a reality that was noted by Pethő and Koháry); rumours placed István Petrőczy in Lower Hungary and Imre Thököly on his way to Upper Hungary; Lower Hungary was clearly in the purview of Upper Hungarian rebel leaders as indicated by the circulation of their proclamations; and the mining towns of Lower Hungary – particularly Neusohl, where according to the anonymous spy, Petrőczy was to rule at the sultan's mercy – were prime targets and considered to be in peril by the Aulic War Council. And all of this was happening while the Ottoman army was racing from victory to victory in Poland.[131]

Why, then, did the Ottoman troops amassed along the Hungarian borders and concentrated near Belgrade not attack?[132] These troops could easily have taken Kassa and the few other Habsburg fortresses that were still holding out. It is true that Transylvanian troops led by the magnate Mihály Teleki, and joined by rebel forces, marched on Szatmár Fortress on 18 September.[133] This Transylvanian-led undertaking had the blessing of Prince Apafi. Grand Vizier Köprülü apparently had also approved the expedition, despite reports to the contrary. He later told Hungarian rebel commander Pál Szepessy that he had personally authorized all Ottoman and Transylvanian interventions in the Upper Hungarian revolt – including the Teleki expedition.[134] Did the pashas

not move their troops because of the military disaster in which Teleki's dilettantish campaign ended on 20 September?[135] The Habsburg court hardly bothered to consider this question.[136] At best, a minor victory had been gained, and perhaps some breathing space. But nothing had changed the central dilemma: the Upper Hungarian rebels had the support (*Unterschlaiff*) of the Porte and the vizier of Buda, as Emperor Leopold observed in a letter dated 13 October. Otherwise, they would hardly have had "the courage to invade … and carry out [such] gruesome excesses." Only vast military mobilizations, the systematic strengthening of border defenses, and the procurement of foreign help could prevent the outbreak of a larger war.[137]

Before examining developments at the Porte that might explain the Ottoman failure to intervene, let us turn to the perspective of Upper Hungarian rebels. There can be little doubt that the exiles and chief commanders of the rebel army strongly believed that they had the Porte's support. Pál Szepessy claimed that he had received an oral commitment from Köprülü himself, a belief that remained undiminished even after Köprülü failed to prevent the defeat of the rebel army in late October 1672.[138] István Petrőczy shared this conviction. In late September 1672 he insisted that it was now time for Köprülü to fulfill his side of the bargain and send Ottoman troops: Kassa, the crown jewel (*caput bonorum*) of Upper Hungary was completely surrounded while "a large part of the country, the entire [thirteen] counties, border fortresses, and smaller castles are already with us and favourably disposed to swear loyalty to the Invincible Emperor."[139] At about the same time Mátyás Szuhay and Gábor Kende tried to convey to the Porte how successful their campaign had been, that is, "what kinds of fortresses and counties they had subjugated to the loyalty of the [Turkish] Emperor." Even a thousand Turkish soldiers would be enough to drive the Habsburgs completely out of Upper Hungary.[140]

Transylvanian sources – both friendly and hostile towards the Hungarian rebels – confirm the exiles' strong belief in the Porte's support. Letters by the magnate Mihály Teleki, who was the exiles' staunchest supporter, are good examples.[141] But even Prince Apafi, who was often fearful that an Ottoman intervention might topple him, noted the strong commitment with which "the Hungarian patriots … [have] pledged loyalty to the Sublime Porte [*a fényes portának hűségére kötelezvén magokat*]." He could not find any good reason why his protégé Mihály Teleki should not intervene militarily on their behalf. After all, he was only advancing the Porte's interests.[142] The chronicler

János Bethlen also dwelled on the exiles' faith in the Porte, but he found it misguided and based entirely on wishful thinking – they had not received anything but oral promises. He therefore could not understand why they "had not put their trust in the Roman Emperor's mercy and preferred to become subjects in the Empire of the Turks." Bethlen essentially accused the exiles of blind fanaticism that threatened not only the remaining autonomies of the Transylvanian Principality but, if not stopped, would "turn [Hungary] and neighbouring states into the Powerful Nation's booty."[143]

The rebel leaders' trust in the Porte was constantly reinforced by their correspondence with Ottoman pashas and border commanders. Pál Szepessy, for example, wrote the following shortly after the rebel army had gained victory over General Spankau on 14 September: "The Turk, both in Varad and Eger, is very happy about our fortunate progress; he blesses and encourages us, and provides us secretly with help while getting ready with great speed." Undoubtedly, the pashas of Eger and Varad would soon join them and were only waiting for the signal from Köprülü. In the meantime "[they are] asking and pressing us to see to our business [*lássunk dolgunkhoz*]. I am keeping all of their letters."[144] Gábor Kende, who corresponded with the pasha of Eger, noted with relish that the pasha had greatly approved of his present – Turkish captives liberated form a Habsburg dungeon. The pasha was closely following the rebels' march on Kassa and was overjoyed by their rapid advance. While he was still waiting for an order from the Porte he had initiated intense war preparations that were continuing day and night.[145] Yet, of the two pashas, Kücsük Mehmed Pasha of Varad was clearly the most important contact: he had sent Agha Huszein, his top commander, to chase Habsburg troops out of the Heyduck towns and Szabolcs County. Even though Agha Huszein had withdrawn with his troops after helping with initial victories, he was in regular contact with rebel leaders and vowed that he would follow them as soon as possible.[146]

Thus, the master plan outlined by the anonymous spy appears to have been taken very seriously by rebel commanders. This is further demonstrated by proclamations – or patents, as the Aulic War Council called them – announcing that they had bound themselves to the Most Powerful Ottoman Nation in a perpetual alliance (*perpetuo foedere*): 60,000 Turks stood poised to intervene and would be accompanied by troops under the command of the Transylvanian, Moldavian, and Wallachian princes. These proclamations carried the signatures of István Petrőczy, Pál Szepessy, Mátyás Szuhay, and

Gábor Kende, that is, the rebel army's top generals highlighted in the master plan.[147] The generals' public speeches further underscored their purported special relationship with the Porte. Petrőczy, for example, promised Lutheran nobles and townsmen in Sáros and Szepes counties that "the Turk will come to [our] help – in this [our] total trust has been invested." He bragged that "ten or twenty thousand [Turks] will come to our assistance as soon as I utter only one or two words."[148] Mátyás Szuhay heartened nobles and soldiers participating in the siege of Kassa by assuring them that Turkish and Transylvanian help would undoubtedly be forthcoming. And he also told them that the Ottoman intervention would not lead to the seizure of Habsburg Hungary by the sultan: "Look, the Turk [originally] wanted to come and occupy this Kingdom [by himself] but we nevertheless lobbied so intensely at the [Porte] that [Hungary] will remain ours in the future." And Pál Szepessy told townsmen and nobles in Eperjes that "their tie with the Turk was indissoluble" and that "they were putting the greatest faith in the Turk [*in Turcam maximam ponebant fiduciam*]."[149]

How were these proclamations and speeches perceived by the population at large? We know that quite a number of Catholic nobles expressed serious reservations. Among them was the magnate Gábor Kapy, who feared that Ottoman troops would significantly worsen the persecution of Catholics; he served the rebel army as captain of the Sáros nobility and believed that they could prevail without Ottoman help. Balthasar Konach, a minor noble from southern Zemplén County, accused rebel commanders of intimidation. He and other nobles unwilling to join the revolt were threatened that Ottoman troops would depopulate their estates.[150] Some Protestant nobles appear to have preferred Western Christian allies, particularly the Transylvanian prince but also the electors of the German Empire and the French king (without considering the Orthodox Moldavians and Wallachians).[151] This trend may explain why István Petrőczy told his Lutheran listeners in Szepes County that "it should be obvious to the entire Christian world that I will [only] send a message to the Turk if [our cause] cannot be accomplished in any other way." And both Petrőczy and Szuhay appeased critical nobles by stating that "even though the Turk would give [us] sufficient help [we] do not want to take it since [we] will be able to carry out [our] intention with [our] own strength." This was said, however, shortly after the stunning victory over Spankau, when Petrőczy and Szuhay felt confident that Kassa could easily be taken.[152]

But there were quite a number of supporters of the Ottoman alliance among nobles. They included pragmatists[153] such as the wealthy Catholic magnate István Palocsay, a large landowner in Sáros and Szepes counties, who reasoned that the House of Austria could no longer protect his estates. The emperor had abandoned Hungary to the Ottomans after failing to recover lost fortresses; in order to avoid final ruin, it was best to cut one's ties with Vienna once and for all.[154] The petty noble Menyhért Andrássy from Szepes County made a similar cost-benefit analysis: "I rather become a Turkish tributary than have the Germans govern me; the [Turks] would establish friendly relations with me [*affinitatem mecum contraherent*]."[155]

Other nobles expressed pro-Turkish attitudes more fervently.[156] The Lutheran Ferenc Szinnyei, for example, made a solemn public oath that the rebel army could not fail: "So help me God this will not turn out any different [*haec non aliter fient*] because we have hope and trust in the Turk, the Transylvanian army, its leader Mihály Teleki and the voivodes of Moldavia and Wallachia." Szinnyei was the brother-in-law of the Turcophile Menyhért Keczer who considered the Varad commander Agha Huszein a good friend; and he was the brother of the widow Elizabeth Szinnyei who perceived the Ottomans as saviours from Catholic oppression. She told residents of Eperjes that "my God is exerting himself day and night that these Papist dogs do not oppress us. We prefer that the Turk becomes our master." Another Eperjes noblewoman, the wife of András Trocsányi, denounced the Catholic faith as idol worship, insisting that "I would rather go to the Turks with my books than … submit to the Devil."[157] Some nobles already fantasized that they would soon be in Vienna "to take the crown from the head [of the emperor] because he is not worthy of that crown [*non est dignus corona ista*]."[158]

Rumours of forthcoming Ottoman help circulated in all regions of Upper Hungary. The contents of these rumours largely overlapped with the promises of rebel proclamations, but there were some variations.[159] For example, there was no agreement on the number of Ottoman troops. Some claimed 60,000 were forthcoming, others heard it was 40,000, and yet others thought only 4,000 were on their way. But most knew nothing about numbers and simply related gossip about orders issued by the sultan, forthcoming Turkish help (*auxilium*), or the hope and trust that rebel leaders were placing in the Porte.[160] Such rumours appear to have reached a fever pitch after the rebel army's victory over General Spankau. On 16 September

– two days after Spankau's defeat – an anonymous informant reported intense talk about the imminent arrival of 4,000 Janissaries and 1,000 *sipahis*. The informant, who wrote from the vicinity of Szendrő and Ónod fortresses, related further details of what he had heard: the sultan had appointed a new king of Upper Hungary, but no one knew whether it was István Petrőczy or Imre Balassa – the latter reference a surprising twist, since the name of Balassa is not mentioned anywhere in rebel correspondence or later Habsburg investigations. The vizier of Buda had already dispatched troops to welcome the new king and take him to Buda. The pashas of Eger and Kanisza (!) were under orders to launch a military campaign "to put him on the throne but it was still uncertain in which town the seat of the future Kingdom would be located." Furthermore, the Ottomans had given the rebels a mandate "to annihilate [*perimant*] any Catholics who refused to embrace [the rebels'] faith." Four Catholic clerics had already been slaughtered. The informant also heard that Wallachian and Transylvanian troops were on their way to join the rebel army.[161]

Does the wide circulation of such rumours indicate that rebel commanders' proclamations and speeches had a mobilizing effect on ordinary men and women? Turcophobic observers such as Archbishop Szelepcsényi and the Transylvanian chronicler Bethlen insisted that it was precisely pro-Turkish propaganda that "enticed many thousand Hungarians to join the war thus whirling them to their obvious ruin."[162] Turcophile rebel leaders concurred that their appeals had a strong impact on the minds of ordinary Hungarians: Gábor Kende was not alone in fearing that the stirred-up masses would dissipate unless Turkish or at least Transylvanian help was forthcoming. For example, Mihály Vér who commanded rebel troops in Szabolcs and Szatmár counties, observed that "every horseman and foot soldier keeps expressing the [wish] that [we] encourage them with Turkish help and a Transylvanian army." He added that "if Transylvania and the Turk will not help us the hoarfrost will consume our army."[163] And the nuanced Dutch observer Hamel Bruyninx, who drew his information from Lower Hungarian Protestants, had no doubts that pro-Turkish sentiments were shared by the vast majority: "Their minds and souls [*gemoederen*] are overcome by the belief that the Turkish joke is easier to endure than the raging fury of persecution by the Roman clergy."[164]

A stunning example of masses expressing pro-Ottoman fervor occurred during the battle against General Spankau. Survivors who made it to Kassa

recalled the following: "The [rebels'] battle formations filled the entire plain … and when they rushed into us there was a horrible and unanimous battle cry … they were screaming Allah in Turkish."[165] One might attribute the invocation of Allah to the presence of Ottoman soldiers, but as we will see, the number of these soldiers was very small. A similar entreaty to Allah by Hungarian troops happened during a ferocious second attack on Ónod Fortress when a rebel contingent joined by a few Ottoman soldiers slaughtered parts of the Habsburg garrison in late November 1672.[166] That the presence of Ottoman troops could inspire Hungarian rebels is suggested by other testimonies. For example, a petty noble recalled having drinks with peasant soldiers (*talpasones*) and three Janissaries in the small town of Szikszó in southern Abaúj County. One of the peasants exclaimed: "The Turks and Tatars will come in such a multitude that the Earth will barely be able to carry them." To this one of the Janissaries responded: "My good friend, 80,000 Turks will come but [only] 20,000 Tatars." Another petty noble who participated in the carousal confirmed the conversation.[167] Finally, there is evidence that a number of Hungarian rebels dressed like Turkish Janissaries. One such "Turkish" contingent was enlisted by the Sáros noble Gábor Dobai. He had the local pastor "baptize some Hungarian militia Turkish [*aliquam militiam Ungaricam baptisabat Turcicam*]" and then rode around on his horse announcing: "My heart rejoices! Here is our help from the Turks! We have nothing to fear because our cause is just. Take heart, soldiers, don't abandon what you have started because God will not forsake you."[168]

It is difficult to say to what extent pro-Turkish sentiments motivated popular rebels, but there is evidence that ordinary men living in some of the revolt's epicentres spoke with awe about the Ottomans.[169] We are best informed about the town of Eperjes, which became the target of more investigations than any other place. In the streets of Eperjes one could hear common talk "that the rebels were extremely powerful [because they had] many thousands of Turks with them." Andreas Nodifer, the son-in-law of the town's Slavic pastor, predicted "that His Majesty will never again lord it over the residents of Eperjes … and we will for no reason ever accept [another] garrison for we have already submitted to the Turks [*pridem Turcis subdidimus*]."[170] Laurentius Poller, a gravedigger, announced that Ottoman troops would soon come and decapitate all Catholics. And Michael Santa, a religious radical from the outskirts of town, gave speeches in which he predicted the imminent arrival of the Ottomans and the collapse of the Habsburg Empire. Eperjes would

then become part of the Ottoman Empire, and the town's Catholics, who had desecrated Protestant churches like pigs (*sicut porci*), would suffer devastation along with other Habsburg supporters. Santa did not mind if Eperjes would then be directly under the Porte's administration. As he put it, "he [would] prefer many times that the Turk resides here rather than the Germans."[171] Such popular talk had two principal sources: strong rumours that the Ottoman army was about to cross the Carpathians, and speeches by rebel leaders. One of the most popular of these speakers was the town noble Gáspár Pika, a Jesuit-trained orator and recent convert to Lutheranism. He stirred up ordinary men and women ("the black community") with speeches denouncing Emperor Leopold and General Spankau as minions of the Devil while vowing that Ottoman and Wallachian troops would soon arrive.[172]

Habsburg investigators later claimed that the Protestant clergy was largely responsible for promoting pro-Turkish attitudes – a standard accusation that was to justify the clergy's mass expulsion from Hungary. Pastors supposedly organized public prayers for a quick Turkish victory in Poland, and were said to praise the Ottomans' good fortune and the expansion of their empire.[173] The documentary evidence, however, remains rather limited. Yes, pro-Turkish pastors – most of them Calvinist – were found in the rebel army's camps. We know nothing about their sermons, but some of them did participate in battles with Habsburg troops. According to eyewitnesses, some of them were dressed like Janissaries or wore turbans.[174] A handful of Lutheran town and village pastors welcomed the Turks as protectors in their sermons. They reasoned that "as soon as we pay the Turks tribute we will no longer be disturbed in our religion." One of these pastors preached passionately that it was far better "that we submit to the Turk … than to consecrate our souls to the Devil by becoming Papists."[175] But it must be noted that parts of the Protestant clergy did not openly embrace the Ottomans. In fact, a few Lutheran pastors had their communities sing a famous Luther cantata asking God to protect his flock against both the murderous Pope and Turk. And a look at surviving sermons from this period demonstrates that traditional anti-Turkish topoi had not disappeared. However, this likely mattered very little. As the astute Dutch observer Hamel Bruyninx explained, religious persecution had become so horrendous that Protestant pastors had no other choice but to turn to the Ottomans for protection.[176]

Let me finally turn to two investigations conducted in the Lower Hungarian border fortresses of Veszprém and Pápa.[177] They not only reveal the Lower

Hungarian dimensions of the Upper Hungarian revolt – a point strongly emphasized in the aforementioned spy report – but also further illustrate the high levels of support that the exiles' invasion generated among ordinary people. The investigations additionally confirm that strong pro-Ottoman attitudes existed among the Calvinist clergy.

Lower Hungary figured prominently in the military strategy of Upper Hungarian rebel commanders. Pál Szepessy, for example, observed in early November 1672 that if the exiles' original plan had come to fruition, the rebel army's headquarters would now be outside Pozsony; in fact, "the counties on this side of the Danube [Lower Hungary] have been awaiting us with pleasure."[178] This was not merely Szepessy's fantasy, as demonstrated by the hectic measures taken by the Aulic War Council to secure Pozsony, Tyrnau, Neusohl, and other important Lower Hungarian towns.[179] The council's central concern was with Lower Hungarian fortresses.[180] In fact, soldiers from some of these fortresses had abandoned their posts and joined the rebel army.[181] Rebel recruiters were discovered in Trencsén County, where rumours circulated about the fall of Kassa. A purported rebel plot to attack the German garrison of Trencsén Fortress sent the Aulic War Council into overdrive.[182] And the interception of secret correspondence between Buda and Calvinist residents of Komárom, a linchpin of Lower Hungarian border defense, led to the purge of Calvinist officers in Komárom and other Lower Hungarian fortresses.[183]

Rebel communications had a powerful impact on the fortress towns of Veszprém and Pápa: messengers and letters were constantly going back and forth between these towns and Upper Hungary as well as Transylvania.[184] News about the rebel army's rapid advances was celebrated by soldiers, craftsmen, students of Calvinist schools, women, and even children. After learning about the defeat of General Spankau and the massacre of Habsburg soldiers, the towns were in an uproar.[185] Soldiers threatened to throw their Catholic commanders from fortress walls, and students were marching through the streets with drums and banners singing martial songs – invoking similar scenes in the streets of Kassa, where seminary students were riding around in wagons dressed like Janissaries. Craftsmen gathered in their guild houses and drank to the success of the Upper Hungarian rebels. And women assembled to pray for the rebels, confident that Transylvanian troops would soon arrive and drive out the Catholics.[186] Anti-Catholic threats intensified. The parish priest of Pápa fell into a state of panic after Calvinist students torched his house. A Catholic soldier from Veszprém Fortress claimed that

his Calvinist comrades were just waiting for the arrival of rebel forces to castrate and expel the Catholic clergy. The Catholic commander of the Veszprém cavalry confirmed that his Calvinist soldiers were indeed out of control: they disobeyed orders by protecting the town's pastor and eventually evacuated him to the safety of Ottoman territory. Another witness reported that Calvinist officers purged Catholic soldiers from their ranks and replaced them with Calvinists.[187]

As Veszprém and Pápa fell into a state of avid expectation of the rebel army's arrival[188] pro-Ottoman talk intensified. Quite a number of townsmen and soldiers expressed with determination "that they rather would become Turks than Papists [*inkabb törökökke lennek … hogy nem mint Papistakka*]." They did not mind the rebels' close associations with the Porte; rather, they viewed these associations as encouraging. One witness overheard speakers welcoming the idea that the rebels would "make Turks out of them." These speakers emphasized that "the [rebels'] emissaries were even now visiting the Turkish Emperor."[189] Others spoke about their readiness to pay the Ottomans tribute: in return, the Turks would protect their religion and shield their pastors against persecution. And a village pastor preached in the vicinity of Pápa that "even if no other help would be forthcoming the Turk will help us." He prayed that "God should bring the Turk together with the Tatar." Other pastors returned to the limelight, after months of hiding, and gave similar sermons.[190] Their quick return may not be surprising; a significant number of them had escaped the Counter-Reformation onto nearby Ottoman territory, as confirmed by the Dutch resident Hamel Bruyninx and other sources. In light of the pastors' familiarity with the Ottomans, the claims of several witnesses that the local Calvinist clergy sent delegations to the vizier of Buda and the pasha of Kanizsa are entirely plausible.[191]

Still, not everyone was convinced that the rebels would actually come to their rescue. Several speakers emphasized their readiness to migrate to the Ottoman Empire "if their affairs will turn out badly." Some spoke with awe of the vastness of this empire that could easily accommodate them in its hinterlands.[192] Others put their hope in France and the Protestant electors of the Empire.[193] Did these speakers know that the Ottomans had failed to intervene in Upper Hungary? Did they know that rebel leaders had banked their entire enterprise on Ottoman intervention? Was this perhaps the reason why Calvinist pastors traveled to Buda and Kanizsa to ask for Ottoman support?

We do not know the answers to these questions, but one thing is clear: the master plan that had become the blueprint for the Upper Hungarian revolt was not followed by the Ottomans. While Hungarian rebel leaders fulfilled their side of the bargain with great success and even faster than anticipated (e.g., surrounding Kassa within two weeks instead of a month), the Ottomans and their vassals in Transylvania and the Danubian principalities remained neutral. By late October 1672 unknown numbers of nobles, townsmen, soldiers, peasants, and Protestant clergy – both in Upper and Lower Hungary – were waiting for a decisive move by the Porte and its vassals. But it did not come. Why?

DID THE PORTE ABANDON THE HUNGARIANS?

Without Ottoman military intervention, the rebel army was no match for the highly disciplined and battle-experienced expeditionary forces that reached the vicinity of Kassa in late October 1672. On 25 October the gros of this army was defeated near the hamlet of Györke (Ďurkov) south of the Upper Hungarian capital: the rout turned into a massacre, targeting a vast and amorphous mass of infantrists who were ready to fight to the death. While rebel leaders and most of their cavalry units escaped, more than 1,300 soldiers, peasants, townsmen, students, and Protestant clergy died on the battlefield.[194] Many others were captured and brutally punished (unknown numbers of students were impaled or used as slave labourers to repair the fortifications of Kassa). It is certainly noteworthy that – contrary to the predictions of General Cobb, the commander of the first expeditionary army, and rebel leaders like Petrőczy – it was not the rank and file that had abandoned the battlefield, but the nobles and professional soldiers. These included a detachment of Heyducks, experienced peasant soldiers and townsmen, who switched sides in the midst of battle. Similar military disasters occurred during the following days outside several other important towns and fortresses under siege.[195] A few towns such as Eperjes and Nagybánya still held out, and escaped nobles stirred up Lutheran and Ruthenian peasants in remote mountain regions; but it appeared that the power of the rebellion had been broken.[196]

Yet the defeat of the rebel army did not diminish Habsburg fears of Köprülü's "dark designs," and it also did not reduce rebel leaders' hopes for a decisive Ottoman intervention. When news of the Györke victory reached the

Vienna court the emperor and his courtiers dismissed its significance as a lucky break. And while the court's mood became more optimistic during the next few weeks – as news of other victories arrived – it grew pessimistic again in December 1672 and did not recover.[197] Meanwhile, rebel leaders such as Kende, Keczer, and Szepessy remained undeterred: they enjoyed the protections of the pashas of Varad and Eger who opened their lands for thousands of escaped cavalrymen and foot soldiers. The pasha of Varad had only one condition: he insisted that the rebel army stay intact and not be dissolved.[198] According to Pál Szepessy, who met with Grand Vizier Ahmed Köprülü on 4 January 1673, the rebel army was composed of 10,000 troops who were well paid with money donated from all over Hungary, and they were ready to strike against Szatmár Fortress. There is good evidence that Hungary's pashas as well as the vizier of Buda listened to visiting rebel leaders with sympathy and indicated that they were ready to move – but were still waiting for the order from Köprülü. In the meantime they dispatched emissaries to the Porte to convince Köprülü to go to war against Hungary as soon as possible.[199]

It is important to emphasize that these emissaries did not approach Köprülü and other Ottoman power brokers empty-handed. When Szepessy arrived at the Porte in late December 1672 he brought along six "letters of credence" (*creditivum schreiben*) signed by the "county sheriffs, barons, nobles, and the military estates [*ordines militum*] of Upper Hungary." The letters were addressed to the sultan, grand vizier, *kaymakam*, court marshal (*chiaus bassi*, *çavuşbaşi*), Köprülü's chief of staff, and his confidant Panaiotti. They were stamped with the seals of sixteen rebel leaders (of whom only István Petrőczy was identified by Habsburg spies). The basic purpose of Szepessy's mission was to generate a major military intervention: this was a unique opportunity because Habsburg power in Upper Hungary was in shambles and the Ottoman army could "easily conquer [it] and then break through to Lower Hungary or even Austria." Yes, Upper Hungarians were traumatized by the horrific violence of out-of-control Habsburg troops, but they were determined to remain loyal to the sultan: "Our soldiers have gathered on the other side and this side of the Tisza River and they are ready and prepared … In our service and in our loyalty we are in every way firm. Even if we will be driven off with whips, there is no way to break us away from the felicitous Porte. We are like the servant who comes to your gate hopelessly but at his departure all his desires are fulfilled." The appellants threw themselves completely at the mercy of the sultan: "Turn your noble attention to our sad

situation, and do not push us into hopelessness, receive us among your servants and make us distinguished and primary among them."[200]

All of this was known by the Habsburg court. In addition, the court became more and more aware of the depth to which the Ottomans had been involved in the Upper Hungarian revolt. The capture of Ottoman soldiers and their testimonies left no doubt that Janissaries and *sipahis* had fought on the rebel side. They had joined the rebel army "without banners and drums" (*ohne Fahnen undt Trommelschlag*) but had still worn turbans – a fact that the pasha of Varad tried to explain away by claiming that Hungarian soldiers had disguised themselves as Turkish soldiers (which was actually true to an extent, as we have seen).[201] The number of Ottoman soldiers was not significant, as suggested by the undercover operations of a defected Habsburg soldier by the name of Boehler, who had become a *sipahi* (Turkish cavalryman). Boehler repeatedly rushed to the scene of battle with twenty-six Turkish horsemen and "they always screamed Allah." He very likely participated in the battle that defeated General Spankau.[202] Hungarian renegades – so-called *pribeks* – were also found in the ranks of the rebel army, as were a number of Janissaries who led peasant soldiers into battle. Yet most of the Ottoman soldiers appear to have been light cavalrymen. They mingled with highly mobile Hungarian hussars who continued to strike deep into the Habsburg territory even after the Györke debacle. In fact, it appears that the numbers of Ottoman soldiers participating in such raids increased significantly during the months of November and December 1672.[203]

The Habsburg court was keenly aware that the pashas of Varad and Eger, as well as the vizier of Buda – and to a lesser-known degree, the pashas of Uyvar, Kanizsa, and Temesvár[204] – were actively colluding with the Upper Hungarian rebels. The vizier of Buda did not even try to deny that Turkish border soldiers were providing them help. He claimed, however, that these soldiers were despicable riffraff who were acting against his explicit orders and "did not know the difference between good and evil." And he tried to put the blame onto Kücsük Mehmed Pasha of Varad, whose top commander Agha Huszein had set the scene for the Upper Hungarian revolt.[205] Indeed, it was the pasha of Varad – and not the vizier of Buda – to whom Pál Szepessy turned for military help after the defeat at Györke. His request was granted, as was a similar request to the pasha of Eger.[206] The eastern peripheries of Upper Hungary, particularly Szatmár and Szabolcs counties, became extremely dangerous for Habsburg soldiers who faced almost daily raids by

mixed Hungarian-Turkish contingents operating from the *vilayets* of Varad and Eger. The pashas were angry that General Cobb had ignored their orders not to advance beyond the Tisza River.[207]

There is good evidence that these Ottoman power brokers became impatient with the Porte for not going to war over Hungary. They faced border commanders and soldiers as well as the common rabble (*gemeiner Pöbel*) eager for war "against the lands of His Imperial Majesty." Border commanders had repeatedly bypassed their authority and written directly to Köprülü to allow them to help the Hungarians.[208] More importantly, the pashas were eager to incorporate as many Hungarian lands as possible into their provinces; in fact, the pasha of Varad had already declared all of Szatmár and Szabolcs counties part of his *vilayet*.[209] Was it any wonder that the same pasha sponsored Hungarian rebel leaders traveling to the Porte in order to offer "the entire Kingdom of Hungary as a present to their sultan"? Why else would the pasha of Varad provide Mátyás Szuhay, one of the principal rebel warlords, with a charter? This charter, purportedly by the sultan and written in Ottoman Turkish, announced to the world that the Porte was sure to send help.[210]

The Upper Hungarian revolt provided a unique opportunity for all Ottoman pashas to intensify their land grab. The pasha of Uyvar, for example, expanded his dominium all the way to Trencsén and Pozsony during the height of the revolt. He continued his acquisition of tributary lands when Habsburg troops became bogged down in Upper Hungary in a cross-border war.[211] But this aggressive land grab infuriated the Habsburg court. Leopold I considered it a flagrant violaton of the Vasvár Peace and demanded proof from Köprülü that he was serious about maintaining friendly relations.[212] Therefore, pashas could not significantly expand their taxable lands without facing potential removal from office by Köprülü. The only other option would be for the Porte to declare war openly against the Habsburg Empire.

This likely explains why the pashas and the vizier of Buda lobbied actively for the Porte's military intervention on behalf of the Hungarian rebels. The pasha of Varad certainly did his best to praise the rebels' "happy successes against the Germans," but neither he nor other pashas came close to the glorifications and outright lies presented by the vizier of Buda. His couriers literally bombarded the Porte with rebel success stories: the massacre of the German garrison of Kálló, the growth of the rebel army to more than 25,000, the defeat of General Spankau, the siege of Kassa, and the seizure of towns

and fortresses such as Eperjes and Ónod. There was no better time to intervene on behalf of the rebels than now, the vizier claimed, since there were no German garrisons left in Kassa and Szatmár (which was, of course, incorrect). This was a golden opportunity because all of Croatia, Moravia, and Silesia had already risen up against the Habsburg emperor. And as if this lie was not enough, the vizier's couriers added another fantastic tale: the French king had overrun the German Empire with his superior army and had already advanced to the outskirts of Prague and Vienna. Habsburg resident Kindsberg was shocked to hear these "malicious fabrications" that were supposed to lure (*verfangen*) the Porte into war (particularly when he heard that they were repeated by an agha from Varad). He was relieved to learn that Panaiotti, the Habsburg court's top spy at the Porte, was able to convince Köprülü that he was being deceived. But Panaiotti also warned that if rebel successes continued, Köprülü would likely get directly involved in Hungary.[213]

Against this backdrop it is all the more puzzling that Köprülü decided not to intervene in the Upper Hungarian revolt.[214] His decision was contrary to the wishes of Hungarian rebel leaders and their Transylvanian allies (including Prince Apafi); it was also contrary to the wishes of Hungary's top Ottoman military leaders and administrators. If we consider that local Ottoman power brokers were ready to go to war at the drop of a hat, the puzzle becomes even more intriguing. Did Köprülü not encourage their military readiness? Did he not know about the undercover operations they had launched? Or was he merely dissimulating, as Plenipotentiary Rottal and three other authorities in Hungarian matters warned in November 1672?[215]

Officially, Köprülü denied any Ottoman involvement with the Upper Hungarian revolt. He consistently repeated these denials whenever residents Casanova and Kindsberg confronted him with the facts on the ground.[216] Kindsberg eventually became so frustrated that he urged Emperor Leopold to send captured Turkish soldiers to Edirne to confront Köprülü "with such living proof."[217] But the grand vizier's denials went much deeper than official communications with the Habsburg court; they also occurred in meetings with Hungarian rebel leaders and Transylvanian emissaries. In fact, Köprülü explicitly told Szepessy on 4 January 1673 that he would not break the peace "even if [the Hungarian rebels] would perish and be cut into a thousand pieces." One might therefore assume that the grand vizier's denials were genuine. The problem was that these purportedly "secret" meetings were not actually secret. They always occurred in the presence of Habsburg spies such

as master spy Panaiotti, his nephew Janaki, and the Transylvanian emissary László Baló, who was a confidant of the spy Bánffy.[218] Are we really to assume that Köprülü did not know about these spies? After all, Panaiotti had been exposed by both Prince Apafi and Köprülü's Hungarian visitors. There is indirect evidence that Köprülü was aware of the identity of the Habsburg spies because he arranged a number of top-secret meetings that Habsburg intelligence was unable to penetrate. The first in this series of "secure" meetings took place during the night of 4–5 January 1673, when Köprülü assured Szepessy that the sultan would "maintain a simulated [*színlelt*] peace with the Germans until everything necessary for war is in place and he can overwhelm the enemy when [the enemy] does not expect it."[219]

Habsburg resident Kindsberg and Emperor Leopold saw through this shell game of revelation and concealment. They were outraged when Köprülü had Pál Szepessy denounced as a dangerous troublemaker and had him chased away during a reception for foreign dignitaries in January 1673. This public spectacle (*coram publico*) was too obviously a theatrical performance to be genuine. And by April 1673 Szepessy had returned; he and other rebel leaders continued to go in and out of the Porte.[220] Szepessy's fake denunciation also coincided with the Vienna court's receipt of further evidence of Köprülü's duplicity: a plenipotentiary dispatched by Köprülü to Buda, Eger, and Varad reported no Ottoman participation in the Upper Hungarian revolt – even though he visited these towns at a time when Ottoman border troops were regularly joining Hungarian rebels in attacks on Habsburg territory.[221] No Habsburg spy could decipher the secret of Köprülü's intentions – "the Hungarian Secret" (*das Ungarische Secretum*) that had baffled Habsburg resident Casanova for years[222] and increasingly irritated his successor Kindsberg, not to speak of Emperor Leopold.

There were too many alarming signs that Köprülü had only temporarily postponed war against the Habsburg Empire.[223] This postponement was perhaps due to a ruinous retreat from Poland in bad winter weather, or unexpected troubles in Persia, Arabia, and Iraq ("Babylonia"); no one really knew for sure.[224] But there were strong indications that Köprülü was preparing for war. Why else was he gathering information about the state of fortifications in Vienna?[225] What were his spies doing in the imperial capital? How had his spies managed to penetrate the Aulic War Council and eavesdrop on secret discussions? "Dangerous correspondence" to the Porte had been intercepted, and several Serbs (*Räzen*), who were protégés of the council's top Turkish

translator, were assumed to be its authors. The Vienna court had little confidence that even their tightest security could prevent similar intelligence leaks.[226] The timing of this Ottoman intelligence offensive was highly suspicious. By December 1672 Hungarian rebel leaders were again talking about a joint Ottoman-Hungarian campaign against Vienna. They claimed to have received a decree from the sultan calling on them to prepare for the invasion of Germany (*movebunt versus Germaniam*).[227]

The Upper Hungarian revolt was thus much more complicated than it appeared to be on the surface. It was certainly one of the most intense popular revolts ever to devastate the Hungarian borderlands. It can only be compared to the great peasant war of the early sixteenth century and, to a lesser extent, the so-called Péter Császár revolt of the 1630s in which Upper Hungarian peasants rampaged against Catholic missionaries and Habsburg officials.[228] The Upper Hungarian revolt was also one of a series of provincial revolts that swept Europe during the second half of the seventeenth century. In the west, Protestant nobles and townsmen led uprisings against the French and English crowns; in Ukraine and Russia, Cossacks and peasants launched frontier revolts under the leadership of Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi and Stepan Razin. The revolt in Upper Hungary fit neither of these Western or Eastern European models; it combined features of both of them.[229]

Most importantly, this stunning popular revolt erupted directly on the fault lines of the early modern world's most pressing geopolitical conflict: over more than a century and a half the Ottoman and Habsburg empires had competed for domination of Hungary and East Central Europe. Or, to use the dominant rhetoric of the time, the revolt threatened to destroy the *Antemurale Christianitatis* and push the Christian states of Europe into a cataclysmic battle against the forces of Islamic darkness. It seemed that the "bloodhound and archenemy of Christendom" would finally fulfill the legacy of Sultan Süleyman and seize the Golden Apple of Vienna.[230] Many close observers of Hungarian affairs – including Emperor Leopold, top Habsburg military commanders, Italian military specialists, foreign diplomats, and local officials – strongly believed that war with the Ottoman Empire's warrior grand vizier was only a matter of time.[231]

In fact, Habsburg and Transylvanian spies reported that Köprülü, the sultan, and other Ottoman leaders considered their army invincible after winning easy victories in Poland. They assumed that Danzig, Warsaw, and Vienna would be the next targets – perhaps as early as spring 1673.[232] The

French ambassador in Vienna spread rumours that the final break between emperor and sultan would definitely occur before the summer. Emperor Leopold and his courtiers did their best to downplay these rumours, even though at least Resident Kindsberg and the emperor appear to have believed them.[233] Given the uncertainty (*onseeckerheit*) of the situation, the Habsburg court tried to play it safe: Emperor Leopold gave orders not to engage in combat with France, essentially abandoning the Netherlands to the French.[234] At the same time, the Aulic War Council invested significant financial and military resources in recruiting new soldiers and fortifying Royal Hungary, as well as the kingdom's Austrian, Moravian, Silesian, and Bohemian hinterlands.[235] It seemed that the Upper Hungarian revolt of 1672 was only the prelude to war with the Ottomans.

8

The Aftermath

The Slide to War and the Fragmentation of Habsburg Power (1672–76)

On 24 February 1673 Emperor Leopold I convoked the Secret Council, the Habsburg Empire's most powerful body, to discuss how best to "calm the still continuing turmoil in the Kingdom of Hungary." The councilors worried that the aftermath of the Upper Hungarian revolt was even more precarious than that of the Bohemian revolt of 1627–28 or the Naples revolt of 1647 – both massive popular uprisings similar to the 1672 revolt. The vast majority of rebels had eluded arrest and punishment by escaping into Turkish territory or Transylvania, where they enjoyed the protection of Ottoman pashas and the Transylvanian prince. What could be done, short of going to war against the Ottomans? Could a general amnesty lure the escaped rebels back into Royal Hungary? If so, should such an amnesty restore the old religion and return confiscated churches and estates? And what should be offered to the soldiers and armed peasants who had fled Habsburg territory in large numbers?[1]

The councilors were not optimistic. Unlike in Bohemia and Naples, the "worst rebels" had not been captured; much of the rebel army was still intact, filled with "unruly people" whose "spirits were so hardened and so embittered." These people would only scoff at and publicly dishonour (*prostituieren*) imperial patents of pardon. The councilors considered their options: bribe the pashas, the vizier of Buda, and Transylvanian leaders to expel the rebels; or, ingratiate themselves with the Porte to persuade it to withdraw its support for refugee rebels.[2] In the end, the council decided to intensify the Habsburg military buildup in Upper Hungary. Additional troops, they hoped, might keep "this seething fire" (*dies göhrende feür*) from spreading. But this

was also a very dangerous move: peasants would undoubtedly flee the soldatesca "and go over to the rebels out of necessity and … the rebel masses [*haufen*] [would] only multiply."[3] Thus, reestablishing Habsburg authority after the 1672 revolt seemed an elusive undertaking, even though "[His] Imperial Majesty and all of Christendom were anxious to restore peace and tranquility to the Kingdom of Hungary by all possible means."[4]

The larger implications of this crisis of authority were well understood by Count Raimondo Montecuccoli, the president of the Aulic War Council and the principal military strategist of the Habsburg court. Between the years 1673 and 1677 he compiled a penetrating analysis of the Habsburg court's Hungarian dilemma. He agreed with the Secret Council that military preparedness was crucial since "a general uprising in Hungary" (*ein allgemeiner Aufstand in Ungarn*) was a real possibility. Montecuccoli further agreed about the great danger posed by Hungarian exile communities,[5] and called for the ruthless eradication of this "pack of robbers" (*Raubgesindel*).[6] In fact, the total number of refugees was growing by the day. This number swelled to over 10,000 when news spread that "the Turk gives [the fugitives] the freedom and opportunity … to depopulate the dominion of [His] Majesty."[7] By 1676, "the common man" (*der gemaine Mann*) – that is, peasants, soldiers, artisans, and students who engaged in regular cross-border pillage and plunder – vastly outnumbered noble exiles.[8]

Montecuccoli highlighted what arguably remained the central concern of the Habsburg court: the undiminished danger of Ottoman invasion. He emphasized that the wars of conquest conducted by Grand Vizier Ahmed Köprülü had radically transformed the balance of power between the Habsburg and Ottoman empires. Once far removed from the empire's borders, Ottoman troops no longer had to be brought in from Asia and Africa; they could easily be assembled in nearby fortresses in Lower Hungary, Transylvania, Poland, and Ukraine. Given the miserable state of the Habsburg border defense system, the lack of sufficient pay for soldiers, and the army's involvement in war with France, Montecuccoli feared that the Habsburg Empire was in no position to defend Hungary against an enemy who stood "everywhere with a foot on the threshold of our wide open [*angelweit offen*] door ready to devour us." It was high time to take the military measures necessary to secure "the bulwark of the hereditary provinces, the entire empire, and all of Christendom."[9] Otherwise there would be little hope of withstanding the inevitable Ottoman attack.

The purpose of this chapter is to illuminate the local, trans-imperial, and global developments that contributed to the deepening crisis of Habsburg authority in Hungary. I start by outlining how the Ottomans, ranging all the way from local border commanders to Köprülü himself, contributed to this crisis. I then turn to the Hungarian exiles and their cross-border raids into Habsburg Hungary. These raids often included Ottoman troops. Finally, I discuss the strong popular animosity confronting local representatives of Habsburg power. These external and internal dimensions of the Hungarian crisis went hand in hand and cannot easily be separated analytically. Their intense entanglement brought the Habsburg Empire to the brink of war and disaster. This at least was the perception of Habsburg officials and loyalists in Upper Hungary; they warned that the Habsburg dynasty was facing "the imminent extreme danger of a complete downfall" (*die bevorstehende eüßerste Gefahr des gäntzlichen Untergangs*).[10] Troubles in Hungary escalated during the last years of Köprülü's grand vizierate, calming down only after Köprülü's death on 3 November 1676.

THE LOOMING OTTOMAN THREAT

Historical scholarship has yet to determine why Grand Vizier Ahmed Köprülü got bogged down in Poland in a four-year war. This war was highly unpopular at the Porte and detested by the pashas and Janissaries stationed along the Hungarian frontiers.[11] Undoubtedly, the mobilization of the Polish nobility to reverse the military disaster of 1672 prolonged hostilities. So too did the brilliance of Polish commander Jan Sobieksi and his defeat of an Ottoman army in Khotyn in November 1673.[12] But Habsburg spies also discovered a game of international intrigue that contributed to Köprülü's continued entanglement in Poland. By moving a large army into Ukraine, Russia emerged as a crucial player in this game. The Russian tsar prodded the shah of Persia and the kings of England, France, and Spain to come to Poland's rescue. While Köprülü derided the Russians as military amateurs, he found himself drawn into an ever-deepening proxy war between Russian troops and the Ottoman protégé Petro Doroshenko.[13] France also became increasingly involved in Polish affairs after helping engineer the election of Jan Sobieski as king of Poland in 1674. Köprülü suspected that the French wanted to establish an eastern base along the Ottoman border, and he rebuffed all French overtures to form an alliance against the Habsburgs. His

strong distrust of French intentions was well known in Vienna. Emperor Leopold I instructed Resident Kindsberg to emphasize Sobieski's Francophilia and his French-born wife in efforts to undermine Polish-Ottoman peace negotiations.[14]

Finally, one must mention Swedish lobbying for the continued Ottoman military presence in Ukraine. Swedish diplomats conjured up the danger of a Papist-Orthodox conspiracy against the Protestant-Muslim world. Köprülü apparently welcomed these overtures. He tried to enlist Sweden in diversionary military attacks on Poland and Muscovy in order to relieve pressure on the Ottoman army in Ukraine.[15]

There can be little doubt that Ottoman enmeshment in the Polish and Ukrainian quagmires saved the Habsburg Empire from an Ottoman invasion. Evidence for this was already picked up by Habsburg intelligence in spring 1673. When Ottoman troops moved into Poland in April 1673, Habsburg resident Kindsberg learned from his informants at the Porte that Köprülü did not want this war. His intention was "none other than to end the Polish and Muscovite machinations by means of an amicable compromise or to restore order by the sword." After a quick pacification operation the Ottoman army was to again turn around (*wider umbzuwenden*) to assist the Hungarian rebels. On 23 April 1673 Emperor Leopold alerted Kindsberg to incoming reports from Upper Hungary: hundreds of Turkish troops from Varad and Eger had joined Hungarian rebels in campaigns against the border fortresses of Kálló and Tokaj; attempts to exterminate the rebels were failing because they were under the Porte's protection (despite its repeated denials); and twenty-five captured musketeers had been sold as slaves.[16] Meanwhile rumours circled in Upper Hungary about a major invasion by Hungarian rebels accompanied by Ottoman troops, as well as Moldavians, Transylvanians, and Wallachians. General Cobb, who was in charge of mopping-up operations in Upper Hungary, was more specific. The blueprints for the coming invasion were already in place – as soon as the Ottomans had secured the peace with Poland, they would take Szatmár fortress "so that they have no obstacle between Varad and Ukraine." Spies in Warsaw related an Ottoman plan to march on Cracow through Upper Hungary.[17] During a meeting of the Aulic War Council on 4 May 1673, Count Montecuccoli summarized the situation: "The extradition of the rebels cannot succeed. The Turks do not want to acquiesce [in doing] their duty. They are forced to hold the peace against their will because of their engagement in Poland."[18]

Over the next three and a half years the Vienna court received many similar reports. These reports convinced Montecuccoli, the Aulic War Council, and Emperor Leopold that a Habsburg-Ottoman war had not been forestalled, but only postponed. The information they received came principally from spies in Köprülü's court, Ottoman army headquarters in Poland, Ottoman border fortresses, and the settlements of Hungarian rebels on Ottoman territory. They also drew on the observations of Ukrainian Cossacks, Hungarian border commanders, German military officers, couriers, and informants in Buda, Eger, Varad, Transylvania, Moldavia, and Wallachia. These reports varied in their level of urgency. Some of the most alarming stem from the year 1673, and almost certainly explain why the Habsburg court avoided all combat operations with France and started peace negotiations in Cologne.[19] After the loss of a large Ottoman army in Khotyn in November 1673 the reports become less alarming, but only for a short while. By June 1674 the spies again reported a heightened level of danger (coinciding with Köprülü's hopes that the new Polish king was ready for peace). The reported level of danger reached ever-greater heights during the years 1675–76 when it became clear that there would be no Ottoman-Russian war. Köprülü had agreed to sacrifice the Ukrainian Cossack leader Doroshenko and to embark on serious peace negotiations with Poland.

Köprülü's unwavering support of the Hungarian fugitives was the main concern of the Vienna court. Habsburg spies penetrated three top-secret meetings that Köprülü held with Hungarian emissaries in May 1673, July 1674, and January 1676 (but missed at least two other meetings in January and November 1673). They also were privy to several secret meetings of these emissaries with Köprülü's chief of staff (*kiaya*).[20] The May 1673 midnight meetings of Pál Szepessy and four other Protestant nobles with the *kiaya* and then Köprülü himself are quite representative. Szepessy called on Köprülü to recognize Hungary as a tributary state: "All of Hungary is united in the wish to seek the Porte's protection … The Ottoman Porte will now be able to use its Hungarian estates and its [Hungarian] army [*ihrer Ungarischen Ständt und armada bedienen*] to go to war against the Germans more easily at any time in winter or summer without danger and expenditures." This was the most opportune time "to carry out what the Porte had eagerly desired for two hundred years." Not only were the Hungarian estates "asking the sultan to become their master," but the Habsburg Empire was embroiled in conflict with France and defenseless in Hungary. Köprülü's response was friendly and encouraging:

"[You] are welcome and [I am] happy to hear that [you] are seeking the Porte's protection which will unfailingly [*unfailbarlich*] be granted once the Polish and Muscovite disturbances and engagements have ended. In the meantime … [you] can stay [on Ottoman territory] where [you] have stayed until now; nothing will happen to [you]."[21] According to Habsburg intelligence, Köprülü and his *kiaya* made similar promises of unconditional shelter and acceptance of the exiles as the sultan's subjects. They repeated these promises whenever they met with Hungarian emissaries. One of the last Hungarian emissaries departed from the Porte in early July 1676 with assurances that the veracity of Köprülü's promises "will be proven effectively [*in effect bewisen*] after the conclusion of the Polish peace."[22] The Polish-Ottoman peace was then less than four months away.

The discoveries that Habsburg intelligence made at the Porte must be seen in conjunction with ongoing developments in the Hungarian borderlands. Köprülü did, in fact, provide the Hungarian fugitives with significant protections and opportunities for continued military engagements with Habsburg troops. They received lands and villages in the Eger and Varad *vilayets* not far from Ottoman border castles, and the pashas were authorized to provide them with money, munitions, and food supplies.[23] According to an Aulic War Council report from 26 August 1673, the Hungarians went in and out of Varad and other Ottoman border castles without any obstacle. In fact, Ottoman commanders and soldiers were well disposed towards them and ready to accommodate them in any way possible (*bekomben von denen Türkhen allen genaigten willen*). By early summer 1673 joint Ottoman-Hungarian incursions onto Habsburg territory had become a regular occurrence: "Whenever [the rebels] go on raids and commit their usual robberies [the Turks] jump to join them [*sich zu ihnen schlageten*] and afterwards facilitate a safe retreat for them." Without these safe areas on Ottoman lands "they would long have abandoned their criminal beginning." In fact, the Turks were "fomenting and steering [the rebels] in every possible way" to promote chaos in Upper Hungary. Some of these raids were quite significant in size: the pasha of Varad had recently given the rebels more than a hundred horse-drawn wagons for their foot soldiers.[24] Similar reports from September 1673, October 1673, and February 1674 note that it was not unusual for 200–300 Turks to accompany the rebels; they were plundering, murdering, abducting people for ransom, and driving away cattle.[25] These numbers could be sig-

nificantly higher. In September 1673, for example, 1,000 Ottoman horsemen and 500 Janissaries joined 1,000 Hungarian hussars and 500 foot soldiers.[26] And Colonel Schmidt, General Spankau's top counterinsurgency expert, claimed in late September 1674 that he had faced down a force of 2,500 Janissaries and 1,500 rebels. Schmidt's report was obviously exaggerated and featured his own military prowess and heroism. But it further illustrates how significantly the Hungarian rebels had become enmeshed with Ottoman border soldiers.[27]

At the same time these joint raids were occurring, Ottoman border commanders and pashas were becoming increasingly aggressive. In Lower Hungary Ottoman incursions across the Vág River had become a regular occurrence by summer 1673. This greatly worried the Habsburg court, which had invested heavily in state-of-the-art border castles along the Vág line to prevent Ottoman expansion further west. Ottoman soldiers were now operating throughout Nyitra County, which straddles the Vág River; they demanded submission to the sultan (*Huldigung*) and impeded the collection of taxes by Habsburg officials. Letters threatened reprisals (*literae minatoriae*) if these taxes were not paid instead to the pasha of Uyvar.[28] According to the vicar of the Nyitra Cathedral Chapter, the Turks doubled the so-called *decima* tax and extorted two Reichstaler from each peasant hut; in addition, married men had to pay two forint, adolescent males one forint, and unmarried girls half a forint. Similar exactions occurred in Hont County. The residents of the small market town of Szebelléb (Sebechleby), for example, were not only forced to hand over one-tenth of their harvest and livestock but also had to provide 100 wagons of hay, 100 wagons of wood, 300 logs of timber and pay more than 200 gold pieces a year. In addition, they were to provide labour services and give presents to Turkish officials. Archbishop Szelepcsényi, the primate of Hungary, described the imposition of analogous demands by the pasha of Uyvar and the beğ of Esztergom (Gran) in Pozsony, Bars, and Komárom counties. He noted in particular that "the Turks from Uyvar and Gran" felt entitled: "They say openly that the Turkish Emperor is the more powerful master of Hungary than the [Habsburg] Emperor."[29] Such public expressions of superiority probably explain why the pasha of Uyvar and the vizier of Buda demanded tribute even from Habsburg fortresses. In February 1674, for example, Neutra Fortress received a *Huldigungsbrief* calling on the Habsburg garrison to recognize the authority of the sultan.[30]

Upper Hungary was the principal target of Ottoman penetrations. In July 1674 the pasha of Varad proclaimed that all of Szatmár and Szabolcs counties belonged to the sultan's patrimony. And in September 1674 the same pasha designated the entire two counties a safe area for the Hungarian fugitives under his protection.[31] Meanwhile Upper Hungarian border fortresses and other strategic castles became the targets of *Huldigungen* and various types of punitive actions.[32] In September 1673, for example, Ottoman troops forced the town of Hornya (Horňá, Katlanos) in Ung County to submit to the sultan and stop contributing to the maintenance of Tokaj Fortress. The local Ottoman commander justified the takeover with the argument that Hornya had belonged to the sultan when Tokaj had temporarily been held by Ottoman troops in the past. The fortress town of Károly in Szatmár County paid a yearly tribute of 900 forint to the sultan; soldiers from the Ottoman garrison of Szentjobb (who sometimes came with Hungarian rebel soldiers) established a veritable regime of terror in the town's vicinity. They drove away horses and cattle, abducted people (including children), and struck down anyone resisting them. Meanwhile two clients of the pasha of Varad, Aga Oroszlan and Csauz Mehmed, took over a nearby village. The small fortress town of Erdőd, located about 20 kilometers south of Szatmár Fortress, had to pay tribute to the sultan and to a Varad commander named Hasszan. The town also paid more than 1,000 forint for the release of captives and liturgical objects that Turkish troops had taken from the town's Catholic church during the 1672 revolt.[33] Fiscal estates near Kassa, the citadel of Habsburg power in Upper Hungary, were subject to the sultan's tribute; in July 1674 the Hungarian Court Chamber called on the Aulic War Council to protect these economic assets. But even with military protection no one was safe from abduction or other punitive actions outside the walls of Kassa.[34] Farther north along the strategically important Habsburg-Polish border, trouble was also brewing: in August 1674 General Spankau occupied Szepes Castle because Ottoman troops were subjugating nearby villages. And in April 1676 arsonists sent by the pasha of Uyvar incinerated towns and villages in Árva County, the site of Árva Castle and large fiscal estates along the borders with Galicia.[35]

The Vienna court saw these developments in the Hungarian borderlands as unambiguous signs that the Porte was no longer invested in the Vasvár Peace Treaty. This was certainly the leitmotif of letters by the emperor to his emissaries in Buda and Edirne. According to Leopold, the constant expansion

of tributary lands, the demands of tribute even from Habsburg border soldiers, the breakdown of the traditional condominium, and open support for Hungarian rebels "clearly demonstrate[d] the Porte's and the Turks' intention: they are not inclined to keep the peace."[36] Köprülü's repeated insistences that the Porte was invested in peaceful relations were "all smoke and mirrors" (*lautter Spiegl Fechtung*). Similarly, the vizier of Buda's denial "that the Hungarian rebels were protected and helped by the Turks" was "diametrically opposed to what is happening now."[37] Leopold was glad that the Ottoman army was engaged in Poland. But Kindsberg was to "do everything in [his] power to prevent" an Ottoman-Polish peace because the emperor had no doubt that peace in Poland meant war in Hungary. As he conveyed on 17 September 1674, "we know that their intention has always been to completely subjugate the Hungarian Kingdom and thus expand their dominion."[38]

After another year of "continuous major complaints against the Turks, especially in Upper Hungary," and standard Ottoman denials ("beautiful words but not at all corresponding to the facts"), the Vienna court decided to take military action.[39] As Leopold explained to Kindsberg on 24 December 1675, the Habsburg Empire "was forced to act in self-defense" (*abgenötte Nothwöhr*); he had no choice but to send troops into the *vilayet* of Varad and destroy a safe area for Hungarian rebels in and around the town of Debrecen.[40] But Leopold quickly recognized that this surprise attack only made things worse: shortly afterwards rumours began to circulate in Upper Hungary about an imminent Ottoman invasion, and "injuries and damages inflicted upon [Habsburg] border soldiers" were becoming unbearable (*unerträglich*). Pashas and fortress commanders "carried out many evil deeds as if they were engaged in an open war [*als in offenen Krieg*]," captured Habsburg soldiers and officers, and inflicted brutalities upon them while keeping them incarcerated. In Istanbul armed mobs led by the Ottoman capital's *kaymakam* ransacked the residence of Habsburg merchants, "tore down the Imperial Eagle, hacked it to pieces, and stamped on it with their feet."[41] Meanwhile Ottoman war preparations and peace negotiations with Poland accelerated. In April 1676, Leopold pleaded again with Kindsberg to do his utmost to penetrate Köprülü's intentions[42] with regard to Hungary. He was concerned that just "when the time for the [Ottoman] campaign was getting closer" the Porte was hampering Kindsberg's ability to communicate with Vienna: copies of the resident's letters – which he sent by at least three different routes – "were

arriving slowly and incorrectly," that is, they were delayed by more than two months or disappeared without a trace. It was obvious "that the hostility of the Turks [was] increasing daily."[43]

Particularly disconcerting was Ahmed Köprülü's hostility towards Habsburg resident Kindsberg. After the Debrecen attack it became impossible for Kindsberg to procure an audience and when a meeting was finally arranged in late September 1676 Köprülü stood him up, claiming other important business with the sultan.[44] What this meeting would have looked like can be surmised from the severe scolding that Köprülü gave Kindsberg in June 1675 during a meeting for which the Habsburg resident had waited for almost three years, despite frequent requests.[45] Köprülü had then confronted him about a much smaller military operation of Habsburg troops against an Ottoman palisade in Lower Hungary. He accused the troops of breaking the peace by capturing 200 Ottoman soldiers and their artillery. These intolerable actions "provided cause for a new war which the Ottoman Porte could quite easily arrange." When Kindsberg disputed Köprülü's claims and in turn complained about the much worse excesses of Ottoman pashas (and their active support for Hungarian rebels), Köprülü turned pale and "responded with a somewhat sharper and loud voice that … [Your Imperial Highness] has started to break the peace and he would from now on provide real help to the [Hungarian] rebels." Kindsberg was struck by Köprülü's hostile gestures and his great arrogance (*großer Hochmuth*).[46] In fact, he found the "[grand] vizier's nasty disposition" (*übles Gemüth*) very troubling, and warned Emperor Leopold I repeatedly to prepare "for the inevitable future war without losing any time."[47]

Ottoman pashas, Hungarian rebel leaders, and Prince Apafi of Transylvania tried to pull Köprülü into war with the Habsburg Empire even before the conclusion of a peace treaty with Poland.[48] They bombarded him with invented stories about Habsburg military disasters in France, the death of Commander in Chief Montecuccoli, the impalement of *sipahis*, the siege of Varad by 25,000 imperial troops, and the fall of Varad, Uyvar, and Buda to a Habsburg invasion army.[49] However, Köprülü was not taken in by such fake news. The Venetian ambassador Zuane Morosini, who closely observed Köprülü during the last year of his life, described him as a sharp analyst and brilliant strategist whose top priorities were to end the war in Poland, restore the empire's exhausted financial resources, and calm troubles brewing in Egypt and the Arab Peninsula. Even Kindsberg, who did not trust Köprülü, under-

stood that the grand vizier would not act on impulse.[50] But he and the Habsburg court's intelligence network picked up a constant barrage of alarming news: the growing impatience of Ottoman border commanders and soldiers in Hungary; the fervor with which they spoke about campaigning all the way to Vienna; the gathering of large troop contingents by the pashas of Uyvar, Kanizsa, and Bosnia; the building of new arsenals for munitions and other military provisions in and around Belgrade; and the unabated incursions of Ottoman soldiers into Lower and Upper Hungary (and increasingly also into Croatia and Inner Austria).[51] Thus, the next Ottoman campaign against Hungary seemed inevitable. And Kindsberg predicted once again on 2 April 1676 that as soon as Köprülü had made peace in Poland, "if there is no other obstacle they will be aiming for Transylvania and Upper Hungary."[52]

In sum, the Ottomans posed three challenges to Habsburg control over Royal Hungary. First, Köprülü refused to withdraw his support for the Hungarian rebels and continued to grant them refuge on Ottoman lands. Unlike Habsburg resident Kindsberg, rebel leaders had relatively easy access to Köprülü. They persistently lobbied for war against the Habsburg Empire. Second, Ottoman pashas and border commanders joined fugitive rebels in cross-border raids. And third, these local Ottoman power brokers engaged in constant expansion of taxable lands inside Royal Hungary. They also vowed – both orally and in writing – that "as soon as the Polish peace was completed a new war against Hungary would begin."[53] In other words, after the 1672 revolt the threat of war hung heavily over Hungary, even if no one could predict when it would break out. This was a frightening reality that powerfully informed the Habsburg court's Hungarian policies. Meanwhile, Hungarian exiles launched regular attacks from their havens on Ottoman and Transylvanian territories. I turn next to these exiles and their devastating raids into Habsburg Hungary.

THE HUNGARIAN EXILES: PRO-OTTOMAN HOPES AND CROSS-BORDER RAIDS

Hungarian rebel leaders had to wait almost four years until summer 1676 before they were again in a position to launch an invasion into Upper Hungary.[54] During the years 1673–75 they lobbied the Porte and local pashas not only for military help, but also for permission to invade without Ottoman troops. They also sent a long series of appeals to Prince Apafi of Transylvania and

the Transylvanian magnate Mihály Teleki urging them to intercede with Köprülü on their behalf. If Köprülü himself could not provide military assistance, then at least he should allow the Transylvanian army to support the rebels. In a letter to Teleki dated 28 April 1674, rebel leaders emphasized the emotional toll of waiting indefinitely for Ottoman help:

> After so many hurtful and miserable waiting periods full of suffering may we and our entire sweet nation [finally] see the useful and real fruit [of your support] … If these continuing and uncertain postponements from one time to another and our dispersal lead to the even greater ruin and danger of our poor sweet fatherland, our true faith, and the entire Hungarian nation, let us not be the reason before God and the world … We each are ready to put down our lives at any hour for our beloved fatherland and our true faith … Up to this moment we so much hope that our affairs are progressing well at the Sublime Porte through the promotion of Your Honour, Our Merciful Lord.[55]

In April 1676, the rebel leaders asked again "to make a proposal to His Honour, the Grand Vizier, and send it in as soon as possible." The strain of their seemingly endless waiting was depriving them and their rank-and-file soldiers of all hope.[56]

The exiled nobles' unwavering trust in Köprülü throughout these years of waiting is quite remarkable. They assumed all this time that he would come through for them in the end. Even when French King Louis XIV tried to draw them into a half-baked alternative scheme – which would have given them a lot of money and made a French marquis the king of Hungary – they remained very clear that this was not a possibility without Köprülü's approval.[57] And when the pashas of Varad and Eger denounced them at the Porte in 1676 for depleting their lands, and for allegedly scheming with the Germans, they relied on Köprülü's good will to protect them.[58] After all, Köprülü had allowed them to settle on his personal estates in Bihar County (Varad *vilayet*).[59] According to Pál Szepessy, who spent more time with Köprülü than any other Hungarian exile, the grand vizier had "initiated him into a secret that [he] was allowed to communicate … only to [his] most trusted friends." Köprülü allegedly had told Szepessy that "we want to keep the peace we have concluded with the Germans only for appearances [*zum Schein*] until we are so well armed that we can attack them unexpectedly and crush them." The exiles

should not be discouraged if he disavowed them in public because "the secret orders were different."[60]

According to Mihály Teleki, an enthusiastic Transylvanian supporter, the exiles became "Turkified" (*törökösök*) during these years of waiting.[61] Teleki had in mind the leading figures of the exile community: while they had no interest in converting to Islam or in becoming "Turkified" culturally, they clearly embraced the Ottoman world. Some did so enthusiastically; others for pragmatic reasons. Pál Wesselényi, commander in chief of the rebel army in exile, wrote to Teleki that he would "not know what to do if the Turk or Your Excellency [with Köprülü's permission] does not help us."[62] Gábor Kende had high-ranking friends at the Ottoman court in Varad, participated at least once in the divan, and reminded a new pasha (whom he did not trust) of the exiles' close ties to the sultan and Köprülü.[63] Pál Szepessy described himself as "a true and complete devotee of our Invincible Emperor" and voiced his firm belief that God's providence would bring about "the promised help of the Celestial Porte."[64] And the fugitive Upper Hungarian nobles presented the following collective appeal to Köprülü's *kiaya* in February 1675:

> We pray to God on our knees for the health of Our Emperor that God may grant him a long life and victory over his enemies. We also beg Your Grace to … intercede again on our behalf with the Grand Vizier to take pity on us. Rather than bowing our heads to the German infidels who want to force us to pray to idols we want to sacrifice our lives for Our Invincible Emperor. The Hungarians are all ready to join us … [and] they will follow our example and all come under the protection of the Most Powerful Emperor.[65]

We have very little information about the thousands of ordinary men and women who fled to Ottoman territory after the 1672 revolt. General Strassoldo, commander in chief of Upper Hungary after Spankau's death in July 1675, predicted that those fleeing under Turkish authority would quickly embrace new Turkish and Muslim identities (using the polemic terms *Turcismus* and *Mohametismus*). He made this prediction in two widely disseminated proclamations in February 1676 warning ordinary folk all over Upper Hungary not to submit to the Turk. In particular, he warned against the illusion that the Ottomans were offering freedom of religion: "Under this pretext many hundreds of thousands of Christians have become and, in fact,

continue to become Muslim [*induerunt Mohametismum et defacto induunt*] giving up their Christian identity [*deposito Christianismo*]."[66] It is interesting to note that Strassoldo posted these proclamations two months after his troops broke into the town of Debrecen (Varad *vilayet*). A dispatch he wrote in the midst of this military operation contains no mention of any exiles who had converted to Islam. And the official justification of the operation by the Vienna court distinguished very carefully between "rebel bandits" (*rebelles latrones*) and local Muslims, insisting that not a single Muslim had been harmed or molested.[67] If any of these Muslims had been recent converts they would have been denounced as renegades and certainly would have become a target of the horrendous brutalities Strassoldo meted out, women and children not excepted.[68]

We know that rank-and-file exiles developed close ties with local Muslims. Most importantly, soldiers and armed peasants (*talpasones*) were thrilled that Ottoman troops openly joined them after the collapse of the 1672 revolt. An eyewitness reported that rebel troops camping near Eger after their flight from Upper Hungary in December 1672 rejoiced when they were united with 300 horsemen led by the Buda vizier's majordomo; their officers "showered [the majordomo's] feet with kisses." Another rebel officer who was later captured testified that he and his soldiers were animated (*animati*) by the Turks' friendliness and their zealous readiness "to clash with the Germans on the earliest occasion [*hodie cras*]." They became convinced that "the Turk will not dissimulate but really help the Hungarians." And Transylvanian informants related that during the harsh winter months of 1673 "Turks and Hungarians celebrated crowded drinking parties [*compotationes crebras*] every day."[69] According to a spy who visited refugee camps outside Varad in May 1673, ordinary men and women had close associations with Hungarian-speaking renegades whom he called *pribeks*. A few of these were undoubtedly recent converts, but most of them were already very well connected locally. They acted as intermediaries and brokers in a lively trade of stolen Habsburg army horses and other booty brought back by raiding parties. These *pribeks* seem to have been omnipresent. They acted as informants at the Varad court, reported the latest news from the Porte, and participated in raids into Hungary.[70] Whether or not this Christian-Muslim cohabitation facilitated many conversions to Islam remains an open research question. The finding of the early-twentieth-century historian Sándor Takáts that the number of *pribeks* greatly increased during this time period has never been tested.[71]

Elite and rank-and-file exiles shared two principal goals: to return to Upper Hungary and to overthrow Habsburg power as soon as possible. They considered the liberation of Hungary from the Habsburg yoke to be a divine cause (*az Istennek ügyét*). One finds this deep sense of godly commitment not only in the letters and appeals penned by leaders,[72] but also in the collective petitions signed or co-signed by ordinary soldiers. For example, on 10 September 1673 "the Hungarian cavalrymen and foot soldiers living in the borderlands on this side of the Tisza" assembled near the Ottoman citadel of Eger to compose an appeal to the Transylvanian magnate Mihály Teleki. Lamenting the bitterness of exile and the first signs of eroding discipline among their ranks, they begged Teleki to become their commander in chief as soon as possible. They praised him for "the fervent love of his Christian faith and poor nation" and hoped that he would "lead and direct [their] Christian campaign [into Hungary] for the Glory of God." What pained them most was "the denigration of God's Glory," that is, the brutal persecution of their fellow Protestants. They were ready "to shed [their] blood" for their ruined fatherland.[73] A similar appeal originated in a military assembly not far from Varad on 18 September 1673. The language in this appeal was more explicit: Teleki should lead them to exact revenge from "the blasphemous enemy" (*káromló ellenség*). This was "a sacred purpose," and going to war against this enemy "a holy endeavour" they wished to dedicate to God. They called on Teleki "to take up this holy cause," and emphasized their eagerness to move immediately against a "presumptuous enemy who had risen up against [God's] Glory."[74]

After yet another unsuccessful attempt to enlist Transylvanian troops for an invasion,[75] a military assembly in Nagyszalonta (Varad *vilayet*) issued a proclamation on 15 July 1674. The proclamation promised revenge for the persecution of the Hungarian Protestant clergy. It was written under the immediate impression of the so-called Pozsony Tribunal, which had condemned about three hundred pastors to death in April 1674 for their alleged roles in the 1672 revolt. Though eventually pardoned (and expelled from Hungary), these pastors were publicly humiliated, thrown into dungeons, and tortured. More than three dozen were sold into galley slavery.[76] The focus of the proclamation, however, was not the Pozsony trial but on the much lesser known horrors inflicted upon Protestant clergy in Upper Hungary by the Catholic magnate Zsófia Báthori. Soldiers of all ranks (*az egesz vitezlő rend*) expressed their outrage about Báthori's barbarous treatment of "their pastors who are innocent and have not done any harm to anyone." They "made a vow in the

name of God the Creator" and issued a dire warning: "If [Báthori] does not release the innocent pastors from prison, continues to have pastors … hunted, plundered, and thrown into dungeons, or even worse, has a single one of them killed," the estates of the emperor, magnates, bishops, cathedral chapters, and convents would be subject to pillage. And wherever possible they would "capture priests, Jesuits, and licentiates for the sake of the incarcerated pastors. And what is more, if only one of [the pastors] is murdered [we] will kill ten [captives] … And [we] will execute all of these actions without mercy."[77]

What this call for revenge could mean in practice is illustrated by letters from Gömör County to Primate Szelepcsényi in May 1675: small bands of soldiers and armed peasants crossed into Upper Hungary, plundered and pillaged, and dealt out horrific violence in the name of their tormented pastors.[78] On 24 May the Jesuit Joannes Lingory reported from Jolsva that one of these bands had intercepted fourteen Habsburg soldiers on a nearby road and promptly decapitated them. They justified the execution by pointing to the cruel fate of the Hungarian pastors whom the Pozsony Tribunal had just transported to Italy to be sold into galley slavery: "You have sent our pastors to the sea," they warned, "but we will pay you back in time." A few days later a band of sixteen rebels entered the market town of Csetnek (Štítnik), about 10 miles east of Jolsva, to seize a licentiate who was then administering this historically Protestant parish. They had come before "and robbed him repeatedly of all his things" while swearing that they would return to "cut him to pieces" (*in partes scissuri*). The licentiate somehow managed to escape with his life but his home was ransacked. On 22 May, the feast day of Pentecost, fourteen armed peasants tortured and killed György Hunkay, the parish priest of Ratkó (Ratková), located about 10 miles west of Jolsva. They attacked him "in the parish house, bound him, and threw him to the floor. Putting a foot on his neck they beat him very badly … led him to the outskirts of town, forced him to kneel down while he commanded his spirit into the hands of God. They failed to cut off his head with four blows and finally thrust a sword into his throat." The peasants then mutilated the corpse. The Jesuit Lingory appealed for immediate military protection; otherwise the remaining priests in the area "who were bewildered by the constant danger of death" would abandon their posts. But Lingory also recognized that this was an elusive goal: Ottoman freebooters (*martaluczi*) and rebels had only the previous night

Figure 8.1
Forced labour of Protestant pastors

Protestant pastors condemned by the Pozsony Tribunal in March–April 1674 were forced to do hard labour during their imprisonment. Many pastors escaped the reach of the tribunal due to Ottoman protection.

held a drinking party in Jolsva while Habsburg soldiers remained bottled up in nearby Murány Fortress (where the murdered priest was to be buried).[79]

Similar letters reached Ágoston Benkovics, head of the Pauline missionary order, from Zemplén County. The superior of the Terebes mission wrote on 30 May 1675 "that [rebel] excursions and persecutions are becoming more and more barbarous every day; we find ourselves in the highest danger of losing our lives and all our possessions." Rebel bands "were prowling with impunity" all the way into northern Sáros County, that is, they effectively cut a corridor from their hideouts on Ottoman territory to the Polish border.[80] The superior of the Sátoraljaújhely mission concurred: "One danger follows the other, and misery succeeds misery; there hardly remains any hope that we will be freed from [our predicament]." There appears to have been very little protection from a contingent of Habsburg troops stationed in Sátoraljaújhely. The soldiers were in a state of fear and their commander told the monks that they had to look out for themselves when rumours spread that 300 rebel horsemen and foot soldiers were approaching.[81] And a noble who had fled to the relative security of Kassa reported on 1 June that "Zemplén County was now completely ruined."[82] To these letters one can add the appeal of András Mocskay, the provost of Lelesz Convent, who was stranded in his monastery in Zemplén County: rebel bands were pillaging villages nearby and he had become desperate to escape to Kassa, seeing little hope for his brethren. Mocskay was the scion of a prominent Catholic family in Ung County: his brother János, several other close relatives, and family friends had just been abducted from a wedding party and were being held captive near Eger.[83]

The Catholic clergy was undoubtedly among the principal targets of rebel attacks. Unknown numbers of priests were abducted and tortured – some of them more than once.[84] A good example is the Franciscan Ferdinand Alberty, a missionary in Szepes County. He was first abducted by soldiers under the exile commander Mátyás Szuhay, but then liberated by Croat soldiers. During this ordeal he experienced brutal whippings and witnessed the decapitation of other captives. He served the Croats as military chaplain before being captured for a second time. His release was purchased for a ransom of 300 Reichstaler. He then fled to the presumed safety of Fülek Fortress. But he was seized again at least three more times and beaten. In one incident his kidnappers "poured a flammable liquid over his body"[85] and he only narrowly escaped death.

It remains unclear how many priests and missionaries were murdered. According to György Bársony, titulary bishop of Varad and Eger, the number was quite significant.[86] Bársony and other bishops lamented the devastation of their dioceses. They were unable to travel, unless protected by troops, and did not dare visit their estates. Bársony remained in Kassa close to Habsburg army headquarters. He was well aware that straying outside Kassa could be very dangerous. In January 1674, for example, rebels attacked a procession near Kassa, killed many of the participants, and abducted the rest.[87] Among the ecclesiastical estates targeted by rebel raids were those of Bishop Bársony, the Kassa Jesuits, Archbishop Szelepcsényi, and Bishop Tamás Pálffy, who had become the Hungarian chancellor after his tenure as bishop of Eger. When raiders destroyed three market towns belonging to Pálffy in Szabolcs County, General Strassoldo observed that "they invaded in the Tatar fashion, burnt and devastated, and treated the population like tyrants."[88]

There were many other targets of the ceaseless raids that struck Upper Hungary from Ottoman territory: Catholic magnates and nobles; Habsburg officials and officers; estates administered by the imperial fiscus; border fortresses; the Upper Hungarian capital of Kassa; and of course, the Habsburg army. The estates of Catholic power brokers such as Zsófia Báthori, Silvester Joanelli, László Károlyi, István and Ferenc Barkóczy, and Gábor Perényi were pillaged, torched, and emptied of cattle and horses.[89] Perényi and his brother János, Alexander Barkóczy, and many lesser Catholic nobles were abducted from their homes. Others were murdered, including Baron Ferenc Sennyei. He was literally cut to pieces (*diribről-darabra*) by a band of eighty armed peasants who stormed his castle in southern Zemplén County. To protect themselves, many Catholic elites fled to Kassa, Szatmár, and other fortresses.[90] Fiscal estates and estates belonging to Habsburg officials often went up in flames. Rebel bands stole grain supplies, horses, and cattle; they also beat or abducted the estate managers.[91]

The fortresses of Ónod and Károly were under almost constant attack, as were the hinterlands of Diósgyőr, Kálló, Putnok, Szatmár, and Szendrő fortresses. The German garrison of Ónod was massacred three times: in November 1672, November 1673, and December 1675, not counting the previously discussed massacre of September 1672.[92] Rebel bands and larger detachments of soldiers focused their operations in the vicinity of Kassa. In September 1676, they occupied surrounding mountain passes and effectively cut off Kassa from the rest of Habsburg Hungary.[93] It became increasingly risky to

serve the Habsburg regime: more and more military officers, administrative officials, and their wives ended up as hostages in Ottoman territory.[94] Even Commander in Chief Strassoldo had to negotiate for the release of his abducted brother; General Zsigmond Pethő, the high sheriff of Zemplén County, had to do the same for his two abducted sons.[95]

Attacks on the Habsburg army intensified and typically occurred in classical guerrilla fashion.[96] Gáspár Hain, the chronicler of Szepes County, observed that rebel detachments initially withdrew when a large imperial army appeared on the scene. In July and August 1676, for example, when raids into Upper Hungary intensified, a large region stretching from Kassa to the High Tatra Mountains fell into the hand of rebels. The rebels "created terrible havoc [*hauszeten sehr übel*] everywhere … plundering, robbing, burning, torching and murdering." When General Strassoldo finally moved into action, after a delay of at least two weeks, the rebels quickly fled into the forests and mountains. From there they launched a series of unrelenting ambushes. They struck "sometimes here, sometimes there, tormenting the Germans to exhaustion" (*marterten die deütschen recht ab*). Eventually the troops under Strassoldo were so weakened that rebel units began to engage in direct military confrontations "in which [they] almost always prevailed." In one of these skirmishes, rebels captured many of his German officers; Strassoldo himself barely escaped.[97]

Two years earlier, General Spankau made similar observations about the rebels' tactics. In late September 1674, after more than a month of campaigning, he observed with frustration: "I have pursued the rebels on both sides [of the Tisza River] but there is no way to get them to stand their ground [and engage in battle]." They seemed to disappear into thin air, hiding in the Tisza marshes or on islands, or withdrawing into Ottoman territory.[98] When Spankau complained to the pasha of Eger, the pasha responded that he had no idea whatsoever "where the rebels were wandering around." In any case, the pasha claimed he had nothing to do with the rebels and was only interested in keeping the peace. Spankau, however, was behaving like an enemy. The pasha warned him to be careful not to provoke a larger conflict.[99]

Instead of an outright invasion, the Habsburg army confronted multiple incursions by groups of insurgents with divergent motivations. According to Habsburg intelligence, there were about 6,000 armed rebels on Ottoman territory in March 1674; of these, 4,000–5,000 were ready to launch raids into

Hungary (an increase from 3,000–4,000 in July 1673). These numbers climbed during the next two years: in September 1676 army scouts reported that 7,000–8,000 rebels stood poised to invade.[100] However, the rebel army in exile was hardly a coherent force. Warlords and soldiers of fortune led detachments ranging in size from a few dozen soldiers to several hundred. Some of these warlords undoubtedly perceived themselves as leaders of "God's troops," reminiscent of Oliver Cromwell and his officers during the English Civil War. Among these warlords was János Mozik, a Calvinist officer of peasant origins from Ónod Fortress. He attracted religiously motivated men ready to go to war against "the Catholic dogs." At the peak of his powers in fall 1676, Mozik led 600 cavalrymen and 300 armed peasants.[101] Other warlords viewed themselves as agents of the sultan. Mátyás Hörcsök, for example, required his peasant soldiers to swear an oath of allegiance to Sultan Mehmed IV. He then ordered them to distribute *Huldigungsbriefe* to villages and small towns in the names of the pashas of Varad and Eger. Hörcsök, like Mozik, enjoyed high prestige among his soldiers and appears to have been able to control them.[102] Other strongmen like Gyurka Harsányi and János Szőcs maintained little discipline among their soldiers. They attracted large numbers of runaway peasants and impoverished soldiers who led a "masterless life" (*herrenloses Leben*) – that is, they drew their incomes from plundering estates, cattle rustling, and kidnapping for ransom. During an attack these soldiers typically "scattered in all directions" (*széjjel oszlottanak*), indiscriminately targeting any asset or person they could lay their hands on, without necessarily making a distinction between Catholics and Protestants.[103]

After almost four years of ceaseless raids by highly mobile and largely invisible rebels, the Habsburg army in Upper Hungary faced seemingly insurmountable problems. Troops hardly dared to leave their fortresses unless they could move in large convoys; small detachments were in danger of being surrounded and wiped out. But even entire regiments, such as those led by colonels Schmidt and Pálffy, suffered catastrophic defeats: in July 1676 they lost most of their soldiers in two confrontations with rebels.[104] Morale was low in 1676, as Commander in Chief Strassoldo reported again and again to the Aulic War Council. Soldiers were unwilling to fight because they had not been paid for months, and many were too sick or famished to take up arms. It did not help that the Habsburg court dispatched unprecedented numbers of soldiers into both Upper and Lower Hungary. The Aulic War Council lacked the

means to support these soldiers, largely due to the rebels' destruction of fiscal estates and their interruption of supply lines.[105] The misery of the Habsburg soldatesca was so great that many soldiers ran away and joined the rebels.[106]

In July 1676 Archbishop Szelepcsényi, primate of Hungary, predicted "that Upper Hungary must now perish completely unless a good remedy is found quickly." In August 1676, Count Montecuccoli demanded immediate emergency relief for the soldiers and warned that any delay would be catastrophic (*summum periculum in mora*).[107] Emperor Leopold I, however, attributed the disastrous military situation entirely to the Ottomans. If the pashas had not given them refuge, the rebels would long ago have been exterminated. "It is obvious," he concluded, that the Turks are eagerly seeking to foment the troubles that the rebels have started in the Hungarian Kingdom. They do so underhandedly [*unter der Hand*] so that it does not look like a violation of the peace."[108] But rebel incursions into Upper Hungary were not merely manifestations of a proxy war encouraged by the Ottomans. Rebel activities cannot be separated from the deep alienation and anger felt throughout Upper Hungary and other parts of Royal Hungary after the suppression of the 1672 revolt.

TOWARDS "A REBELLION GREATER THAN EVER BEFORE": POPULAR RESISTANCE, REVOLT, AND HABSBURG FAILURE

During the first two weeks of July 1673 Habsburg commander in chief Montecuccoli abandoned the military campaign against France and rushed to Vienna. He presided over a series of emergency meetings that included top officials of the Aulic War Council, the Hungarian Chamber, Hungarian Court Chancellery, and on at least one occasion, also Emperor Leopold and the Secret Council. Three of these meetings occurred on 1 July, with others following on 4, 6, 9, and 14 July.[109] They were convened after the arrival of reports from Edirne about Köprülü's May 1673 meeting with Hungarian emissaries and news from Upper Hungary that Hungarian-Ottoman forces stood poised to invade. The top concern raised at these meetings was the spirit of revolt in Hungary that had not been extinguished. Hungarian emissaries had given Köprülü "letters of credence" issued by the Lower and Upper Hungarian counties. They claimed to be speaking in the name of "the entire Hungarian estates" and offered Köprülü a yearly tribute of 100,000 Reichstaler. In ad-

dition, they promised 300,000 Reichstaler for the sultan and 50,000 troops.[110] These huge sums of money stood in contrast with the failure of the Hungarian counties to deliver the military contributions and war taxes imposed by the Habsburg occupation army. The thirteen Upper Hungarian counties insisted that "their poverty and misery did not permit them to give provisions," and Trencsén County in Lower Hungary claimed to be overtaxed. At the same time, major peasant revolts were raging in Nyitra and Trencsén counties; Korpona Fortess, the gateway to the Lower Hungarian mining towns, had been taken over by insurgents; and the Upper Hungarian capital of Kassa was in the hand of mutinous Habsburg soldiers.[111]

These internal threats to Habsburg authority must be seen in conjunction with the external threats emanating from Ottoman and Transylvanian territories. They also contributed to the weakening of the Habsburg regime's hold over Hungarian society. Still, it is important to distinguish between the Hungarian Kingdom's wealthy elites – both noble and urban – and ordinary men and women. When Habsburg generals and officials on the ground warned of new "threats of rebellions" (*minaccie di rebellioni*) and, as time progressed, of "a rebellion greater than ever before," they were not speaking of elites. Rather, they had in mind peasants, artisans, Protestant pastors, the students of disbanded Protestant colleges, lesser nobles, and vast numbers of discontented Hungarian and German soldiers.[112] These ordinary men and women were largely responsible for the failure of what arguably became the primary goal of the Habsburg occupation: the destruction of Protestant religion and the Catholicization of Hungarian society.

It is difficult to determine to what extent the well-to-do leadership of the thirteen counties was ready to secede to the Ottomans. On the one hand, they vowed submission to the Ottomans; on the other hand, they signed written declarations of loyalty to the Habsburg emperor. The originals of these declarations were shipped by express courier to Habsburg resident Kindsberg on 9 July 1673. Emperor Leopold gave instructions "to show [the declarations] to the grand vizier and to whomever necessary [at the Porte]." Leopold also ordered Kindsberg to launch an aggressive information campaign to convince Köprülü "that the [Hungarian] rebels were trying to deceive the Porte with fake news [*unwahrhaffte relationen*] … without any basis."[113] But Kindsberg was up against formidable difficulties in carrying out Leopold's orders. The pasha of Varad had Köprülü's ear and reported "incessantly that the entire Hungarian estates are completely unfaithful [*ganz*

unthreu] towards the Germans because of their religion and the new tribute." Kindsberg was convinced that Köprülü "would certainly not let this good opportunity [*gute conjunctur*] pass" to intervene in Royal Hungary. Yet Kindsberg also reported that Köprülü remained skeptical: he told the Hungarian emissaries he needed further assurances "that the entire Hungarian estates were in fact in agreement and conspiring with them."[114]

Köprülü's extensive espionage network must have informed him very quickly that not all Hungarian estates stood behind the exiles. Most Catholic magnates and nobles openly supported the Habsburg regime. It is very unlikely that their signatures were found in the "letters of credence" that the exiles presented. Together with Hungarian church hierarchs, they were the principal beneficiaries of the military occupation that followed the 1672 revolt: they received lands confiscated from refugee nobles, seized financial assets, and offices.[115] Also, a small number of Protestant nobles and patricians who had participated in the 1672 revolt converted to the Catholic faith in return for amnesty and the restitution of their properties.[116] However, the majority of the Protestant elites and a minority of Catholic nobles only paid lip service to Habsburg rule. They resorted to various forms of passive resistance:[117] for example, failure to deliver military contributions, denial of military assistance to defend against rebel incursions, obstruction of imperial officials, refusal to give money to Catholic priests, and active interventions on behalf of the Protestant clergy.[118]

According to Hungarian historian Benczédi, the Habsburg court considered any attempt to break the autonomies of the counties too dangerous. Instead, the court formed a coalition with Catholic magnates, nobles, magistrates, and the church hierarchy to "realize [the church's] great dream of reducing the entire country to its previously uniform faith, that is, Catholicism." The rallying cry of this alliance was "the total liquidation of the Protestant preachers."[119] Rather than declaring war on the Hungarian Protestant estates and repeating the earlier mass expulsions of Protestant nobles from Styria, Bohemia, and Inner Austria, the Habsburg court turned instead against the Protestant rank and file. In particular, the Protestant clergy was held collectively responsible for the outbreak of the 1672 revolt.

The expulsion of the Protestant clergy started immediately after the collapse of the revolt and was accompanied by excessive violence.[120] For example, a large armed band broke into the town of Metzenseifen in northern Abaúj County and established a regime of terror. They were led by a militant priest

and bankrolled by the bishop of Eger. Among their victims was the son of Pastor Martin Novack. He was thrown into a dungeon and later "led in front of the [bishop's] castle gates … and hacked to pieces with axes." In Nagykapos (Vel'ke Kapušany) in Ung County, an army assembled by magnate Zsófia Báthori killed many Calvinist peasants and townsmen. Under the leadership of their pastor Pál Görgei, they had barricaded themselves in the town and were ready to fight to the death. Báthori considered the destruction of "these devils from Hell" legitimate revenge for the devastation of her estates. She claimed higher justice for her actions because "[these rebels] had no use for God, the Emperor, the [Zipser] Kammer, and their landlord." Martin Novack and Pál Görgei both survived. Novack escaped to Ottoman territory (as did many of his congregants) and then to Silesia. Görgei made it to Transylvania where he died shortly afterwards, probably of injuries he had sustained in battle with Báthori's troops.[121]

Similarly, the liquidation of the Lutheran clergy in Árva County coincided with a "war of extermination … with the wildest savagery" against peasants, students, and petty nobles that a later chronicler compared to the Spanish atrocities against the Incas.[122] A rebel leader, the minor noble Gáspár Pika, several of his associates, and at least two dozen peasant leaders were executed, some by impalement. Unknown numbers of peasants were sold as galley slaves in Malta. In Kassa, the incarceration of the Protestant clergy followed the impalement of Lutheran and Calvinist students along the roads leading into the city.[123]

These violent excesses were denounced as counterproductive to the restoration of order in the Secret Council meeting of 24 February 1673. But they nevertheless continued, even if to a lesser extent. More than a year later, the Aulic War Council had to remind General Spankau "that until now no decree has been issued to eradicate the Acatholics; this also will not happen." The Habsburg army's systematic enforcement of written summons to appear at tribunals in September 1673, March 1674, and April 1674 was considered a more orderly way to rid the country of the Protestant clergy.[124]

In March 1674, the most important of these tribunals took place in Pozsony in Lower Hungary. The tribunal accused 724 Lutheran and Calvinist pastors of advocating the overthrow of Habsburg power, Royal Hungary's secession to the Ottoman Empire, and the destruction of the Catholic faith. According to the much-circulated proceedings, "they were the primary authors and mobilizers [*primarios authores et concitatores*] of rebellion … were happier to

Execution, und hochverdiente Abstraffung unterschiedlicher Haupte Rebel
len in Ober-Hungarn: so auß Kaiserlichem Befelh, Sr. Excell. Herr General Sporck,
bey dem Schloß Arua, auf unterschiedliche weise des Todes, vollziehen lassen: Im November.
Anno 1672. Relat. Thulo II. pag. 219.
Ex
Bibl. Com.
F. Szechényi.

Figure 8.2
Execution of Gáspár Pika and other rebel leaders

The Jesuit-trained Pika, a nobleman from Eperjes, was a convert to Lutheranism. His fervent speeches promised ordinary Hungarians that 40,000 Ottoman troops would come to their assistance. In late October 1672, he led a rebel band across the high Carpathian Mountains, seized Árva Castle, and instigated a major peasant uprising on the confiscated estates of the exiled Lutheran magnate Imre Thököly. After brutal suppression of the uprising, Pika was impaled along with several of his associates on 25 November 1672. Among those executed were twenty-four peasant headmen who had participated in the uprising. The text reads: "Execution and highly deserved punishment of various rebel leaders in Upper Hungary by imperial order, carried out by His Excellency General Sporck near Árva Castle, using different forms of execution, in November 1672."

submit to the Turkish tribute [*Turcico tributo subigendos*] than to remain under the authority of His Majesty … and had called Catholics idolaters and papist dogs who were to be eliminated from the Kingdom."[125] The outcome of the trial was a foregone conclusion: of the 724 pastors who had been summoned to the tribunal, only 336 showed up. All of them were found guilty on

all counts. They were incarcerated, tortured, and threatened with execution. Admission of guilt or conversion to the Catholic faith provided a potential escape from such dire punishment. Only a minority of the pastors refused to yield. After nearly a year, forty-two of them were sold as galley slaves in Naples while others "were thrown into heavy chains and taken to hard prisons here and there [*hier ende daer*] in Hungary."[126] The majority of the condemned pasters went into exile in the Lutheran territories of Germany, as well as Calvinist Switzerland and the Netherlands. These traumatic events figure prominently in Hungarian Protestant historical memory and have generated a voluminous historiography.[127]

Scholarship has focused almost exclusively on the plight of the galley slaves and the exiled pastors, virtually ignoring the popular resistance generated by efforts to expel the Protestant clergy. This resistance ranged from large-scale revolts and riots to less spectacular actions that forced Catholic priests to flee and enabled hundreds of Protestant pastors to return from hiding places or from exile to their parishes. Some of the almost 400 pastors who evaded the Pozsony Tribunal were among these underground pastors.

A good example of resistance to the expulsion of the Protestant clergy was demonstrated in the Lutheran market town of Senica (Nyitra County) in June and July of 1673. Senica and nearby villages had successfully defended their pastors and churches in August 1672 against Habsburg troops; in September–October 1672, apparently incited by news of the Upper Hungarian revolt, the town's rank and file had turned against the Catholic minority and ransacked their homes. The Aulic War Council did not intervene since troops had been withdrawn to Upper Hungary. But at some point in early 1673, the town was forced to accept the opening of a Catholic church and the imposition of a Catholic priest. With the priest's arrival, it was only a question of time before another attempt would be made to expel the town's Lutheran pastor.[128]

Tensions in Senica erupted into open revolt on Trinity Sunday, 4 June 1673. On that day, the top Habsburg official in the area, István Horváth, arrived with a detachment of musketeers. He was accompanied by the town's new priest, several others priests, Catholic nobles, and Catholic peasants. According to an account by the town's Lutheran pastor, Štefan Pilárik, the townsmen were not hostile: they allowed themselves to be disarmed, did not prevent the priests from celebrating Mass in the town square, and even tolerated a sermon that ridiculed and scolded them. But when the Catholic

Figure 8.3
Sale of Protestant pastors into galley slavery

Forty-two Protestant pastors were condemned to galley slavery by the Pozsony Tribunal. In May 1675 after a year of incarceration, these pastors were transported to Naples, Italy and sold to galley ships. News of the pastors' tribulations provoked Hungarian rebels to attack Catholic clergy and Habsburg soldiers in retaliation.

intruders tried to occupy the Lutheran church, a large crowd of ordinary women and men surrounded the building. The Catholics then withdrew, barricaded themselves in the Catholic parish house, and started shooting into the crowd. This "more than anything else enraged the common people … They seized the house and all who were inside, and beat to death [István Horváth] … and several musketeers."[129]

Surviving inquisitorial records tell a somewhat different story: while some of the townsmen may have allowed themselves to be disarmed, this was certainly not the case for all. In fact, many armed men with guns, including peasants from nearby villages, had occupied the Lutheran church and the adjacent cemetery. It was these men who precipitated the massacre: they unleashed a fusillade of bullets and chased the intruders into the town's Catholic church. A Catholic peasant later described the carnage: "I entered the Catholic church and saw the murdered and massacred: the nobles, especially the *tricesimator* of Senica [István Horváth], the musketeers of His Most Sacred Imperial Majesty, and the Catholic priests who had been most cruelly injured and killed." The town's new parish priest was still breathing and the peasant somehow managed to save his life.[130]

What is most noteworthy about this revolt is the fervor of the insurgents. They were almost without exception artisans, domestic servants (*famuli*), free peasants (*libertini*), serfs, and students (*studiosi*). The town's women, whom Pastor Pilárik praised for their piety, bravery, and "almost manly behaviour," also participated. By contrast, town magistrates and Lutheran nobles played no visible role at all. The atmosphere was festive and emotions were running high. Drums were beaten "as this unheard-of tragedy … occurred inside the Catholic church." The public whipping of the priest's sister became a spectacle, with bystanders screaming for her death. The massacre was followed by the systematic ransacking of the church's altar and holy objects. Some of the perpetrators were undoubtedly drunk, as one witness reported. But others had worked themselves into a state of religious frenzy. The sacristan Martin Csolar gave rousing sermons in the cemetery; he and all of his sons "would rather die than give the church to the Catholics." The serf Jakob Bednarovic "screamed with … great fury: 'Let's kill all the Catholics who are the progeny of the Devil.'" A free peasant from a fiscal estate beat up any Catholic he could lay his hands on and shot others at random. An unarmed student named Paulini attacked the musketeers with stones. The son of a notorious good-for-nothing (*nebulo*) from a nearby village emerged

from the parish house with his fork encrusted with blood. Entire families participated in the orgy of violence, obviously enjoying it.[131] These dramatic events recall the festivals of violence described by Natalie Davis and other scholars of the French religious wars. The only difference may have been the violence's scope. The revolt in Senica did not lead to the extermination of all Catholics; even the town's hated parish priest survived.[132]

For almost six weeks Senica was in the hands of popular rebels. But on 14 July 1673 the Habsburg army arrived and carried out brutal reprisals. Isaiah Pilárik, the town pastor's son, later described what happened as "a tragedy that has had no equal in all of Hungary." He provided a vivid picture of attacks on women (likely involving rape), the alleged killing of pregnant mothers and their infants, indiscriminate torture and executions, the burning of the entire town, and piles of corpses. His father described similar horrors in his memoirs: public hangings from the church steeple, the invocation of God and the Angels of Heaven by those about to be executed, rampant evictions of people from their homes, random shootings, the pillage of the graveyard (including the opening of crypts and the robbing of corpses), and the systematic torching of the entire town. Pilárik Senior, who is known for a polemic denouncing the terror of Ottoman soldiers, observed that the outrages perpetrated by the Habsburg soldatesca were worse than those committed by the Tatars and Ottomans.[133]

The Habsburg court's brutal response to the Senica uprising rivals the atrocities committed by other regimes (e.g., Russian and French) during the second half of the seventeenth century.[134] It is worth noting that this response directly opposed the Secret Council's call for moderation. Possible explanations for the violence can be sought in the proximity of the Ottomans and the short distance between Senica and Lower Austria. Whether the rebels actively solicited help from the pasha of Uyvar – as asserted by the Pozsony Tribunal – cannot be determined on the basis of the available evidence. But the strategic threat of the uprising along Hungary's westernmost borders was well understood by the Vienna court. Imperial troops took up positions in Schwechat and Männersdorf guarding the roads to Vienna.[135]

The Senica revolt coincided with several nearby peasant revolts. Less than 20 miles from Senica near the town of Szakolca (Skalica, Nyitra County) on the Moravian border, 3,000 peasants demanded the immediate restitution of their confiscated churches and refused to pay their taxes.[136] Meanwhile in neighbouring Trencsén County, two large-scale peasant revolts

were burning out of control near the Moravian and Silesian borders. And in the fortress town of Trencsén, a mob attacked a Catholic procession, killed the priest, and then massacred Habsburg soldiers who tried to intervene. The suppression of these uprisings was considered a matter of the greatest importance by the Vienna court.[137] Count Montecuccoli noted that these "rebels without a name" (*senza nome ribelli*) posed a major security risk. If they were not stopped as soon as possible, they would end up joining of the Hungarian fugitives.[138]

The horror that descended upon Senica and other nearby towns[139] had a chilling effect and likely prevented another major outbreak of mass violence. Smaller outbursts were reported, such as attacks on Catholic processions, the murder of priests, the plunder of lands belonging to Catholic nobles, and a spectacular attempt to liberate incarcerated pastors from a fortress prison. Punishments for these acts were brutal. According to information cited by the Parmese resident Giovanni Chiaromanni, fifteen Protestants were condemned to be burned at the stake for desecrating the host.[140] But it appears that many ordinary men and women became so terrified that they gave up their resistance and accepted their fate. In August 1673, for example, peasants in Bars County, just east of Nyitra County, avoided the threatened destruction of their villages by giving up their churches. Faced with no alternative, they signed declarations of loyalty to the Habsburg emperor. They also promised in writing to cut all ties with their Lutheran pastors and accept Catholic priests in their stead.[141] Similar observations can be made about other regions of the Hungarian Kingdom.[142]

After the Senica massacre, mass riots continued to break out but did not escalate into mayhem. For example, the population of Kisszeben, a centre of Lutheranism in Upper Hungary, rushed into the streets in July 1673 when troops arrived "to eject the preachers." Crowds blocked the town gates wielding guns or clubs. According to official reports, the town's Protestant pastors were leading the crowds. The riot achieved its goal: the troops withdrew and the pastors remained in Kisszeben. It appears that the town's magistrate helped avoid bloodshed by accepting that Catholics would have control over the town's confiscated churches.[143] A similar scenario played out in the streets of Lutheran Sopron (Ödenburg) in Lower Hungary. On 23 December 1673, hundreds of armed townsmen, mostly artisans and students, blocked the town gates and surrounded the town's main Protestant church. Tempers were running high with lots of screaming and threats to burn down churches

rather than hand them to "the Papist sons of bitches" (*Hundesöhne*). Among the crowds were the town's pastors, as well as pastors who had been expelled from surrounding communities. Tensions escalated on Christmas Day when two refugee pastors led armed bands to nearby villages to reoccupy confiscated churches. They triumphantly celebrated church services, cheered on by peasants who insisted that they would never again yield the churches their ancestors had built. Terrified by the prospect of military reprisals, the Sopron magistrate intervened and had the two pastors arrested. In the following months, a compromise was negotiated: three pastors would be allowed to stay in Sopron but all Protestant churches would be turned over to the Catholic Church.[144]

Thus, the interventions of Protestant town elites, themselves prime targets for forced Catholicization,[145] prevented the repetition of mass violence. But one wonders what happened to the popular fervor and defiance that had erupted in Senica, Kisszeben, Sopron, and elsewhere. Are we to assume that with the magistrate's de-escalation these strong popular sentiments just disappeared? Or that many ordinary people embraced the Catholic faith? Such assertions were often made in missionary reports or the annals of the Jesuit order.[146] Or, are we to believe the writings of expelled pastors and teachers who described deeply traumatized communities?[147] Georg Fidicinis, a docent at the Lutheran academy in Leutschau, spoke of spiritual assassination by "a murderous arrow into the heart" (*Mord-Pfeil ins Herz*). He must have witnessed the desperate crowds of men, women, and children who took over Leutschau in April 1674 in defense of their pastors and churches. Caught between "the fury of the rabble" and imperial troops threatening "the total ruin of the town," the magistrate caved in and handed over pastors and churches to the troops. The town chronicler described women and men of all ages overwhelmed by grief, weeping, howling, and wailing when they said farewell to their pastors.[148] A similar drama unfolded in Késmárk, where crowds of women guarded pastors and churches day and night for three weeks in August–September 1673. The Késmárk magistrate considered this "women's riot" (*Weiber Tumult*) a nuisance and colluded with the Habsburg authorities to end it. The chronicler of Késmárk does not tell us what happened to the women, but notes that the departing pastors "were accompanied by thousands of tears."[149]

The trauma that had befallen Hungarian Protestants was renewed in countless daily humiliations (e.g., punishments for failing to attend church,

confiscation of Protestant readings, expulsion from guilds, inability to marry or have one's child baptized, hosts stuffed into the mouths of the dying, and funerals conducted in backyards or fields due to bans on cemeteries).[150] But it is important to note the determined resilience of countless ordinary Hungarians who found ways to evade the new religious order.

An important indicator of continuing popular resistance was the plight of the Catholic clergy who replaced expelled pastors. For example, the Franciscan Ciprianus led an extremely precarious life in Kisszeben. He lived in poverty, possessed no liturgical vessels, faced obstruction when he tried to perform Mass, and was surrounded by a sea of popular hostility. He was assaulted at least twice by mobs and beaten so badly that he no longer dared visit his garden, which was essential for his daily needs. He repeatedly called for protection, claiming "that in the entire Kingdom of Hungary there are no such evil people as those among whom I live." He also asked for the arrest of the town's three Protestant pastors who lived in the town's suburbs and continued to perform church services in congregants' homes.[151]

Chaplain Augustin Langner, the new parish priest of Eperjes, complained about the community's refusal to pay him a salary. He lacked everything necessary to conduct Mass, including wine. His parishioners failed to attend Mass, even on feast days, and treated him in a coarse manner. While apparently spared physical abuse, Langner believed that the townsmen wanted to make his life so miserable that he would abandon his parish.[152] Another priest named Joannes Húgolin fled to the presumed safety of Eperjes, which had a Habsburg military garrison. He had escaped harassment and abuse by a petty noble (*armalista*) who had turned locals against him in a market town in Szepes County.[153] The priest Mátyás Nagy reported from a rural parish in Zemplén County that serfs had pillaged his house. Their leader was "a serf of His Majesty named Matoc" who "carried out whatever he could against our religion; he acted freely and seduced the people not to attend church services and the Catholic sermon." He added that the serfs were encouraged by a minor official of the Zipser Kammer and apparently also by their pastor, who still remained in the area.[154] The archives are full of similar stories.

Another important indicator of popular resistance was the continued presence of pastors despite all efforts to expel them. In Sáros County, for example, numerous pastors continued to live in small villages or on the estates of Protestant nobles. There is no record that they ever left their communities even though they often had to give up their churches.[155] In Szepes County,

investigators tried to find out "where the seditious and rebellious preachers were hiding and who were their supporters [*fautores*], patrons, and protectors." The investigators did not get very far because Lutheran witnesses were not forthcoming and Catholic witnesses were afraid to talk. But they did establish that three prominent pastors were still active. August Serpilius of Késmárk reminded people "almost daily that inasmuch as [they] are fervent in [their] prayers, better times will follow, and [their] churches will be restituted." Johannes Melzel of Csütörtökhely had only recently accused a woman convert to Catholicism that she had given her soul to the Devil. And the unnamed pastor of Vel'ká, whom the Zipser Kammer suspected of colluding with rebels, had just met with twelve other pastors in Késmárk.[156] In Veszprém County, the Cathedral Chapter and the Jesuit College of Győr made similar discoveries when they tried to grab the lands and assets of proscribed village pastors. Peasants rallied around their pastors' wives and children. Despite threats and repeated prodding, they never revealed the whereabouts of their pastors who were hiding nearby.[157]

It is important to pause here and emphasize that the Habsburg failure to outright ban Protestant pastors from Hungary owed much to the Ottomans and the Hungarian fugitives. There was a distinct, if largely invisible, transimperial nexus that encouraged ordinary people to hold on to their pastors and churches.[158] Nowhere was this more obvious than in the two Upper Hungarian counties of Szabolcs and Szatmár, which the pasha of Varad had declared the sultan's patrimony. According to a report compiled by imperial commissars after Köprülü's death, "the heretics have all churches on the other side of the Tisza River for themselves." The commissars emphasized that Catholic priests could operate safely only in the border fortress of Szatmár and the heavily garrisoned town of Nagybánya. Similar observations can be made about Bereg, Ung, and Ugocsa counties. In these five easternmost counties of Royal Hungary, a large number of Calvinist pastors – according to the Catholic magnate István Csáky, at least 200 – openly exercised their office. They operated mostly unsupervised, to the great chagrin of their superintendents who lived in exile on Ottoman territory.[159]

In Gömör County, which had for the most part become an Ottoman dominion, Lutheran pastors "were performing church services both secretly and openly." They were receiving "shelter and everything else they needed" from both ordinary people and from nobles. And where "preachers [were] not present, divinity students [*companones*] [were] taking on similar duties: they

baptize[d] and [gave] sermons."[160] There were only six Catholic priests in all of Gömör County at that time.[161] According to a Lutheran exile in Germany with close ties to fellow pastors in Hungary, many proscribed pastors found refuge inside Ottoman Hungary before they returned to their former communities. This same Lutheran exile also observed that Protestant worship never stopped in "places that had submitted to the Turks" (*den Türken gehuldigte Orte*).[162]

Popular resistance against the expulsion of the Protestant clergy cannot be studied in isolation from the larger geopolitical context. This nexus becomes even clearer when we take a look at the rank-and-file Protestant soldiers who manned Hungary's border fortresses. Protestant soldiers were still in the majority despite efforts to replace them with Catholic recruits; most of them were Hungarian Calvinists. A growing number of Catholic German and Croat soldiers were intended to keep the Protestant soldiers in check. This may explain why larger fortresses grudgingly accepted the expulsion of their pastors. But this acceptance was accompanied by considerable outrage and emotional pain, as demonstrated by the long stream of petitions calling for the immediate release of their pastors and the restoration of church services.[163]

By contrast, expulsions of Protestant clergy were not systematically carried out in smaller fortresses. For example, in November 1673 pastors were still active in the forts and palisades of the defense lines facing the Kanizsa *vilayet*. In fact, the pastors continued to draw pay because the soldiers of these fortresses refused to accept any Catholic priests. Similar developments occurred in smaller outposts of the military district guarding the Hungarian mining towns. Attempts to impose Catholic priests by force resulted in violence. Examples include the killing of a priest in Szentgrót (Zala County) and a deadly Pentecost riot in Gutta (Komárom County). The latter occurrence followed an attempt by Archbishop Szelepcsényi to appoint a Catholic priest to replace the one that had been removed by Ottoman troops, apparently in collusion with the townsmen. In general, the Habsburg court seems to have had little control over these small fortresses; even where expulsions had been carried out, Protestant pastors started returning in early 1675.[164]

Among the rank and file of Royal Hungary, Protestant border soldiers maintained the closest contacts with rebels on Ottoman territory. General Spankau understood this well. In May 1675, he refused to listen to the demands of Hungarian bishops that he arrest pastors who had returned to

smaller fortresses.[165] Their removal, he argued, would only aggravate the many border soldiers who had already fled into Ottoman territory and undermine any efforts of the imperial court to lure them back. Indeed, the problem was that the soldiers who made up the core of the rebel army had come from the very same fortresses that were seething with discontent about removal of their pastors. Even Emperor Leopold recognized this reality. Fearing the defection of the Calvinist garrisons manning Szatmár, Ónod, Kálló, Putnok, and Szendrő fortresses, the mainstays of Upper Hungary's border defense, he decreed on 26 April 1674 that Protestant pastors should be allowed to return to these fortresses and resume church services. This decree was communicated to General Spankau on the very same day.[166] However, few soldiers, if any, returned.

Instead, lively contacts between soldiers inside these fortresses and those in the rebel army continued. For example, there was constant communication back and forth between Vice-Captain István Szobonya of Ónod and former Ónod soldiers on Ottoman territory. Szobonya played a double game: on the one hand, he assured General Spankau that he would use his connections in the rebel camp to bring fugitives back to the imperial side. On the other hand, he traveled to Ottoman border fortresses and even visited the vizier of Buda to enlist Ottoman troops against the Habsburgs.[167] Soldiers in Szendrő Fortress corresponded with their former comrades in the rebel camp. In July 1674, Spankau reported to Vienna that seven known rebels had been sighted inside the fortress. One of the most radical rebel leaders, János Szőcs, originally came from Szendrő. He also played a double game; he conducted fake negotiations with generals Spankau and Strassoldo while at the same time acting like a magnet to attract runaway soldiers.[168]

The dangers posed by discontented border soldiers are illustrated by two poignant episodes that occurred during the years 1675–76. The first involved the discovery in August 1675 of a secret plot to surrender Szatmár Fortress to the rebel army. This plot coincided with rumours that 12,000 Transylvanian soldiers stood poised to invade.[169] Religious discontent had reached the boiling point earlier in the year. The Hungarian garrison, along with the town of Szatmár, complained bitterly about unspecified "reformation" measures imposed by the Zipser Kammer to enforce the Catholic faith. These measures included leaving all confiscated Calvinist churches and schools in the hands of Catholic priests.[170] Tensions over religion were aggravated by the soldiers' lack of pay and provisions, the high price of basic staples such as bread, and

the soldiers' sheer physical exhaustion due to nearly constant skirmishes with the Ottomans and the rebels. In May 1676, the entire garrison was on the verge of mutiny and twelve soldiers were executed. General Strassoldo apparently considered replacing the troublesome troops with entirely new contingents.[171] But this did not occur. According to a spy report from early December 1676, the soldiers of Szatmár were still in turmoil (*tumultans*). They were very eager for outside intervention, if not by the Turks (due to Köprülü's death), then by the French, Poles, or even by troops from Protestant Brandenburg.[172] These illusive hopes demonstrate the deep sense of alienation among Protestant soldiers of the Szatmár garrison. Unaddressed religious grievances, combined with poverty and hunger, potentially could have led to the defection of Upper Hungary's largest and most formidable border castle.[173]

Lewenz Fortress in Lower Hungary, a border castle vital for containing the pasha of Uyvar, was in a state of turmoil too.[174] For at least two years its Calvinist garrison had lobbied in vain for the return of their pastor, Péter Czeglédy. In April 1674, they had vocally protested his summons by the Pozsony Tribunal. In June 1674, they received assurances from the Aulic War Council that their protests had been heard: Czeglédy would receive a fair trial, and "in case he is innocent, would be freed from jail." This did not happen, despite the soldiers' continuing appeals for mercy in July and November 1674.[175]

Czeglédy, meanwhile, was put in irons and thrown into several dungeons. In March 1675, he was transported to Italy and sold along with other Protestant pastors as a galley slave in Naples. He suffered torture and other physical abuse, but survived. He gained his freedom in February 1676, thanks to the intervention of a Dutch admiral. In July 1676 we find him among sympathetic coreligionists in Zurich, Switzerland, where he recovered his health before making his way back to Lewenz.[176] When exactly he arrived remains unclear. But an appeal for help by frightened Catholics, likely written in fall 1676, warned about the return of this "nefarious preacher and advocate of the Calvinist heresy." According to these unknown appellants, Czeglédy was untouchable: he was guarded by officers of the fortress as well as by local nobles. In fact, they and "many soldiers of His Majesty" had taken over the fortress church and were calling for the killing of all Catholics. If Czeglédy was not immediately removed, the appellants warned, "there will not be a single village or market town … where the preachers will not be returned and ascend the pulpits with audacity." Lewenz Fortress was surrounded by communities that had pledged allegiance to the sultan, "and not a few preachers are hiding

in villages around us." The Catholics called for immediate intervention before it was too late. It seemed that Lewenz Fortress was drifting off into the Ottoman orbit, propelled by the religious zeal of its soldiers.[177]

Popular discontent in other social milieux posed less danger to Habsburg rule – even though peasants and townsmen maintained ties with Hungarian fugitives on Ottoman territory. Imperial commissars learned that ordinary people sometimes called on rebel bands to intimidate, torture, murder, or abduct Catholic priests. According to survivors' testimonies, crowds assembled to watch or participate in the violence these bands inflicted upon their victims. In the town of Ratkó, for example, "two Lutheran students and a pastor were among the executioners" of the martyred priest György Hunkay, and "the entire town … was watching this butchery [*spectabat lanienam*]."[178] It was not unusual for commoners to then withdraw with rebel bands to Ottoman territory. In June 1675, for example, twenty-six manservants of the Catholic magnate László Károlyi "went over to" the plunderers of his estates.[179] There was also a lively cross-border correspondence of townsmen from Eperjes, Leutschau, Kassa, and other lesser towns with the fugitives.[180] In October 1675, for example, anonymous letter writers from Kassa informed István Baksa, a prominent exile, that "most of the [town's] people [*az embereknek nagyja*] … considered themselves good Hungarians and were very disgusted with the German yoke."[181]

Some Protestant pastors who were hiding in peasant hinterlands or Ottoman territory also appear to have been in touch with the fugitives. According to information received by Habsburg investigators in spring 1674, proscribed village pastors in the hinterlands of Késmárk (Szepes County) "[had] been contributing and gathering a certain amount of money from the common people" for the fugitives across the borders. Were they hoping for an invasion by the fugitives to protect them and other Protestant clergy from persecution?[182] On 20 October 1676, the Aulic War Council ordered Vice-General János Esterházy, commander of the Győr military district in Lower Hungary, to hunt down Protestant pastors who were hiding in the hinterlands of Pápa, Veszprém, and smaller fortresses along the Rába (Raab) River. These pastors were giving public sermons "announcing with joy … to the common people and rabble the imminent arrival of the rebels" from Ottoman territory. The pastors' insolent actions were inciting sedition and undermining the public order. Everything possible had to be done to find them, "if indeed such preachers could be tracked down [*betretten werden möchten*], and hand them

over for imprisonment to the archbishop of Esztergom or the governor [of Hungary]."[183] The timing of these sermons was hardly a coincidence. The Polish-Ottoman peace had just been signed and the exiles were, in fact, getting ready for a major invasion with Ottoman support.

The exiles claimed that the entire population of Upper Hungary was ready "to flock to the sultan and submit to his authority as they have long wanted to." If only the Ottomans would help them launch an invasion of Upper Hungary, people would quickly become Turkish subjects.[184] This may very well have been the case; thousands of ordinary men and women had voted with their feet to join the exiles on Ottoman lands. On the eve of Köprülü's death, the number of refugees had increased to such an extent that they overwhelmed the noble leaders of the exile community. These nobles feared that they might lose control over the invasion army they were assembling. The Turcophile Menyhért Keczer, for example, looked down on these commoners as riffraff, calling them "worms" (*vermes*) whom he believed only came out of their holes in the ground to plunder and pillage.[185] Yet these masses increasingly made up the core of the rebel army. They were led by Cromwell-like figures such as the popular officer János Mozik. Mozik was an escaped serf from the estates of the Hungarian primate Szelepcsényi. He played effective cat-and-mouse games with General Strassoldo's expeditionary army.[186] Habsburg commissars knew that ordinary men (often with wives and children) who opted for the Ottoman side could not be reached by offers of pardon. They also noted that these agitated masses did not hesitate to kill nobles and military officers who engaged in secret negotiations with the Habsburg side. The execution of one of these "traitors," a noble named Márton Enghy, turned into a popular spectacle: Mozik and his men held court over Enghy and then shot him in the public square of a small market town on Ottoman territory.[187]

When Grand Vizier Ahmed Köprülü died on 3 November 1676, Habsburg power in Upper Hungary – and to a lesser extent in Lower Hungary – was crumbling. This was the result of three principal developments. First there was the aggressive projection of Ottoman power into Habsburg hinterlands by border commanders, pashas, and the vizier of Buda. Raids by ever-larger troop contingents in all parts of the Hungarian Kingdom culminated in 1676, as local Ottoman strongmen were eagerly waiting for peace in Poland. Second, during 1675–76, the raids by Hungarian fugitives assumed unprecedented dimensions, both in terms of their frequency and the numbers of

soldiers involved. Even the large army under Commander in Chief Strassoldo was helpless to combat the guerrilla tactics of these intruders from Ottoman territory. The number of catastrophic defeats at the hands of the insurgents was rapidly increasing. Third, one must consider the deep societal alienation caused by brutal religious persecution. In Lower Hungary, the expulsion of the Protestant clergy triggered a series of peasant revolts; in Upper Hungary, according to Calvinist church leaders in exile on Ottoman lands, "the furor of Antichrist was running amok." Town riots and strong popular resistance emerged in protest against the imposition of new Catholic clergy.[188] In September 1674, a Calvinist pastor close to a high-ranking Ottoman official predicted "that when war breaks out [between the Ottomans and the Habsburgs], all of [us] Calvinists will rise because [we] are being persecuted for [our] faith."[189] And in November 1674, two Lutheran burghers from Sopron in Lower Hungary told the Swedish ambassador in Vienna, Esaias Pufendorf, that 100,000 armed men could be mobilized within a few days to fight the Habsburgs.[190]

Many close observers of Hungarian affairs predicted disaster. Johann Caspar Ampringen, head of a new vice-regal council (*gubernium*) that was supposed to govern Royal Hungary, conveyed his utter powerlessness. He warned that religious persecution and brutal military occupation were driving the Hungarians into the arms of the Turks and Transylvanians. On 12 November 1675, a despondent Ampringen alerted Emperor Leopold I that Upper Hungary was again on the verge of open revolt: "If [this rebellion] proceeds one must fear that it will be total and complete – then woe to all of Hungary and Christendom."[191] Archbishop Szelepcsényi, who like Ampringen commanded informants throughout Hungary, conjured up the spectre of revolution (*miserrimam rerum revolutionem*) and denounced the Ottomans ("the enemies of the Christian name") for "manifestly engaging in extreme efforts to destroy the [Hungarian] nation."[192] Dutch resident Bruyninx accused the Vienna court of playing an irresponsible and dangerous game. Emperor Leopold, he warned, "would always lose in a civil war against his own subjects; he would never win even if he would overcome them" by military means. The mighty Archenemy of Christendom, and perhaps other powers, would undoubtedly step in and protect them. The Hungarian crisis was therefore bound "to burst out into a great flame of war."[193]

Similarly dire predictions can be found in the statements of other diplomats,[194] church hierarchs, Catholic magnates,[195] officials of the Zipser

Kammer, imperial commissars,[196] and military commanders.[197] A Transylvanian diplomat sympathetic to Vienna's dilemma warned that Hungary might either follow the example of Ukraine and secede from the Habsburg Empire, or erupt like the Netherlands under Spanish occupation and evict the Habsburgs. The country "which has functioned until now as the Bulwark of Christendom … would [then] join the Turks [*Turcis associata sibi*], bringing irreparable harm to the Christian world."[198]

The Habsburg court tried to defuse the deepening crisis with a sweeping array of spontaneously devised measures. These measures addressed the Protestant pastors, rebels living in exile in Ottoman territory, Habsburg border soldiers, border defenses, Ottoman power brokers, and even peace negotiations beyond the Habsburg-Ottoman conflict. For example, the court granted Protestant pastors permission to return to a limited number of border fortresses, and issued a moratorium on the persecution of pastors who had returned to Upper Hungary.[199] The court also attempted to win over leading exiles with promises to restore their estates, guarantee Protestant religious worship, and offer physical protection.[200] Habsburg soldiers were ordered to avoid all combat with Ottoman troops in an effort to rein in the brutal militias of Catholic hierarchs and magnates, reduce anti-Protestant violence, and avoid clashes with the Ottomans.[201] The Habsburg court reached out to Ottoman power brokers in order to calm tensions along the borders. Further afield, it attempted to sabotage Polish-Ottoman peace negotiations; initiated peace negotiations with France; and recalled Count Montecuccoli from the Dutch theatre of war (at least temporarily) to oversee defense operations in Hungary.[202] Most importantly, the Habsburg court initiated a plethora of initiatives to strengthen Hungarian military defenses: it sent thousands of additional soldiers into Upper Hungary,[203] updated military equipment and hardware in border fortresses, and sent money and food provisions into both Lower and Upper Hungary to supply troops.[204]

Yet none of these measures resolved the underlying crisis. Two imperial commissars who visited Upper Hungary in late 1676 discerned what they described as a sheer insurmountable "hatred against the Germans and their government, so deeply rooted and overwhelmingly present [*überhand genommen*]" that "a new much more dangerous revolt" could easily erupt. The mass exodus to Turkish territory continued. The imperial court faced the grim reality that it would be very difficult "to conduct a war in a country where the peasant has affection for the enemy and is attached to him." The

commissars were not optimistic about Vienna's options. Stabilizing the Hungarian Kingdom could not be accomplished without winning over the Hungarian exiles. This was virtually impossible since "they are so attached to the Transylvanians and Turks and so deeply involved in a conspiracy with the latter … that they could not enter into negotiations [with us] … without Turkish permission, even if they were eager to do so."[205]

With regard to the military situation, the commissars reported that "supplies are [running] so low that in the feared case of war with the Turks … most military posts would be in extreme danger." In fact, "a few [Ottoman] siege operations, or the continuation and further growth of this rebellion," would be enough to jeopardize the entire precarious border defense system.[206] The commissars drew their information from alarmed field officers such as Baron J. Heinrich von Ehrenfeld, a top commander stationed in Kálló Fortress. Confronting perpetual warfare without reliable supplies of fodder for his horses or bread for his troops, Ehrenfeld bypassed the Aulic War Council on 10 July 1676 and appealed directly to Court Chancellor Hocher for help: he warned that he and his men were totally exhausted and "mostly ruined." If significant reinforcements and supplies did not come immediately, "the entire country which is now definitely leaning towards rebellion will be lost."[207]

Köprülü's unexpected death probably saved the Habsburg monarchy from the brink of disaster. The Polish-Ottoman peace was concluded on 17 October 1676. On 6 November 1676, Resident Kindsberg announced with great relief and joy to Vienna that Köprülü had died. If Köprülü had lived more than a few weeks beyond the signing of the peace, most likely he would have gone to war against the Habsburg Empire.[208] There were many indications that point to this probable course of action: Köprülü's consistent promises to Hungarian exiles over the years to act as soon as the Polish conflict had been resolved; his repeated, often rude, warnings to Habsburg resident Kindsberg; the growing eagerness of Hungarian pashas and border commanders for war; and the rapid acceleration towards war after a failed Habsburg expedition into Ottoman territory in December 1675.

It is unclear what motivated Köprülü's successor, Kara Mustafa, to defuse Habsburg-Ottoman tensions. He publicly abjured any hostile intentions towards Vienna and considered "getting rid [*abzuschaffen*] of the rebels." This unexpected reprieve bought the Habsburgs precious time.[209] They used this time to conclude a peace treaty with France, relocate troops from the Rhine

River to Hungary, and strengthen their border fortresses. If Köprülü had led a campaign against Hungary in spring 1677 – or any time after the 1672 revolt – Habsburg rule in Hungary would likely not have survived. The delay of the Ottoman campaign gave the Habsburg Empire six years to strengthen its defensive positions, develop its financial and military resources, and form an international alliance capable of defeating the Ottoman army. When the Ottoman attack finally came in 1683, the Habsburg Empire was in a much stronger position than it had been during the last years of Ahmed Köprülü's grand vizierate.

Conclusion

During the grand vizierate of Ahmed Köprülü the Habsburg Empire stood on the brink of disaster. There were three principal reasons for this. First, the Ottomans established a permanent military presence closer to Vienna than ever before and were continuously expanding their authority in the Hungarian borderlands. Not since the age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent was "the threatening danger of the Turks" (*die antrohende Gefahr der Türcken*) as great as it was under Köprülü.[1] Second, the Hungarian population participated in two major revolts against the Habsburg regime. Hungarian exiles living under Ottoman protection persistently lobbied Köprülü, Ottoman pashas, and the vizier of Buda for military intervention to assist the rebels in the Hungarian borderlands. Third and finally, the Habsburg army was in no position to defend Hungary against an Ottoman invasion: there were not enough soldiers or enough money to pay soldiers, recruitments progressed too slowly, and border defenses were neglected and mostly in a dilapidated state. If Köprülü had invaded Hungary during the 1670s, Habsburg power in the Hungarian borderlands would likely have collapsed like a house of cards.

The Ottoman fortress of Uyvar in western Hungary, a former crown jewel of Habsburg border defense, became the staging ground for a potential Ottoman attack on Vienna. The pashas of Uyvar, including Köprülü's brother-in-law, kept their troops on the move and created troubles for the Habsburgs whenever and wherever they could along Hungary's borderlands, as did the pashas of Eger and Varad. The vizier of Buda became involved in an intensifying border war with Habsburg soldiers – a development so threatening that Emperor Leopold I gave orders to border commanders *not* to engage

Ottoman troops. He underscored the risk of skirmishes and border clashes that could easily provoke a larger war for which the Habsburgs were not prepared. Ottoman troops operated with impunity in the vicinity of Habsburg border fortresses. The Hungarian buffer, absolutely necessary for the defense of Vienna and the monarchy's hereditary provinces, no longer offered the Habsburgs reliable protection.

Ottoman expansion into Habsburg Hungary was accompanied by countless local revolts with epicenters in both the westernmost and easternmost regions of the Hungarian Kingdom. These revolts involved multitudes of ordinary people including peasants, soldiers, craftsmen, and students. Women played highly visible roles, especially in remote mountain villages and towns. The insurgents were principally inspired by anger about the Counter-Reformation, that is, the confiscation of Protestant churches, expulsion of Protestant clergy, and imposition of Catholic priests. Other motivating factors were the brutal excesses of the Habsburg military, mass arrests, and exorbitant war taxes. Usually quickly suppressed by Habsburg troops, local revolts sometimes mushroomed out of control and spread over entire regions. For example, efforts to expel the Lutheran clergy from small towns in Nyitra County, a county where the Ottoman presence was very strong, led to a peasant war that threatened to spill over into Austria and Moravia.

This study zeroed in on two major popular revolts that broke out in 1670 and 1672 in Upper Hungary, that is, the easternmost thirteen counties of Hungary that bordered on Transylvania and the Ottoman *vilayets* of Eger and Varad. These Upper Hungarian revolts, largely ignored by modern historical scholarship, led to the collapse of Habsburg power in this region within a matter of days. Habsburg officials fled into a handful of heavily fortified fortress towns while rebels carried out brutal reprisals against Habsburg soldiers, Catholic clergy, and Catholic nobles. Habsburg power never fully regained its hold despite the military reconquest of Upper Hungary.

These popular revolts were both multiethnic and multi-confessional; many of the rebels were not Hungarians, but Slavs (Slovaks, Ukrainians) and Germans. Ruthenian (Ukrainian) Orthodox refused to accept Uniate priests, that is, priests recognizing the authority of the pope, and joined Slovak Lutherans, German Lutherans, Hungarian Lutherans, and Hungarian Calvinists in resistance against the Catholic Counter-Reformation.

It would be a mistake to romanticize the popular rebels of the Köprülü era as *kuruc* freedom fighters, in the way that Hungarian historians have done

in the better-known cases of the Imre Thököly (1682–85) and Ferenc II Rákóczi (1703–11) revolts.[2] They were not Hungarian freedom fighters eager to liberate their nation from the Habsburg regime. In fact, the term *kuruc* had no known positive connotations during the Köprülü period. It first appears in the archival record only in May 1675. Thereafter educated elites – both pro- and anti-Habsburg – began to use it as a pejorative epithet to denigrate the thousands of ordinary people who flocked into the ranks of a rebel army gathering on Ottoman territory.[3] The Ottomans had a more endearing term for these refugees from the Habsburg lands: they called them "bacon Turks" (*szalonna Török*), because unlike the Janissaries with whom they launched raids into Hungary, the refugees ate pork.[4] The Ottoman designation came much closer to the plain truth: these rank-and-file rebels were not fighting for the freedom of the Hungarian nation, they had simply escaped the multiple hardships of Habsburg rule and felt safer among the Ottomans.

During the 1660s and 1670s, Turcismus (*törökösség*, *Türkhentum*) – that is, associating with the Turkish archenemy – became a crime punishable by death. But this did not deter large numbers of people from turning to the Ottomans to escape religious persecution and the violence perpetrated by Habsburg troops stationed in Hungary. Thousands of ordinary people fled from the Hungarian borderlands to Ottoman territory. Many Protestants perceived the Ottomans as the saviours of their religion. And by the early 1670s, hundreds of villages and towns – many still formally under Habsburg rule – were paying tribute to the sultan.

This book demonstrates the increasing fragmentation of Habsburg power in Hungary that occurred during the Köprülü era. By the early 1670s, Habsburg officials, commissars, plenipotentiaries, and military officers were at a loss over how to govern provinces in a state of chronic revolt that were increasingly drifting into the Ottoman orbit. These representatives of Habsburg power engaged in futile efforts to defuse tensions, continue tax collection, capture troublemakers, recruit soldiers, and hold on to fortified towns and fortresses. In 1675–76 Habsburg observers in Hungary predicted a third popular revolt of even larger proportions. Johann Caspar Ampringen, the head of the new vice-regal council (*gubernium*), alerted the Habsburg court that religious persecution and army terror were pushing Hungarians to embrace the Ottomans. He feared the collapse of the Bulwark of Christendom, with consequences not only for the Habsburg Empire, but the entire Christian world.

Along the Habsburg-Ottoman border a precarious military situation emerged. Habsburg commander in chief Raimondo Montecuccoli, whose memoranda and notes I cite repeatedly throughout this book, conjured up the perilous position of an empire lacking the military means to defend "Christendom against the high flood [*Hochfluth*] of Ottoman weapons."[5] Reports by Italian engineers and border commanders confirmed the lamentable state of border fortresses, including those of the greatest strategic importance.

The Ukrainian Cossacks likely saved the Habsburg Empire from an Ottoman invasion during the Köprülü era on two occasions. The first occurred in summer 1671 when Cossack leader (Hetman) Petro Doroshenko's urgent appeal for military help against the Polish army halted an invasion plan, and the second in spring 1672 when Köprülü decided to invade Poland instead of Hungary to assist the Ukrainians. He anticipated a quick victory as he was eager "to turn the Ottoman army around" against Vienna. But Ukraine unexpectedly turned into a quagmire. I maintain that Köprülü did not consciously pursue a northern strategy to protect the Black Sea region, as Metin Kunt and other historians have argued. Rather he was drawn into a prolonged war over Ukraine against his wishes, and he failed to extricate himself.

I suggest that Köprülü's desire was to complete the unfinished project of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent: the conquest of all of Hungary and the seizure of the Habsburg Empire's capital city of Vienna. He was led by the "quest of the Golden Apple [Vienna]," which the Hungarian scholar Pál Fodor described as the most important Ottoman ideology of imperial expansion.[6] Köprülü's sudden death, and his replacement with the less belligerent Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa, allowed the Habsburg court enough time to repair border fortifications, modernize the army, make peace with France, and form international alliances to successfully withstand the 1683 siege of Vienna.

These findings open up several avenues for further research. First, we need to learn more about the trans-imperial actors who connected Hungarian rebels with the Ottoman world. These pivotal players span the communication networks that extended from remote mountain regions inside Habsburg Hungary all the way to Köprülü's court in Edirne and Ottoman army headquarters in Poland. The most visible among them were nobles such as the Calvinist Pál Szepessy, who met with Köprülü at least four times, and many more times with Köprülü's chief of staff. Less visible were officers of Hungarian border fortresses who visited their counterparts in Ottoman fortresses

and the court of the vizier of Buda. And then there were the Hungarian renegades who had converted to Islam and climbed to high positions at the Ottoman courts of Eger, Varad, Buda, and Edirne. Their role as brokers has remained largely invisible but they repeatedly appeared on the scene at key moments, such as a top-secret midnight meeting between Köprülü and Szepessy in January 1673. They served as indispensable translators, couriers, confidants, lobbyists, and spies for the leaders of the 1672 revolt.

Further study of these little-known intermediaries would open up additional dimensions of the intricate entanglement of Ottomans and Hungarians that began in the Köprülü years and culminated during the Thököly revolt in the 1680s. These intermediaries were simultaneously at home in two different cultural worlds. They moved back and forth with ease, transcending the borders that purportedly separated Habsburg Hungary from Ottoman Hungary. Scholars could draw inspiration from a recent pioneering study by Michał Wasiucionek, who studied cross-border patronage and information networks along the Polish-Ottoman frontier. Though Wasiucionek focused exclusively on political elites, he demonstrated the formation of "far-flung factions that brought together numerous individuals and groups" in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Ottoman Empire, and the Danubian principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia.[7]

Second, it would be important to generate a more nuanced assessment of continuities, as well as distinctions, between the revolts of the early 1670s and the later Thököly and Ferenc II Rákóczi revolts. Both of these latter revolts originated in the same largely Protestant thirteen counties of Upper Hungary. Both enjoyed wide popular support; the Thököly revolt also drew on significant Ottoman support. The Lutheran magnate Imre Thököly achieved exactly the outcome that Hungarian emissaries had proposed to Grand Vizier Ahmed Köprülü but failed to obtain: an Ottoman protectorate over Upper Hungary, an appointment charter (*berât*) from Sultan Mehmed IV proclaiming Thököly prince of Hungary, and an Ottoman military campaign against Vienna.[8] These developments would have been inconceivable without the thirteen counties' longstanding quest for Ottoman protection and their connections with the Ottoman world.

Similar to the revolts of the 1670s, defense of the Protestant religion against the brutal Counter-Reformation of the Habsburg regime was a principal driving force behind the Rákóczi revolt. Violence against missionaries and Catholic priests was widespread, as it was during the 1672 revolt.[9] The con-

tinuity in the personnel surrounding Rákóczi is striking: many of the leading figures were Calvinist and Lutheran nobles, often from the same clans (e.g., Keczer, Kende, Szepessy, and Szirmay) that had orchestrated the 1670 and 1672 revolts.[10] It is no coincidence that many of them sought refuge in the Ottoman Empire after the revolt collapsed in 1711: they followed in the footsteps of the Hungarian exiles who had fled to Ottoman territory in the early 1670s.

The aspirations of the ordinary men and women who flocked to Rákóczi still remain poorly studied, as pointed out by the eminent Hungarian historian István György Tóth. There is also a great need to further investigate the popular dimensions of the Thököly revolt. Existing studies focus almost exclusively on the person of Thököly and the Hungarian aristocratic elite, while paying little if any attention to pro-Ottoman attitudes among rank-and-file nobles and commoners.[11]

Third, historians should turn to the Ottoman archives for further study of the Hungarian-Ottoman nexus during the Köprülü years. Did any of the petitions, appeals, and memoranda that Hungarian emissaries presented to Köprülü survive in the archives? What happened to the long lists they presented with the names, signatures, and seals of Hungarian nobles eager to become Ottoman subjects? And what about the so-called letters of credence (*Creditivschreiben*) in which entire counties vowed their loyalty to the sultan?[12] Similar questions can be asked about the letters and notes that Hungarians exchanged with border commanders, the vizier of Buda and the pashas of Uyvar, Eger, and Varad. Furthermore, it would be important to study the Ottoman tax registers (*defterler*), especially those of Eger and Varad provinces that remain much less studied than those of Uyvar province.[13] How far did the Ottomans actually advance inside Habsburg Hungary? Were Habsburg fears of a deep Ottoman penetration all the way to the Moravian and Polish borders justified?

Of particular interest would be archival documents that shed further light on Köprülü's intentions vis-à-vis Hungary. Such documents, if found in Ottoman archives, could answer some questions that the data I gleaned from the Habsburg and Hungarian archives do not illuminate. For example, what exactly did Köprülü think about the unfinished agenda of Süleyman the Magnificent to seize Vienna? When and why did he make the decision to invade Poland rather than Hungary? And finally, how well informed was Köprülü about the miserable state of the Hungarian border defense system? It would be helpful to know what kind of information he received from the secret

agents he dispatched across the Habsburg border into the Hungarian hinterlands, or from the Ottoman spies who eavesdropped on meetings of the Aulic War Council.

In this context, one might ask to what extent Köprülü's decision to invade Poland instead of Habsburg Hungary could be attributed to the ineffectiveness of Hungarian lobbying. The Ukrainian Cossacks were more successful than the Hungarians in garnering Ottoman support. Were the Ukrainians more persuasive lobbyists?[14] During the years before the outbreak of war with Poland, it appears that Ukrainian emissaries were more frequent visitors at Köprülü's court than the Hungarians. Unlike the Hungarians, the Ukrainians succeeded in procuring the sultan's written commitment of protection: a June 1669 appointment charter to Hetman Petro Doroshenko declared all of Ukraine an Ottoman province. On the other hand, Grand Vizier Ahmed Köprülü was renowned as a brilliant geopolitical strategist, admired by many foreign observers. Can we assume he was influenced by either Hungarian or Ukrainian lobbyists? We need to consider that Köprülü's authority at the Porte was unrivalled and "greater than that of any of his predecessors," as one Ottoman historian recently observed.[15] From the perspectives of the Habsburg imperial residents, the attack on Poland resulted from a calculated decision by Köprülü to neutralize Polish and Russian armies in the Porte's Black Sea hinterlands before moving against the Habsburg Empire.

Finally, it would be informative to study the interconnectedness of the Ottoman-Habsburg conflict over Hungary with other crisis zones in Europe, Asia, and Africa. Habsburg policymakers believed that Köprülü's invasion of Hungary was unlikely as long as the Ottomans were engaged elsewhere. Diplomats and spies therefore closely followed Ottoman military deployments in the Mediterranean, the Persian borderlands, the Arab Peninsula and Egypt, the Black Sea region, Poland, and Ukraine. Both the Aulic War Council and the Habsburg court regularly discussed their reports. One wonders to what extent the Habsburg court tried to promote conflicts in other parts of the world to deflect the Ottomans from Hungary. We know, for example, that Habsburg diplomats tried to undermine Ottoman peace negotiations with Venice and Poland. The ebb and flow of local tensions in the Hungarian borderlands were interconnected with crises in many other places.

Under Grand Vizier Ahmed Köprülü, the Ottoman Empire stood poised to win in the long-standing conflict with the Habsburg Empire. Ottoman initiatives set the parameters of an increasingly warlike confrontation that left

the Habsburgs fumbling with haphazard and improvised countermeasures. The Habsburg court never found an effective solution to the crisis of authority that emerged in Hungary; increasingly, the Ottomans stepped in to fill the resulting power vacuum. The omnipresent image of triumphant Habsburg troops marching into Ottoman Hungary after the 1683 siege of Vienna has obfuscated the reverse historical possibility, namely the triumphant march of Ottoman troops into Habsburg Hungary in the early 1670s. The Köprülü era profoundly impacted Hungary and Central Europe, transforming the balance of power between Christendom and Islam. It is time to reinsert this forgotten era back into the historical record.

Abbreviations

AFA ÖStA KA, Alte Feldakten, Hauptreihe Akten

AÖG *Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte*

BEK Budapesti Egyetemi Könyvtár, Budapest

Bethlen János Bethlen, *Az Erdélyi történelem négy könyve, amely tartalmazza fejedelmeinek cselekedeteit 1629-től 1673-ig*, translated and edited by József Jankovics and Judit Nyerges (Budapest: Balassi, 1993).

Bruyninx NA, Algemeen Rijksarchief, Erste Afdeling, Archief Gerard Hamel Bruyninx, Bestanddeel 5–7, Register van uitgaande Brieven (1670–5)

cs. csomo [bundle of documents]

EKPES MNL OL Filmtár, X493, Egri Káptalan Hiteleshelyi Levéltára, Protocolla extraserialia

EKPS MNL OL Filmtár, X492, Egri Káptalan Hiteleshelyi Levéltára, Protocolla serialia

EOE Sándor Szilágyi, ed., *Monumenta Comitialia Regni Transylvaniae/Erdélyi Országgyűlési Emlékek*, vols. 14–15 of *Monumenta Hungariae Historica/Magyar Történelmi Emlékek*, 3rd series (Budapest: M.T. Akadémia, 1889–92).

EPL AEV MNL OL Filmtár, X721, Esztergomi Primási Levéltár, Archivum Ecclesiasticum Vetus

Exp. Prot. ÖStA KA HKR, Protokolle Register, Expedit-Protokolle

fasc. fasciculus

FHKA ÖStA, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv

Fiedler Joseph Fiedler, ed., *Die Relationen der Botschafter Venedigs über Deutschland und Österreich im siebzehnten Jahrhundert* (vol. 2), vol. 27 of *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum. Österreichische Geschichtsquellen*, sectio 2, *Diplomataria et Acta* (Vienna: Kaiserlich-Königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1867).

Gergely Sámuel Gergely, ed., *Teleki Mihály levelezése. A Római Szent Birodalmi Gróf Széki Teleki család oklevéltára*, vols. 3–7, commissioned by A

Magyar Történelmi Társulat (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1907–16).

Hain Gáspár Hain, *Szepességi vagy lőcsei krónika (Zipserische oder Leütschaverische Chronik vndt Zeitbeschreibung)*, edited by Jeromos Bal, Jenő Förster, and Aurél Kauffmann (Lőcse: A Szepesmegyei Történelmi Társulat, 1910–13).

HFU ÖStA FHKA, Hoffinanz Ungarn, Akten

HHStA ÖStA, Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv

HKR Wiener Hofkriegsrat [Aulic War Council]

Hungarica ÖStA HHStA, Hungarica (Ungarische Akten)

KA ÖStA, Kriegsarchiv

Katona István Katona, *Historia critica regum Hungariae*, 42 vols (Pest: I.M. Weingand and I.G. Koepf, 1779–1817).

MIÖG Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung

MK Magyar Kamara (Ungarische Kammer) [Hungarian Chamber]

MNL OL Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Budapest

MNM Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum [Hungarian National Museum], Budapest

NA Nationaal Archief, The Hague

NRA MNL OL Filmtár, X22 (E148), Neo-Regestrata Acta

ÖNB Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna

ÖStA Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Vienna

OSZK Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest

OT Ottoman Turkish

Óváry Lipót Óváry, comp., *A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia történelmi bizottságának oklevél-másolatai*, vol. 3 (Budapest: MTA Történelmi Bizottság, 1901).

Pauler Gyula Pauler, *Wesselényi Ferencz nádor és társainak összeesküvése 1664–1671*, vols. 1–2 (Budapest: M.T. Akadémia, 1876).

Rački Franjo Rački, comp., *Acta coniurationem Bani Petri a Zrinio et Comitis Francisci Frangepani illustrantia* (Zagreb: Typis Caroli Albrecht, 1873).

Reg. Prot. ÖStA KA HKR, Protokolle Register, Registratur-Protokolle

RMK OSZK, Manuscript Repository, Régi Magyar Könyvtár

Rom Romanian

Szabó István Szabó, "Protestáns egyháztörténeti adatok az 1670–1681 évekből a bécsi hadilevéltárból," *Egyháztörténet*, n.s., 1 (1958), pts. 2–3: 203–30, nos. 1–125; 2 (1959), pts. 1–2: 132–74, nos. 126–284; pts. 3–4: 301–70, nos. 285–561.

t. tétel [parcel, batch]

TK Történelmi Képcsarnok [Historical Picture Gallery], Budapest

TMAO Áron Szilády and Sándor Szilágy, eds., *Török-magyarkori államokmánytár*, vols. 4–5 (Pest: Ferdinánd Eggenberger, 1870–1).

Turcica I. ÖStA HHStA, Turcica (Türkei I.)

Ukr Ukrainian

Vanyó Tihamér Aladár Vanyó, ed., *A Bécsi nunciusok jelentései Magyarországról 1666–1683/Relationes Nuntiorum Apostolicorum Vindobonensium de Regno Hungariae 1666–*

1683 (Pannonhalma: Pannonhalmi Főiskola, 1935).

ZK Zipser Kammer (Szepesi Kamara) [Chamber of Zips]

Glossaries

GLOSSARY 1: PLACE NAMES

Hungarian	German	Slovak	Latin	Ottoman Turkish	Other
Ágostháza	Welbach (Eulenbach)	Welbachý(Bystrany)			
Bártfa	Bartfeld	Bardejov	Bartpha		
Besztercebánya	Neusohl	Banská Bystrica	Novum Zolium	Nevsôl	
Breznóbánya	Briesen	Brezno			
Csütörtökhely	Donnersmarkt	Spišský Štvrtok	Quintoforum		
Dobsina	Topschau(Dobschau)	Dobšiná	Dobschinium		
Eger	Erlau	Jáger	Agria	Eğri	
Eperjes	Eperies (Preschau)	Prešov	Eperiesinum		Priashiv (Ukr)
Érsekújvár (Újvár)	Neuhäusel (Neiheisel)	Nové Zámky	Novum Castellum	Uyvar	
Felka	Fölk (Völk)	Veľká (Welka)			
Felsőbánya	Mittelstadt		Mons Medius		Baia Sprie (Rom)
Galgóc	Freistadt(Freistadtl)	Hlohovec	Galgocium(Eleutheropolis)		
Gölnic(Gölnicbánya)	Gölnitz	Gelnica			
Gúta	Gutta	Kolárovo		Guta	
Győr	Raab	Ráb	Jaurinum	Yanık (Yanuk)	
Gyulafehérvár	Weissenburg		Alba-Julia		Alba Iulia (Rom)
Jolsva	Jelschau (Eltsch)	Jelšava(Jelssawa)	Alnovia		
Kálló (Nagykálló)	Kalo		Calo	Kalo	
Kanizsa (Nagykanizsa)	Grosz-Kanischa	VeľkáKaniža	Canisa	Kanije	Velika-Kanisa (Croat)
Károly (Nagykároly)	Karol (Grosskarol)				Carei (Rom)
Kassa	Kaschau	Košice	Cassovia	Kaşa	

Késmárk	Käsmarkt (Kaisersmarkt)	Kežmarok	Caesareoforum (Caseoforum)		
Kisszeben	Zeben	Sabinov	Cibinium		
Komárom	Komorn	Komárno	Comaromium	Komârân	
Korompa	Krompach (Krombach)	Krompachy			
Korpona	Karpfen	Krupina	Carpona		
Körmöcbánya	Kremnitz	Kremnica	Cremnicium		
Lelesz	Lelsdorf	Leles			Lelese (Rom)
Léva	Lewenz	Levice	Leva	Leve	
Lőcse	Leutschau	Levoča	Leucsovia		
Medgyes (Aranyosmeggyes)					Medieşu Aurit (Rom)
Mecenzéf	Metzenseifen	Medzev			
Munkács	Munkatsch	Munkáč	Munkatsium		Mukacsevo (Ukr)
Murány		Murá	Muran	Mûrân	
Nagybánya	Neustadt(Frauenbach)		Rivulus Dominarum		Baia Mare (Rom)
Nagysáros	Gross-Scharosch	Veľký Šariš			
Nagyszombat	Tyrnau	Trnava	Tyrnavia		
Nagy-Szőlős					Vinohragyi (Ukr)Seleuşu Mare (Rom)
Nyitra	Neutra	Nitra	Nitria	Nitre	
Pozsony	Pressburg	Bratislava	Posonium	Pôjôn	
Rimaszombat	Gross-Steffelsdorf	Rimavská Sobota	Villa Stephani (Stephanopolis)		
Rozsnyó	Rosenau	Rožňava	Rosnavia		
Selmecbánya	Schemnitz	Banská Štiavnica	Schemnicium(Selmicium)		

Hungarian	German	Slovak	Latin	Ottoman Turkish	Other
Szatmár (Szatmárnémeti)	Sathmar		Szatmarinum	Çakmâr	Satu Mare (Rom)
Székesfehérvár	Stuhlweissenburg	Stoličný Belehrad	Alba Regia	Stolni Belgrad	Stolni Biograd (Croat)
Szepesolaszi	Wallendorf	Spišské Vlachy	Villa Latina		
Szenice	Senitz	Senica			
Szomolnok	Schmölnitz	Smolník	Smelnicium		
Temesvár	Temeschwar (Temeschburg)		Temesvarinum	Tımışvâr(Temeşvar)	Timişoara (Rom)
Trencsén	Trentschin (Trentsin)	Trenčín	Trentsinium		
Ungvár (Unghvár)	Ungwar		Ungvarinum		Uzshorod (Ukr)
Várad (Nagyvárad)	Wardein (Grosswardein)	Veľký Varadín	Varadinum	Varad (Vârât)	Oradea (Rom)

GLOSSARY 2: OTTOMAN FORTRESSES

This glossary draws on data compiled by Hegyi, "Ottoman Network of Fortresses." The names of fortresses are arranged in descending order of size and importance within each of the Ottoman *vilayets*. All of these Ottoman fortresses are depicted on map 1; only the Ottoman fortresses within Royal Hungary are included on map 2. Alternate linguistic variants are listed here for names that do not appear in the glossary of place names. County locations are listed for fortresses in Royal Hungary, but not for fortresses located in Ottoman Hungary.

Vilayet	Fortress	Alternate Name(s)	County in Royal Hungary
Buda			
	Buda	Budun (OT)	
	Nógrád	Novigrad (OT) Novohrad (Slovak)	Nógrád
	Szécsény	Seçen (OT) Sečany (Slovak)	Nógrád
	Esztergom	Estergon (OT) Gran (German) Strigonium (Latin)	
	Székesfehérvár		
	Palota	Polata (OT)	Veszprém
	Csóka	Çoka (OT)	
	Vác	Vaç (OT)	
	Zsámbék	Canbek (OT)	
Eger			
	Eger		Heves
	Hatvan		Heves
	Szolnok	Solnok (OT)	
	Heves	Heveş (OT)	Heves
	Cserép	Çerep (OT)	Borsod
	Sirok	Şiroka (OT)	Heves
	Szarvaskő	Sarvaşka (OT)	Heves
Kanizsa			
	Kanizsa		Zala
	Szigetvár	Sigetvar (OT)	
	Kaposvár	Kapoşvar (OT)	

Vilayet	Fortress	Alternate Name(s)	County in Royal Hungary
Temesvár			
	Jenő	Yanova (OT)	
		Ineu (Rom)	
	Temesvár		
Uyvar			
	Uyvar		Nyitra
	Surány	Şuran (OT)	Nyitra
		Šurany (Slovak)	
	Komjáti	Gradişka (OT)	Nyitra
		Komjatice (Slovak)	
Varad			
	Varad		
	Szentjobb	Senk'ob (OT)	
		Sâniob (Rom)	
	Belényes	Balanoş (OT)	
		Beiuş (Rom)	
	Sólyomkő	Şolongi (OT)	
		Şoimi (Rom)	

GLOSSARY 3: OTTOMAN TRIBUTARY TOWNS AND VILLAGE CLUSTERS

This glossary draws on data I collected during the research for this book. Data on Bars and Nyitra counties were supplemented with evidence cited in Kopčan, "Osmanische Provinz Nové Zámky."

During the Köprülü era, an increasing number of towns and villages in Royal Hungary received or requested "letters of submission" (*Huldigungsbriefe*) from Hungarian pashas, the beğ of Nógrád, or the vizier of Buda. In return for submission to the authority of the sultan and payment of tributary taxes, these towns and villages were promised Ottoman protection.

Evidence cited throughout this book indicates that tributary villages were located in clusters, as illustrated on map 1. These villages were often found in the hinterlands of major fortresses – not only Ottoman, but interestingly, also Habsburg fortresses. This glossary is not exhaustive. Nevertheless, it serves to demonstrate the significant level of Ottoman expansion into Royal Hungary by the year 1675.

County	Name of Town (Alternate Names)	Location of Village Cluster
Abaúj		
	Enyicke (Haniska, Kassa district)	Hinterlands of Kassa
	Szikszó (Siktz, Siksava)	Szikszó district, southern Abaúj County
Bars		
	Újbánya (Königsberg, Nová Baňa)	Hinterlands of Újbánya
		Hinterlands of Lewenz Fortress
		Between Nyitra and Garam rivers (unspecified location)
		Oszlány (Oslany) district, northwestern Bars County
Borsod		
	Miskolc	
		Most of Borsod County paid tribute
		Hinterlands of Ónod Fortress
		Hinterlands of Szendrő Fortress
Gömör		
	Jolsva	
	Rimaszombat	
	Rozsnyó	
	Topschau (Dobsina)	
		Most of Gömör County paid tribute
		Hinterlands of Murány Castle
Heves		
	Poroszló	
		Most of Heves County paid tribute
Hont		
	Schemnitz [likely]	Hinterlands of Schemnitz
	Szebelléb (Sebechleby)	
		Hinterlands of Korpona
Komárom		
	Gesztes (Hostice)	Gesztes district
	Mocsa	
	Szőny	
		Csallóköz district, opposite Uyvar

County	Name of Town (Alternate Names)	Location of Village Cluster
Nógrád		
	Divény Castle [likely]	Hinterlands of Divény (Divín)
	Losonc (Lučenec) [likely]	
		Most of Nógrád County paid tribute
Nyitra		
	Bilice (Gross-Bilitz, Nagybélic)	
	Freistadt (Galgóc)	
	Nyitra [likely]	
	Nyitrazsámbokrét (Žabokreky nad Nitrou)	Nyitrazsámbokrét district, northeastern Nyitra County
	Senica [likely]	
	Tapolcsány (Topoľčany, northeastern Nyitra County)	Tapolcsány district
		Hinterlands of Leopoldstadt (Lipótvár, Leopoldov)
		Hinterlands of Neutra Fortress
		Hinterlands of Sempte (Šintava, Schinta) Fortress
Pozsony		
		Hinterlands of Pozsony
		Nagyszombat (Trnava) district, near Sempte
		Galánta (Galanta) district
Szabolcs		
	Nyírbátor	
		Hinterlands of Kálló Fortress
		Hinterlands of Kisvárda Fortress
Szatmár		
	Erdőd	Erdőd district
	Károly	Károly district
		Csenger district
		Szatmár district
Trencsén		
		"To the border of the province of Moravia" [unspecified location]
		Hinterlands of Trencsén

County	Name of Town (Alternate Names)	Location of Village Cluster
Veszprém		
		Many parts of Veszprém County paid tribute
		Hinterlands of Veszprém Fortress
Zala		
	Kiskomárom	
	Pölöske	
		Many parts of Zala County paid tribute
		Kanizsa district
		Pacsaj district
Zemplén		
		Bodrogköz district
		Gálszécs (Sečovce) district
		Tokaj region
Zólyom		
	Altsohl (Zólyom, Zvolen) [likely]	
	Neusohl [appeals for *Huldigung* in November 1671]	Region south of Neusohl
		Zolyom district, bordering on Hont and Nógrád counties

Notes

INTRODUCTION

1 "Ist der Göttlichen Allmacht inbrinstig [sic] zu dankhen, daß dieser große Feind der Christenheit, ehe und bevor er seine wider Ungarn und Oesterreich täglich meditierte Raach vorgenomben, untergangen" (Turcica I. 147/2, fol. 122v). Kindsberg (1638–78) served as Habsburg resident at the Porte from June 1672 until his death. We know almost nothing about his background or qualifications, except that he was a native of Graz and the son of a high-ranking Inner Austrian official (*Hofkammerrat*). His many detailed reports are indispensable for studying the last years of Ahmed Köprülü's grand vizierate. Cf. Peez, "Johann Christoph von Kindsperg." Contrary to the spelling suggested by Peez I have consistently found "Kindsberg" in archival documents.

2 On the treaty, see Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, 148–9, 515–27. On the state of panic, see Fiedler, 193; Levinson, "Nuntiaturberichte Teil II," 686–7, no. 200 (8 November 1676), p. 687 ("Der unvorteilhafte Frieden hat hier sehr beunruhigt"); no. 201 (15 November 1676) on Court Chancellor Hocher's request of 50,000 ducats from the pope to help secure Hungary.

3 Turcica I. 147/1, fols. 36–8v, Kindsberg to HKR (18–19 January 1676). For information about the Habsburg attack on Debrecen and the Ottomans' growing readiness for war in Hungary, see chapter 8.

4 KA Reg. Prot. 1676, fol. 5, no. 4, HKR to General Strassoldo (2, 18 December) ("Ob von dess Gross Vesirs Todt nichts zu vernemben seye"); Exp. Prot. 1676, fol. 864v, no. 88, Strassoldo to HKR (11 December) on rumours circulating in Upper Hungary that Köprülü had died. According to sources reporting from Warsaw, it was only Köprülü's death that prevented war against Austria, in Angyal, *Thököly*, 1: 134–5.

5 Hungarica, fasc. 326, Konvolut A (hereafter Hungarica 326 A), fols. 65, 68; Angyal, *Thököly*, 1: 136; Gergely 7, no. 224, Apafi to Teleki (25 November 1676);

no. 229, Teleki to György Kapy (28 November 1676); no. 232, Teleki to Hungarian troops (December 1676, n.d.), p. 319; Gergely, "Thököly Imre és a Franczia diplomatia," 343-6 (three letters by a confidant of Imre Thököly, December 1676). See, for example, ibid., 344 ("Insperatus supremi visirii interitus et suspecta novi et infensi substitutio … non sine luctu et conturbatione omnium").

6 Vanyó, no. 126 (31 January 1677) estimated that 1,500 returned. But ibid., p. 75n4 (report dated 14 February 1677) reduced the number to 1,200; Szabó, no. 427 (22 November 1676); no. 431 (17 December 1676–4 January 1677); no. 433, HKR to Archbishop Szelepcsényi (24 January 1677) speculating that 3,000–4,000 rebel soldiers could now be lured into joining the imperial army.

7 Cf. Tóth, *Saint-Gotthard 1664*, chapter 6. For the assumption that Ottoman power was significantly weakened, see Spielmann, *Leopold I*, 95; Redlich, *Weltmacht des Barock*, 236. On disengagement, see Nagy, "A magyarországi Habsburg-uralom," esp. 10; Bérenger, *Léopold I^er^*, 277–8.

8 Cf. Stoye, *Siege of Vienna*; Barker, *Double Eagle and Crescent*; Hochedlinger, *Austria's Wars of Emergence*; Millar and Dennis, *Vienna 1683*; Sachslehner, *Wien anno 1683*. For a survey of the scholarly literature, see Abrahamowicz et al., *Türkenkriege*, esp. 35–44.

9 See, for example, Wheatcroft, *Enemy at the Gate*; Roy and Tóth, *La défaite ottomane*; Szakály, *Hungaria Eliberata*; Ackerl, *Von Türken belagert*; Fenyvesi, *Buda visszavívása 1686*; R. Várkony, *Buda visszavívása 1686*; Köpeczi and Tarnia, *Laurus Austriaco-Hungarica*; Acsády, *Befreiungskrieg*.

10 On this triumphalism, see Goloubeva, *Glorification of Emperor Leopold I*, 133–41.

11 R. Várkony, *Török világ es magyar külpolitika*, 78–9; eadem, *Magyarország keresztútjain*, 221; Tóth, *Concise History*, 222–3; idem, "Alternatives in Hungarian History," esp. 176 ("[Ottoman rule] would have led Hungary down a path similar to that of the Balkan countries"); Molnár, *Concise History*, 130 ("The fact remains that a Hungary under perennial Ottoman domination in Europe is hard to imagine … Common sense dictated that Hungary's interests lay … with the Habsburgs and with Europe").

12 Esze, "Bársony György 'Veritas'-a" ("A totális ellenreformáció harci riadója"), 675.

13 Cf. Spannenberger und Varga, *Raum im Wandel*; Born and Jagodzinski, *Türkenkriege und Adelskultur*; Born and Puth, *Osmanischer Orient*. Cf. my review in *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas / jgo.e-reviews*, no. 1 (2017): 12–14.

14 Born and Jagodzinski, *Türkenkriege und Adelskultur*, 23, 171 (Karl Vocelka and Hajnalka Tóth on deep-seated popular animosity towards the Turks and "public opinion" calling for their annihilation); Mihalik, "Turkismus und Gegenreformation," esp. 324 (asserting that all of Hungarian society perceived the Ottomans as the archenemy). Cf. Fichtner, *Terror and Toleration*, 12 ("Aristocrat, well-to-do burgher, artisan and peasant in the Habsburg lands all had some

preformed idea of the fearsome Turk and what to expect from him. They also had well-developed convictions of the worthlessness of Islam"). For the dominant anti-Ottoman stereotypes of the period, see Wrede, *Das Reich und seine Feinde*, 87–104, 110–24; Grothaus, "Türkenbild in der Adels- und Volkskultur," esp. 64–9.

15 Czigány, *Reform vagy Kudarc?*, 224; Tracy, "Habsburg Monarchy in Conflict"; Berend, "Violence as Identity."

16 Rothman, *Brokering Empire*; Graf, *Sultan's Renegades*; Khodarkovsky, *Bitter Choices*; Krstić, *Contested Conversions*. On the fluidity of borderland geographies, see Brummett, *Mapping the Ottomans*.

17 Bracewell, "Historiography of the Triplex Confinium," 211–28; eadem, *Uskoks of Senj*; Roksandić, *Microhistory*.

18 Goffmann, *Ottoman Empire*, esp. 5 (citing Edward Said).

19 On the political distortions of the Ottoman past in Central Europe, see Feichtinger and Heiss, *Der erinnerte Feind*.

20 Evans, *Making of the Habsburg Monarchy*, 240.

21 Ammerer et al., *Bündnispartner*; Géza Pálffy, *A Magyar Királyság*; Bahlcke, *Ungarischer Episkopat*; Catalano, *La Boemia*; Mat'a and Winkelbauer, *Habsburgermonarchie*; Keller et al., *Adel und Religion*.

22 Péter reconstructed the behaviour and religious mindset of ordinary people in a series of microhistories; Čechura studied the popular revolts that shook the Bohemian lands in 1680; and Sander-Faes looked at the effects of harsh war taxation on ordinary people during the early 1700s. Cf. Péter, "Way from the Church of the Priest"; eadem, "Cselekedetek és eszmék"; Čechura, "Quellen"; Sander-Faes, "Herrschaft und Staatlichkeit," esp. chapter 6.

23 Muir and Ruggiero, *Microhistory*, x; Ginzburg, *Cheese and Worms*; Davis, *Society and Culture*.

24 See the groundbreaking work of Benczédi cited in the historiography section below. Cf. Benda, *Habsburg abszolutizmus*; Bérenger, *Les "gravamina"*. See also Pálffy, "Zentralisierung"; Dominkovits, "Ungarisches Komitat."

25 Goloubeva, *Glorification of Emperor Leopold I*, 130–2. The pamphlet literature generated by the Vasvár Peace treaty was muted by comparison, in Schumann, *Die andere Sonne*, 114–15.

26 Cf. Hammer, *Geschichte*, 6: 325–33. Based on Ottoman chroniclers and other literary accounts, Mark D. Baer described Köprülü as a religious warrior "incited by [his] piety to wage both the jihad of personal moral transformation and the jihad of military campaign," in his *Honored by the Glory of Islam*, 7 (quote), 99, 147–8, 153–5, 158–9.

27 Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, vol. 3, pt. 1, 410–38; Yücel and Sevim, *Türkiye tarihi*, 3: 160–71; Gökbilgin, "Köprülü."

28 Refik Altınay, *Köprülüler*; Çabuk, *Köprülüler* (2015); idem, *Köprülüler* (1988).

29 Kolçak, "XVII. yüzyil Osmanlı-Habsburg diplomasi"; Calişir, "Virtuous Grand Vizier," esp. chapter 4; Inbaşı, *Ukrayna'da Osmanlılar*; Aydin, *Zayif Mustafa bin Musa tarih-i* ; Yılmaz, "Grand Vizieral Authority Revisited," 25–30.

30 Olnon, "*Brought under the Law of the Land*", 291–300, esp. 298. I thank one of the manuscript reviewers for calling my attention to this important study.

31 Salamon, *Ungarn im Zeitalter der Türkenherrschaft*, 359–60, 379; Dávid and Fodor, *Ottomans, Hungarians, and Habsburgs*, 170, 205; idem, "Hungarian Studies in Ottoman History."

32 Hegyi, "A Köprülü–restauráció"; Szakály, *Magyar adóztátas*, esp. 251–9; Koller, *Gesellschaft im Wandel*, 135–8, 147, 152, 155–6, 167.

33 See, for example, Kopčan, *Turecké nebezpečenstvo*; Matunak et al., *Život a boje na slovensko-tureckom pohraničí*; Blaškovič, "Türkische Urkunden."

34 Markusková, "Životné pomery," 38; Veselá, "Slovakia and Ottoman Expansion," esp. 32–4. For the pioneering work of Czech scholar Veselá, see also eadem, "Ke vztahu slovenského lidu k osmanské expanzi"; Malečková, "Zdenka Veselá-Přenosilová"; Sedmíková and Štěpánek, "Bibliography."

35 The best overview remains Redlich, *Weltmacht des Barock*, 177–238. For a good summary of the current state of research, see Winkelbauer, *Ständefreiheit und Fürstenmacht*, 1: 151–61. Cf. the silence about Ahmed Köprülü, Hungary, and the Habsburgs in Kárman and Păun, *Europe and the 'Ottoman World'*, and three other recent studies listed in note 13 above. A similar silence dominates Kárman and Kunčević, *European Tributary States*, with the exception of two contributions: Ostapchuk, "Cossack Ukraine," 139–47, and Szabó, "Splendid Isolation?," 323–4, 327–8, 336–7 (with a few general references).

36 Cf. Strohmeyer et al., *Frieden and Konfliktmanagement*, esp. 140; Kurz et al., *Osmanisches Reich und Habsburgermonarchie*. The only exception is Toma, "Friede von Eisenberg 1664."

37 Smirnov, *Rossiia i Turtsiia*, 2: 12, 39.

38 Kołodziejczyk, *Podole*, 55; idem, "Ottoman Podillja," esp. 91; Kunt, "17. yüzyılda osmanlı kuzey politikasi"; review of Kunt's essay by Omeljan Pritsak in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 2, no. 1 (1978): 134–5. Cf. Nud'ga, *Lystuvannia zaporozhtsiv*, 17; Pritsak, "Das erste türkisch-ukrainische Bündnis," 292–8.

39 Sperl et al., *Schlacht von Mogersdorf/St. Gotthard*.

40 Ágoston, "Impact"; Calişir, "Grand Vizier"; Karagöz, "Habsburgisch-Osmanischer Krieg."

41 Muhtar Paşa, *Sengotar'da Osmanlı ordusu*, 89–90; Wagner, *Türkenjahr*, esp. 209–11, 450–8.

42 Pálffy, "Origins," esp. 58; idem, "Zentralisierung," esp. 280, 298.

43 Czigány, *Reform vagy Kudarc?*, 107–48, esp. 147–8.

44 Ágoston, *Guns for the Sultan*, 12, 195, 200, 202; idem, "Impact of the Habsburg-Ottoman Wars," esp. 97; idem, "Az európai hadügyi forradalom."

45 Murphey, *Ottoman Warfare*, 191.

46 Hegyi, "Ottoman Network of Fortresses," esp. 170; eadem, "Financial Position of the *Vilayets*," esp. 82; Stein, *Guarding the Frontier*, 155.

47 Benczédi, "A török orientáció," 21. Benczédi's critique applies first and foremost to the two little-studied decades before 1683. Ágoston argued that Hungarian historians (mostly Ottomanists) who focused on earlier periods have been more balanced, in Ágoston, "Image of the Ottomans," esp. 22–3. But see the recent assessment of Pálffy, one of Hungary's eminent early modernists, in Pálffy, "Impact of Ottoman Rule," 124 ("[I]t is rather hard for the historian to find positive impacts … We can safely conclude that for Hungary Ottoman rule had been an unmitigated tragedy").

48 Cf. Heppner and Barbarics-Hermanik, *Türkenangst*, esp. 43–78; Csepegri, *A történelem peremén*, esp. 23–8, 141–80; Illik, *Metszetek a török kor mindennapjaiból*, esp. 10–40, 80–101; Kopčan and Krajčovičová, *Slovensko v tieni polmesiaca*; Kopčan, "Der letzte Abschnitt der osmanischen Herrschaft"; Moačanin, "Türkenkriege," esp. 144–53. For innovative approaches by Croat historians, see Bracewell, "Historiography"; Ivetić and Roksandić, *Tolerance and Intolerance*.

49 See a thoughtful essay on Hungarian historians' neglect of Transylvanian contacts with the Ottoman Empire, in Szabó, "Splendid Isolation?"

50 Papp, "Petition," 438.

51 Spannenberger and Varga, *Raum im Wandel*; Born and Puth, *Osmanischer Orient*; Born and Jagodzinski, *Türkenkriege und Adelskultur*, 7 (quote).

52 For typical contributions, see Born and Jagodzinski, *Türkenkriege und Adelskultur*, 287–330: Václav Bůžek on self-representations of Bohemian nobles who saw themselves at war with the Antichrist; Sabine Jagodzinski on the 100-year anniversary of Jan Sobieski's 1683 Vienna triumph; and Herbert Karner on "Turkish heads as means of symbolic representation" (318) illustrating the dehumanization of the Ottoman "other" in engravings, portraits, and medals featuring decapitated heads.

53 Stefaneć, "Negotiating with the 'Archenemy,'" esp. 87; Simon, "Flight and Submission"; Zahirović, "Familie Memibegović."

54 Cf. Pauler. This study continues to be cited as the standard work on the subject. Cf. Papp, "Szabadság vagy járom?," 646; Benczédi, *Rendiség*, 142, 154.

55 Cf. Tóth, *Concise History*, 222–3; idem, "Alternatives in Hungarian History," 177; Hanák, *One Thousand Years*, 68–9; R. Várkony, *Török világ es magyar külpolitika*, 77–8; eadem, *Magyarorság keresztútjain*, 220–1; Ágoston and Oborni, *A tizenhetedik század története*, 203–6.

56 Studies by János J. Varga and Sándor Papp also focus on elite circles. Cf. Varga, "Varianten der türkischen Orientierung"; Papp, "Szabadság vagy járom?"

57 Blaškovič, "Tradition und Aufgaben der Turkologie," esp. 58.

58 Kowalská, *Na ďalekých cestách*, 121–4.

59 Cf. Mihalik, "Turkismus und Gegenreformation," esp. 324, 336.

60 Szakály, "A gyöngyösi ispotály-per," esp. 14–15; Sugár, "A Törökösség (Turcismus) Heves varmegyében."

61 Deák, *A bujdosók levéltára*.

62 Gökbilgin, "Thököly Ímre"; Trócsányi, *Teleki*.

63 Benczédi, *Rendiség*. For an expanded version of this monograph, see Benczédi, "Rendi szervezkedés és kuruc mozgalom."

64 For an interesting assessment of the nobility's motives, see Ágoston and Oborni, *A tizenhetedik század története*, 218–20.

65 Kónya, "Protíhabsburské povstania," esp. 67–9; Ulrich, "Két jelentős hegyaljai birtokos javainak elkobzása."

66 Pauler, "A bujdosók."

67 Benczédi, *Rendiség*, 55–65; idem, "A Habsburg-abszolutizmus indítékai," esp. 541–3; idem, "A rendi anarchia," esp. 1042–4. A long series of studies of so-called anti-Habsburg liberation struggles by Hungarian (Kálman Benda, Béla Köpeczi, Ágnes R. Várkonyi, et al.) and Slovak (Michal Suchý, L'udovit Haraksim, Pavel Horváth, et al.) historians either fails to mention the 1672 revolt entirely or glosses over its significance in a few sentences (see bibliography for full titles). For notable exceptions, see Acsády, *A Magyarország története*, 306–23; Dangl, *Slovensko vo víre stavovských povstaní*, 142–5.

68 Only a few, if any, references to the 1672 revolt appear in the standard literature. See, for example, Ágoston and Oborni, *A tizenhetedik század története*, 212; Ingrao, *Habsburg Monarchy*, 70.

69 Benczédi, *Rendiség*, 55 ("Történetírásunk mind a mai napig adós … ezerarcú népi ellenállás feldolgozásával").

70 S. Varga asserts that accusations of rebellion and Turcismus were rooted in anti-Protestant stereotypes and rarely, if at all, referred to concrete events. The author presents a literary analysis and does not examine the historical context. Cf. S. Varga, *Az 1674-es gályarabper jegyzőkönyve*, 8–9, 16, 22–4, 43–4, 72, 79, 108, 113; eadem, *Vitetnek ítélőszékre*, 24, 27, 29–32.

71 Cf. Gál, *A magyarországi protestáns gályarab lelkészek utóélete*; Baron and Makkai, *Rebellion oder Religion?*, 15–22, 47–59, 75–150; Oberuc, *Les Persécutions des Luthériens*, esp. 123–42; Thury, "Adatok"; Makkai, *Galeria omnium sanctorum*; Ďurovič, *Evanjelická literatura*, 80–6; den Hollander et al., *Studiosorum et librorum peregrinatio*, 3–4, 55–73 (exhibition at Amsterdam University featuring exiled pastors' writings). On exiled pastors' efforts to fight suspicions that they were rebels, see Kowalská, "Z vlasti do exilu."

72 Ladányi, "A 'gyászévtized' történetének forrásai"; Fabiny, "Religio és rebellió."

73 On the powerful hold of these tenets, see Murdock, "Responses to Habsburg Persecution"; Makkai, "A magyar protestantizmus gyászévtizede"; Bucsay, *Protestantismus in Ungarn*, 178–89 ("Trauerjahrzehnt").

74 Fabiny, "Religio és rebellió," 149.

75 For a bibliography of Tóth's substantial oeuvre, see *Történelmi Szemle* 47, nos. 3–4 (2005): 393–409. Of particular interest are Tóth, "Hittérítés vallásszabadság nélkül"; idem, "Počiatok rekatolizácie."

76 Fazekas, *A reform útján*, esp. 187–215; idem, "Dorfgemeinde und Glaubenswechsel"; Molnár, *Lehetetlen küldetés?*, 95–146.

77 Kónya, *Prešov, Bardejov a Sabinov*, 49–64; H. Németh, "A szabad királyi városok," esp. 235, 240–1, 244; idem, "Unterdrückung oder Reform?"

78 Mihalik, "A Szepesi Kamara szerepe," esp. 272–7, 300–4; idem, *Papok, polgárok, konvertiták*, 148–51.

79 Bruckner, *Reformáció és ellenreformáció*, 270–5, 280, 282–3, 286–9, 300–18; Esze, "Bársony György 'Veritas'-a"; Vendelín, *Dejiny jezuitov*, pt. 5.

80 Pauler, 2: 315; Benczédi, "Az 1670. évi tiszavidéki felkelés," esp. 547–58. On the great value of inquisitorial sources for the study of everyday life and their neglect by scholars, see Gécsenyi, "A tanúvallatási jegyzőkönyvek," 133, 136.

81 On the importance of these and other little-studied bishopric archives, see Vanyó, "Az egyházmegyetörténetirásról," 14–18.

82 Cf. reports by an investigative commission traversing Sáros and Szepes counties in February–March 1673, in MNL OL, E254, February 1672, nos. 36, 46 (21, 24 February); March 1672, nos. 10, 22 (5, 9 March); Michels, "Az 1674. évi Pozsonyi prédikátorper történetéhez," 62–3.

83 Hungarica 293 E, fols. 123r–v, 132r–v, Puncta examinis captivorum rebellium (undated but probably from summer 1673).

84 MNL OL Filmtár, EKPS, Series Q, no. 148, fols. 375–8, Puncta interrogatoria (24 March 1673) with thirty-one questions probing into the composition of the rebel army, its actions, and supporters. On the close cooperation of secular and church officials in similar interrogations, see Gécsenyi, "A tanúvallatási jegyzőkönyvek," 133, 136.

85 The unique value of the *Protokolle des Hofkriegsrats* and the *Alte Feldakten* – and their neglect by historians – has been lucidly laid out in Pálffy, "A modern hadtörténetírás," esp. 544–5; idem, "Akten und Protokolle," esp. 186–91.

86 The ambassadors' reports compensate for the paucity of archival information about meetings at the imperial court during this period. I found a few protocols in the Hungarica and Turcica collections, but other protocols remain widely dispersed across many government agencies. Cf. Sienell, "Protokolle," esp. 124–7; idem, *Geheime Konferenz*, 58–73, 302–29.

87 Niederkorn," Berichte," esp. 102–5. For an inventory of the *Nuntiaturberichte*, see Walter Wagner, in *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 2 (1957–8): 82–203. I draw on reports by Antonio Pignatelli (1668–71), the later Pope Innocence XII; Mario Albrizzi (1671–5), and Francesco Buonvisi (1675–89), compiled in Vanyó.

88 The importance of the Venetian dispatches for understanding the inner work-

ings of the Habsburg court was emphasized by Huber, *Österreichs diplomatische Beziehungen*, 6 ("Werthvolle Notizen"); Pauler, "Magyarország 1661-ben," esp. 274. The Parmese Resident Giovanni Chiaromanni reported regularly from the Vienna court from December 1659 to October 1674, in Óváry, passim (first and last reports in ibid., nos. 1019, 2150).

89 For example, Venetian emissary M. Zorzi received the latest news concerning Upper Hungary from Nicolo Strassoldo, brother of Carolo Strassoldo. The latter was the commander of Szatmár Fortress. Cf. Rački, 66.

90 Niederkorn," Berichte," 105; Fiedler, 123–5, 134–5, 154–7, 191–4.

91 Bruyninx.

92 The French ambassador Jaques Brethel Gremonville was mostly concerned with the highest Hungarian aristocracy (esp. the magnates Péter Zrínyi and Ferenc Nádasdy) and their efforts to enlist French support, in Bogišić, *Acta*, passim. These French reports reference Upper Hungary and the Turks less frequently than the Italian and Dutch reports. I therefore cite the French reports only occasionally.

93 Bruyninx, Sect. K, fol. 1r (2 April 1671); Sect. M, fol. 5r–v (21 June 1671 not *21 January as listed). Cf. the following comment: "Het laet sich daer toe tenemael aensien, dat men met de reformatie in policie ende Kercke tegens gereformeerde ende lutherse in Ungaren sal voort varen. Godt Stercke de vrome ende waere Christenen" (ibid., Section L, fol. 2r, 7 May 1671).

94 Cf. ibid, Sect. C, fols. 6r–v (14 November 1670); Sect. F, fol. 1 (14 December 1670); Sect. H, fol. 1v (8 February 1671); Sect. O, fols. 5r, 6r (24 September; 1 October 1671); Sect. P, fol. 1 (4 October 1671); Sect. Q, fol. 3r (22 November 1671); Part A2 (no pagination), 2 October 1672.

95 Ibid., Sect. G, fols 7v–8r (18 January 1671); 8v–9r (22 January 1671), esp. 9r ("Die den Ungarsen staet ende d'interessen der Nabueren ten opsichten van dien kennen"); Sect. H, fols. 1r–v (1 February 1671), esp. 1r ("De verstandighste en die de Ungarse saecken curieus navorssen").

CHAPTER ONE

1 In addition to literature cited in the introduction, cf. Doroshenko, *Het'man Petro Doroshenko*, esp. 411–32.

2 Doroshenko and Rypka, "Hejtman Petr Doroshenko," 9–11, 13, 34–6 (with excerpts from letters by Köprülü to Doroshenko from April 1666 as well as April and June 1672); Hammer, *Geschichte*, 6: 279–81, 286–7. The Russo-Polish rapprochement of 1667 was of great concern to the Ottomans and an important precondition for the 1672 invasion of Poland (Ostapcsuk, "Cossack Ukraine," 139–40, 144–5).

3 Hammer, *Geschichte*, 6: 195–6, 198, 275–6 on the humiliating treatment of Polish and Russian emissaries at the Porte. Köprülü boasted that he could easily chase

away the Muscovite army, which according to his sources was 140,000 men strong. When the Ottomans approached, the Muscovites hastily withdrew in August 1674 without engaging in battle. This triumph was followed by decisive victories in 1675 and 1678. Cf. Woliński, "Wojna polsko-turecka," 365–6; Doroshenko, *Survey*, 301–2, 305–6; Doroshenko, *Het'man Petro Doroshenko*, 519–28; Solov'ev, *Istoriia Rossii*, 6: 479–80.

4 The Habsburg resident at the Porte was stunned by the overwhelming successes of the Ottoman army, in Turcica I. 144/2, Kindsberg (2 October 1672), fol. 4v ("Die Türken marschieren schon sieben Wochen nach belieben hin und wider in Pohln so sicher als in ihrem aigenen land"). For reports by Kindsberg on Ukraine and Muscovy, see Woliński, "Wojna polsko-turecka ," 359–60, 362–3, 365–6, 370–1 (May–September 1674).

5 Habsburg resident Simon Reniger described Mehmed Köprülü as a warmonger and placed great hopes for peace in his son. Cf. Huber, *Österreichs diplomatische Beziehungen*, 11, 15, 26, 43, 45, 48 ("Ein zwar junger, aber verständiger friedliebender Mann").

6 For a representative Hungarian interpretation of the 1663–64 war, see Tóth, *Saint-Gotthard*, esp. 108, 133 (superiority of "occidental" and "Christian" armies), dusk jacket ("victoire éclatante"). This interpretation was recently reiterated by contributors to Sperl et al., *Schlacht von Mogersdorf/St. Gotthard*.

7 Köpeczi et al., *Erdély története*, 2: 724–6, 784–6; Trócsányi, *Teleki*, 18–23; Tóth, *Concise History*, 217–20; Rylands Library, Special Collections, R82153, *Brief Accompt*, 4 ("A passage into Transylvania, Hungaria, and Poland"). On the pasha of Varad's claims to neighbouring Hungarian and Transylvanian counties, see Huber, *Österreichs diplomatische Beziehungen*, 29–30, 32, 35.

8 Reniger's repeated warnings to avoid war, in Huber, *Österreichs diplomatische Beziehungen*, 48–9, 52. Cf. reports by Commander in Chief Montecuccoli about the catastrophic state of his army, ibid., 41, 47. Like other foreign observers, Reniger greatly exaggerated the size of the Ottoman army. According to Rhoads Murphey the real number was likely between 65,000–80,000, in Murphey, *Ottoman Warfare*, 36, 41, 49. For other estimates, see note 21 below.

9 Huber, *Österreichs diplomatische Beziehungen*, 27–8, 44–5.

10 Hammer, *Geschichte*, 6: 88 (meeting with Reniger after fall of Varad); Óváry, no. 1073 (Reniger about meeting with Köprülü in February 1661). Köprülü exploded in rage, yelling: "Ihr ungläubigen Hunde, was habt Ihr mit des Sultans Land zu schaffen? Krieg! Krieg! Krieg!" (Report of 4 September 1660 cited in Huber, *Österreichs diplomatische Beziehungen*, 26). Reniger faced Köprülü's threats on other occasions as well, in ibid., 31 (late March 1661); Óváry 3, no. 1110 (3 September 1661).

11 Hammer, *Geschichte*, 6: 95–6; Huber, *Österreichs diplomatische Beziehungen*, 37–8, 41; Bethlen, 94–6. In summer 1661, 16,000 Turkish and 7,000 Tatar soldiers

broke into Transylvania and then Upper Hungary; see Óváry 3, nos. 1099–100, 1102–3, 1106 (more than 8,000 sold into slavery).

12 Hammer, *Geschichte*, 6: 97–8; Huber, *Österreichs diplomatische Beziehungen*, 47; Volkmer, *Fürstentum Siebenbürgen*, 180; Bogišić, *Acta*, 13 ("[Apafi] confirmé … comme Creature des Turcs"). On Ali Pasha, see Bethlen, 100–7; Óváry, nos. 1101, 1123. On the sultan's support for Apafi and the Porte's demand for his recognition, see ibid., nos. 1129, 1148.

13 *TMAO* 4, no. XXXIII b, 51–6, Reniger to Leopold I (28 April 1662), quotation 53; Huber, *Österreichs diplomatische Beziehungen*, 53–4 (31 May 1662).

14 *TMAO* 4: 54–5, Huber, *Österreichs diplomatische Beziehungen*, 45. On Reniger's encounter with Köprülü in October 1661, see ibid., 43–4. Mehmed Köprülü had told Reniger in March 1661 that the sultan's "honour and reputation" did not permit him to accept an outside prince "in his land" (*in seinem Land*), ibid., 31.

15 *TMAO* 4, no. XXXIII a, 50–1, Leopold to Hungarian estates (April 1662, n. d.). Cf. meeting of the Secret Conference on 20 March 1662, noting "dass die meisten Leute in den zwei Gespanschaften Szatmár und Szabolcs wie die freien Hajduken den Türken gehuldigt haben" (Huber, *Österreichs diplomatische Beziehungen*, 49).

16 Huber, ibid., 47–9, 55; Refik Altınay, *Köprülüler*, 101. Cf. also the Secret Conference's call for negotiations to avoid war (3 April 1662) ("Weil man nicht stark genug sei, einem so mächtigen Feinde zu widerstehen"), in Huber, ibid., 50. On the lack of military preparedness, paucity of money, and failure to find allies, see also Levinson, "Nuntiaturberichte Teil I," 732, no. 310 (8 April 1662); 737–9, nos. 322, 324 (17 June, 7 July 1662).

17 Cf. Hammer, *Geschichte*, 6: 106–7; Redlich, *Weltmacht des Barock*, 177–8; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi* 3, pt. 1, 411–13. On Reniger's reports, see Huber, *Österreichs diplomatische Beziehungen*, 52.

18 Hammer, *Geschichte*, 6: 95; Prokosch, *Krieg und Sieg*, 31; Refik Altınay, *Köprülüler*, 100. The chronicler emphasizes that Ahmed Köprülü was living the legacy of his father, in Prokosch, ibid., 40–1(with focus on religious endowments and the conquest of Varad). On the notion that Transylvania was the sultan's patrimony, see Óváry, no. 1106 (13 August 1661) and the early diplomatic correspondence of the younger Köprülü, in Hammer, ibid., 106–7.

19 Prokosch, *Krieg und Sieg*, 25, 31–2.

20 On Serinvár (Zrínyivár), see Huber, *Österreichs diplomatische Beziehungen*, 42, 45, 51.

21 Prokosch, *Krieg und Sieg*, 37. The number of troops remains disputed in Ottoman sources: according to the leading Ottoman chronicle (*Silâhdar tarihi*), the invasion army was as large as 150,000 (among them 50,000 Tatars); according to another chronicle (Rashid I, fol. 9) 121,600 (sic), and a third 130,000 (*Tarihi i Gilmani*). A German observer who saw the Buda parade estimated "more than

200,000" (Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi* 3, pt. 1, 412; Refik Altınay, *Köprülüler*, 103; Hammer, *Geschichte*, 6: 108–9). Two modern historians have given much smaller numbers of ca. 50,000–60,000 (Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi* 3, pt. 1, 413; Redlich, *Weltmacht des Barock*, 179). It is unclear on what basis these estimates were made. Whatever the numbers they were significantly higher than the 6,000 (sic) that Emperor Leopold was able to muster (Redlich, ibid.).

22 Fiedler, 104; Levinson, "Nuntiaturberichte Teil I," 756, no. 364 (28 July 1663) ("Türkenfurcht in Wien, Adel und Minister flüchten"). News about the panic of the Vienna court also reached Ahmed Köprülü. For fascinating details, see Prokosch, *Krieg und Sieg*, 39–40, 62–4. Commander in Chief Montecuccoli anticipated disaster: the treasury was empty, border defenses were weak, and hardly 6,000 troops were ready to fight. Cf. Jászay, *A kereszténység védőbástyája*, 209, 315.

23 Redlich, *Weltmacht des Barock*, 179–80; Hammer, *Geschichte*, 6: 115, 128 citing Turcophobic pamphlets circulating in the German Empire (e.g., *Türkengefahr, die herandringende* and *Türkentrutz und Gottes Schutz*); Levinson, "Nuntiaturberichte Teil I," 762, no. 380 (27 October 1663) ("Die Türkengefahr [wird] nach Neuhäusel immer größer").

24 Redlich, *Weltmacht des Barock*, 180–1; Hammer, *Geschichte*, 6: 118–20 (Moravia and Silesia); Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi* 3, pt. 1, 415 (the Khan's troops near Vienna); Rylands Library, Special Collections, R82153, *Brief Accompt*, 19–21.

25 Strauss, *Chronik des Isazade*, 70 ("Die Festung, auf die sie sich stützen, ist Ujvar"); Austrian and Hungarian contemporaries shared this impression, in Hammer, *Geschichte*, 6: 116–17 ("Schutzwehr Ungarns," "Bollwerk Ungarns"). For a Dutch perspective, see Rylands Library, Special Collections, R82153, *Brief Accompt*, 12–18.

26 Fiedler, 105. On the campaign's delay by heavy rains and flooding, see Rylands Library, Special Collections, R82153, *Brief Accompt*, 10, 12.

27 Strauss, *Chronik des Isazade*, 70–1; Prokosch, *Krieg und Sieg*, 47; Hammer, *Geschichte*, 6: 110.

28 On the restoration of the Habsburg army and the tide of battle in 1664, see Redlich, *Weltmacht des Barock*, 182–91. By July 1664 the Ottoman army was within striking distance of Sopron, Wiener-Neustadt, and Vienna, and Leopold I stood poised to flee to Linz or Prague: in Levinson, "Nuntiaturberichte Teil I," 773–4, nos. 409, 411, 412–13 (19 and 26 July; 9 August 1664). The Szentgotthárd victory seemed like a divine miracle: ibid., 774–5, nos. 413–14 (9, 16 August 1664).

29 Cited in Wagner, "Wiener Hof," 88–9. Cf. also another alleged statement to German princes recorded by the archivist Cornelius: "Ne mora instauratis inimicorum viribus, elabatur honestae pacis occasio" (Katona, 33: 580).

30 Wagner, *Türkenjahr*, 447–58; Prokosch, *Krieg und Sieg*, 224–5 (quote similar to "seidenen Faden" speech), 442 (on Köprülü's march north and the arrival of

reinforcements from Asia); Levinson, "Nuntiaturberichte Teil I," 792, no. 450, Gründe des Kaisers für den Frieden mit Türken (5 November 1665), with emphasis on lack of money and reliable allies. But the Transylvanian emissary László Baló, who claimed he was an eyewitness, told a different story: Köprülü withdrew in shame to his tent and others remobilized the Turkish army, Bethlen, 235.

31 Sperl et al., *Schlacht von Mogersdorf/St. Gotthard*, 13–14 (citing Hammer), 16–20. It is perplexing that the volume praises Wagner for having produced "an absolutely essential reference work" (17) and a "solid source critical work" (388) but never engages with his archival discoveries. Wagner's voluminous monograph is indeed "difficult to read" (442), but this is hardly a reason to ignore the plethora of data that contradict the dominant view. Cf. a similar dismissal of Nottebohm's work (ibid. 387).

32 Wagner, *Türkenjahr*, 209–11, 450–8; Muhtar Paşa, *Sengotar'da Osmanlı ordusu*, esp. 89–90; Nottebohm, *Montecuccoli*, esp. 5–6, 23–24. Cf. Calişir, "Grand Vizier," on the silence of Ottoman chroniclers ("Some of the contemporary authors did not even mention the battle in their works," 211). For other critical questions about the dominant paradigm, see Ágoston, "Impact" and Karagöz, "Habsburgisch-Osmanischer Krieg."

33 Hammer, *Geschichte*, 6: 134–5 (conquest of Serinvár, Kiskomárom, Beleske [Peleske, Pölöske] and several other smaller fortresses), 138–9, 144.

34 Wagner, *Türkenjahr*, 441. During a desperate meeting in the Hofburg to consider possibilities for reconquering Uyvar it became obvious that the Habsburg army was in no position to do so: masses of soldiers, both infantry and cavalry, were "miserable and in a state of disintegration" (*zerrissen*), while Köprülü had just received 14,000 fresh troops. In a letter to the emperor dated 8 September 1664 Montecuccoli noted that the imperial army was suffering from irreparable difficulties (ibid., 442–3).

35 Fiedler, 102.

36 Ibid., 103–4.

37 Ibid., 108–9. Sagredo also observed that in the Porte's view the vast and fertile plains of Transylvania and Hungary would be preferable to the "sterile deserts of Persia" (ibid., 112). According to the German electors, the loss of Transylvania greatly increased the dangers for the German Empire; see Óváry, no. 1140, Letter to Emperor Leopold (summarized by Chiaromanni, 24 December 1661).

38 Fiedler, 108–9, 111.

39 Kopčan, "Osmanische Provinz Nové Zámky," 153–4. Only one of these fortresses, Leopoldstadt, had been authorized by the Vasvár Treaty (Wagner, *Türkenjahr*, 440, Artikel 8). I disagree with Kopčan's finding that the Uyvar garrison comprised only 300 men in September 1668 (which he based on the dubious

testimonies of two defectors). Spies of the Aulic War Council reported a full-strength garrison of 3,000–4,000 Janissaries and *sipahis*, in KA AFA 1667, fasc. 13, Memoires … des Generalleutnants Grafen Raimund Montecuccoli, no. 1, Meeting of Gonzaga, Montecuccoli et al. (31 August 1667), fol. 1v.

40 Vanyó, nos. 6, 9, 17, 20, 30, 47. In November 1666 the Venetian ambassador expressed gratitude that the Habsburg court considered strengthening border posts "that are most important to the security of Italy" (Vanyó, no. 47). Cf. Rački, no. 3, p. 8 ("La facilitá con que Turchi possono passar in Friuli").

41 For a German translation of the Latin and Turkish originals, see Wagner, *Türkenjahr*, 440–1. A copy of the Latin text is found in MNL OL, E143, doboz 3, fasc. 11, no. 1, fols. 1r–v, 7. Article 6 recognized the demolition of Zrínyivár while article 10 arranged for the exchange of ceremonial delegations and committed Vienna to "a voluntary present of 200,000 Gulden as a token of friendship."

42 On the opening up of vast undefended territories to the Ottomans, see the astute observations of the Venetian diplomat Battista Nani in Jászay, *A kereszténység védőbástyája*, 187, 211, 313.

43 The Árva Diet meeting occurred in response to a letter from Nyitra County in the late 1660s, in NRA, fasc. 517, no. 8, fols. 94, 96; similarly Liptó County, ibid., fol. 98. On Polish intentions and fears, see Gergely, no. 308, p. 416 (21 February 1665); Davis, *God's Playground*, 1: 486. Cf. late-sixteenth-century blueprints for *timar* holdings in Szepes County, in Hegyi, "Aranyásó szpáhik," 109.

44 Kopčan, "Osmanische Provinz Nové Zámky," 149–50; Fekete, "A berlini és drezdai gyűjtemények," 299; Ethey, *Vágvölgyi krónika*, 182. Cf. Blaškovič and Kopčan, "Türkische Briefe und Urkunden," esp. 144–5; Pauler and Pesty, "A lőcsei bizottság jelentése," 528.

45 Blaškovič, "Ziemie lenne namiestnika Nowych Zamków," esp. 84. A later article by the same author identified 788 taxable settlements, in Blaškovič, "Köprülüzáde Ahmed pasa nagyvezír," 35.

46 Ibid., 35–7.

47 Gergely 3, no. 267, Teleki to Apafi (3 January 1665), pp. 350–1. On rumours that the pasha was demanding all of Moravia and Silesia, see ibid., 3, no. 308, p. 416. The pasha rebuffed Habsburg calls to stop expanding his sphere of influence, insisting that he only obeyed the sultan, in Óváry, no. 1350, Chiaromanni (17 January 1665).

48 Rački, no. 1, p. 5. The author, whom Rački wrongly identifies as Franjo Frangepán, was particularly concerned about the potential loss of the Hungarian mining towns ("Auri argenti quoque et omnium metallorum fodinas in eodem tractu existentes in manus inimicorum deventuras"). For similar opinions expressed by other members of the Hungarian elite, see Katona, 33: 570–1. On the authorship of the memorandum, see chapter 2n11.

49 Brown, *Brief Account*, 29.

50 Ibid., 86–8. Brown identifies the town as Clesch but I have been unable to find such a town.

51 Kopčan, "Osmanische Provinz Nové Zámky," 154–6, 159; Matunak, *Život a boje na slovensko-tureckom pohraničí*, 251.

52 Kopčan, "Osmanische Provninz Nové Zámky," 158; Turcica I. 141/2, fol. 2; KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fols. 284–5, 439v, 513v, 780, 826. On the new pasha, see Brown, *Brief Account*, 29; Kopčan, ibid., 156; Hammer, *Geschichte*, 6: 221.

53 Ibid., 6: 320. Cf. a January 1676 complaint by Habsburg resident Kindsberg that "der Beglerbeg von Neuhäusl dem österreichischen Befehlshaber von Neutra zweytausend Prügel habe geben lassen" (ibid.).

54 Gergely 3, no. 267, Teleki to Apafi (3 January 1665), p. 349.

55 Ibid., no. 293, Bánffy to Teleki (19 January 1665), p. 398. On the arbitrary composition of tax registers by the pasha of Varad, see also Turcica I. 139/2, fol. 11v, HKR to vizier of Buda (10 June 1667) ("Neque nobis attendendum est, qualia loca Turcae regestris suis inscribant").

56 Gergely 3, no. 295, Apafi to Teleki (21 January 1665), p. 404. On the dissemination of the pasha's *Huldigungsbriefe*, of which eleven were intercepted in late spring 1667, see Turcica I. 139/2, fols. 11, 26, 29, HKR to vizier of Buda (10 January, 10 June, 1 July 1667).

57 Károlyi and Kálman, *A Nagy-Károlyi Gróf Károlyi család oklevéltára*, 4: 489–91, esp. 489 (undated letter from 1670).

58 Károlyi suggested that he might as well cut his children's throats if imperial forces were withdrawn from his estates (ibid., 491). It is interesting that Károlyi was confronted by Montecuccoli in Vienna shortly before or after he wrote this letter: invoking the history of Julius Caesar, Montecuccoli urged Károlyi not to capitulate and to stay loyal to his king (ibid., 485–6).

59 The crucial importance of Szatmár, Ecsed, and Kálló for border security was emphasized in an undated memorandum entitled "Erhebliche Ursachen und Motiven, welche Ihre Kayl. May. bewogen haben, den jetzigen Frieden mit der Ottomanischen Porten einzugehen" (written after 25 October 1664), in Huber, *Österreichs diplomatische Beziehungen*, 78–9.

60 Hammer, *Geschichte*, 6: 97, 107 (statements recorded by Reniger in July 1662). Cf. the sultan's demand to turn over Kálló to Prince Apafi, in Óváry, no. 1129 (19 November 1661).

61 MNL OL, P507, fasc. 16, no. 551, Letters of László Károlyi, fols. 100r–v, 108, 110, 120r–v, 124, 130r–v (November 1664–July 1669); Gergely 4, no. 394, p. 532; no. 413, p. 552; no. 429, p. 557; Vanyó, no. 79 (23 December 1668).

62 MNL OL, P507, fasc. 16, no. 551, fol. 106 (11 December 1664); Rački, no. 71 (5 October 1669); Vanyó, no. 90 (27 October 1669); Óváry, no. 1630 (26 October 1669); Gergely 4, no. 407, p. 547.

63 Fiedler, 123–4; Rački, no. 80 (7 December 1669); Huber, *Österreichs diplomatische Beziehungen*, 24–5; Hammer, *Geschichte*, 6: 70nb (Habsburg appeal to Grand Vizier Mehmed Köprülü after conquest of Varad).

64 Hammer, *Geschichte*, 6: 76–7 (undated letter cited in an Ottoman chronicle). See also Óváry, no. 1129 (19 November 1661).

65 Fiedler, 123; Hungarica 288 E, fols. 17r–v, Márton Kászonyi to György Szelepcsényi (27 July 1670), esp. 17r ("Deus dedit nobis Eczedinum"). On 11 August 1670 the Aulic War Council reported the receipt of a similar letter by Kászonyi to Leopold I (ibid., fols. 19r–v). Cf. KA AFA 1673, fasc. 7, no. 12, László Károlyi to Tamás Pálffy (29 July 1673). For more about the events of July 1670, see chapter 5.

66 MNL OL, E254, October 1669, no. 6; December 1669, no. 5; Gergely 4, no. 447, p. 617; no. 434, p. 587; no. 459, p. 642; Gergely 5, no. 6, p. 13. Cf. late-sixteenth-century blueprints for depriving pivotal Upper Hungarian Habsburg fortresses (Ónod, Putnok, Szendrő, Tokaj) of their hinterlands, in Hegyi, "Aranyásó szpáhik," 107.

67 Cf. a protest note by Leopold I to the Crimean khan, whose troops had been dispatched to these eastern counties in October 1658 to assist Mehmed Köprülü's invasion of Transylvania, in Hammer, *Geschichte*, 6: 32na.

68 Blaškovič, "Türkische Urkunden aus Gemer," 77–9; idem, *Rimavská Sobota*, 21–8 (on towns taxed by the pashas of Eger); Benczédi, "A Wesselényi-féle rendi szervezkedés kibontakozása," 607.

69 Izsépy, *Végvári levelek*, nos. 3, 8–9, 16. The blueprints for Ottoman expansion into Abaúj ("towards Kassa") and Zemplén counties ("settlements belonging to Tokaj") existed already in the late sixteenth century, in Hegyi, "Aranyásó szpáhik," 107.

70 KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fol. 212v (12 March). On rumours that the Ottomans were laying claim to Kassa, see Gergely 3, no. 306, p. 416 (21 February 1665). On "gehuldigte Türkische Örter" near Kassa, see Seiz, *Ungarischer Simplicissimus*, 119, 121 ("Bis drei Meil von hier ist schon gehuldigtes Land. Und ist sonderlich hierum wegen der Martalosen … sehr unsicher").

71 Slovak historians J. Kabdra and J. Blaskovics identified several relevant *defterler*. Cf. Kabdra, "Turecké pramene"; Blaškovič, "Rimavská Sobota." Cf. the call for such studies, in Hegyi, "Aranyásó szpáhik," 109 (with focus on *timar* registers and the late sixteenth century).

72 Iszépy, *Végvári levelek*, 5. Cf. Wagner, *Türkenjahr*, 440 and the frustrated letter by István Csáky to the pasha of Varad (n.d.), in Iszépy, *Végvári levelek*, 5 ("Tudni való dolog, hogy mihelt Váradot megvötték volt, sok város és falu is behodolt volna").

73 On the condominium, see Hegyi, "Condominium hungaro-ottoman"; Ágoston, "Flexible Empire," esp. 24; Ágoston and Masters, *Encyclopedia*, 141–2; Koller, *Gesellschaft im Wandel*, 10–13. Cf. "more than fifty places [*loca*]" on the Croatian

frontier paid taxes exclusively to the pasha of Kanizsa since 1665, in Turcica I. 140/2, fol. 74v ("Iam tribus abhinc annis contributionem obstinatissime pendere recusent, protectioni Bassae Canisiensi confisi, atque ab illo contra expressum Pacis tenorem defensi").

74 Turcica I. 140/2, fols. 65–6, Montecuccoli to Vizier Mahmud Pasha of Buda (13 August 1668), quotation 66 ("Per deditionem enim a vobis nimis communem Domino Meo Clementissimo unam partem fundi post aliam paulatim surripitis, et pro possessoribus quamvis iniquis vos ingeritis … memoratas excursiones minime approbamus neque sumus toleraturi"). Cf. Ibid., fols. 71–2v, Opinio des HKR (August 1668, n.d.), esp. 72r–v ("Versehe mann sich also, er Vezier werde die von seinen untergebenenen vorgehenden grössere excessen, die … E. K. M. mit hinwecknehmung eines orthes oder stück lands publicum damnum zufügen, einstmahlen einstellen und bestrafen").

75 Vanyó, nos. 23–4, 28, 42–3; Acsády, *A Magyarország története*, 212; Izsépy, *Végvári levelek*, 8.

76 Rački, no. 7 (22 March 1665), p. 12; no. 16 (25 April 1665). The court memorandum "Erhebliche Ursachen und Motiven" used similar language, calling the Vasvár Treaty honest and secure (*secura*), in Huber, *Österreichs diplomatische Beziehungen*, 78–9.

77 Rački, no. 13 (28 June 1665).

78 Vanyó, no. 24 (19 April 1666).

79 The emissary arrived in Vienna on 16 October 1666 and met first with Hannibal Gonzaga, the head of the Aulic War Council. Cf. Vanyó, no. 43 (11 September 1666); no. 46 (16, 30 October 1666). On a meeting between Leopold I and another Ottoman emissary in June 1665, see Hammer, *Geschichte*, 6: 170–1.

80 Rački, no. 23 (6 February 1667); Vanyó, no. 52 (12 February 1667); Óváry, no. 1505, Márton Kászonyi to Leopold I (16 March 1667). Interestingly enough, the court was as little concerned about the gathering of Ottoman troops in Transylvania from January through March 1667; according to information at the court's disposal, up to 18,000 troops were involved. No one suspected that these troops were supposed to help Apafi; rather it was assumed that they would be used in an impending attack on Poland (Vanyó, nos. 50, 53).

81 On Panaiotti (Panagotis Nikousios), see Hammer, *Geschichte*, 6: 167, 248, 268; Turcica 1. 142/2, Casanova (13 August 1670), fol. 65 ("Des Groß Vezier intimus consiliarius"); Hering, "Panagotis Nikousios." Hering discovered Panaiotti's key role as a Habsburg spy, an important reality missed by Ottomanists, in Damien, "Panaiotis Nicousios" (without any reference to Hering).

82 Fiedler, 112–13. Sagredo's colleague Cornaro made similar observations and defined the problem more bluntly by pointing to the Vienna court's fear of Grand Vizier Köprülü. "Il governo pero stima la pace sicura, quando duri la guerra

con la republica e *la testa del primo visir, dal quale si teme molto per avisi di Constantinopoli*" (Račkі, no. 2, p. 7; my emphasis).

83 On Leslie's report, see Redlich, *Weltmacht des Barock*, 194.

84 Cf. Turcica I. 139/2, fols. 1–23, 26–8, HKR to vizier of Buda (29 January, 28 February, 28 April, 10 June, 1 July, and 22 December 1667); 24–5v, 81–7, HKR reports presented at the Vienna Hofburg (3 March, 1 July 1667); I. 139/3, fols. 1–18, HKR papers on border tensions (June–July 1667).

85 Cf. letters by Rottal, in Óváry, nos. 1491–3 (25 August–1 September 1666). On news gathered by Márton Kászonyi in Upper Hungary and Transylvania, see ibid., nos. 1368 (9 March 1665), 1428 (13 October 1665); 1454 (1665–6, n.d.), 1466–7 (15–16 February 1666), 1505 (16 March 1667). Cf. Óváry, no. 1523, Szelepcsényi to Lobkowitz about pasha of Uyvar (18 August 1667); no. 1540, Nádasdy to Lobkowitz on the latest "Hungarian war news" (*hadihirek*) (n.d.). See also ibid., nos. 1526–8, 1551–2, 1561, Szelepcsényi to Leopold I and Lobkowitz (September 1667–August 1668); 1555, 1563, Nádasdy to Lobkowitz (26 May, 1 September 1668).

86 Turcica I. 145/1, fols. 168–70v, Leopold to Kindsberg (10 May 1673), esp. 168v. Cf. Vanyó, nos. 30, 32, 34, 38 (22 May, 5 and 19 June, 17 July 1666). During the mid-1660s Leopold repeatedly instructed the Aulic War Council to order border garrisons not to harass Ottoman troops – or Ottoman subjects – and threatened strict punishments, in Turcica I. 139/2, fols. 1r–v, HKR to vizier of Buda (29 January 1667), esp. 1r.

87 Ibid., fol. 10, HKR to vizier of Buda (10 June 1667). See also ibid., fols. 1v, 13–14 (testimonies of two survivors), 15v, 18, 119r–v (with list of captured border soldiers); I. 140/1, fol. 206v, Casanova to HKR (28 April 1668) ("Daß sie in wehrenden frieden gefangen worden, dahero rechtswegen zu entlassen seyen"). On challenges to the condominium, see especially Turcica I. 139/2, fol. 25 ("Unterstünden sich die Türkhen thails orth, welche vor diesem beiden theilen contribuiert, von ihrer Schuldigkeit abzuhalten") and nobles' complaints about overtaxation of their peasants by the Ottomans which made it difficult, if not impossible, to send provisions to Győr, Pápa, and other fortresses, in KA AFA 1667, fasc. 8, no. 1, fols. 63r–v and no. 1b, fols. 68r–v, Veszprém County to Montecuccoli (July 7, August 4). On the breakdown of the condominium, see also the following chapters.

88 Óváry, no. 1539, Treatise submitted to Leopold I (1667, n.d.). The original treatise is located in the Turin archives.

89 Ibid., nos. 1521–3, Correspondence involving Mehmed Pasha of Uyvar, Archbishop György Szelepcsényi, Commander Leopold Ritth (of the Vág border line), and Prince Lobkowitz (9–18 August 1667); Turcica I. 140/2, fols. 100v–101, Altri gravami fatti contro la pace dalli infernali infedeli (23 June 1667–11 June

1668). The crisis led to an emergency session of the Aulic War Council, in KA AFA 1667, fasc. 13, Memoires … des Montecuccoli, no. 1 (31 August 1667).

90 Turcica I. 139/2, fol. 10v, HKR to vizier of Buda (10 June 1667); I. 139/3, fols. 1–2v, 15–17, Meeting at the Hofburg (10 June 1667), esp. 1–2, 16. Cf. also I. 139/2, fol. 119, HKR to Casanova (1667, n.d.); I. 140/1, fols. 1–12, 81–6v, Casanova to HKR (15 January, 8 February 1668), esp. 6 ("E. K. M. hätten an alle graniz stricte … bevelch ertheilt, die Straifer und friedbrecher abzustraffen") and 81. Cf. KA AFA 1667, fasc. 13, no. 1, HKR plus Archbishop Szelepcsényi and Palatine Nádasdy (31 August) discussing among others a threatening letter by the vizier to Szelepcsényi (20 July), in ibid., fol. 1 ("L'Imperatore lora di Turchia comanda, che non si facciano scorrerie. Si lamenta che noi le facciamo").

91 Turcica I. 139/2, fols. 11–12, 15v, HKR to vizier of Buda (10 June, 1 July 1667), esp. 12 ("Reliquis adhuc munimentis Kiskomariensibus destructis lapidibusque omnino ex fundamento erutis et secum Canisam abductis inde discessit"); 81–7, Hofburg meeting (3 March 1667), esp. 82v ("Gleichwohl die hand offen und frei halten und darauf bestehen, daß man befugt seie, selbiges wider zu erheben"). The meeting came after the arrival of a report from Resident Casanova dated 3 February 1667 (ibid., fol. 81). The quote citing Köprülü is found in ibid., fol. 83. Cf. Turcica I. 140/1, fol. 206r–v, Casanova to HKR (17 April 1668) on *Kaymakam* Kara Mustafa's threat to destroy Kiskomárom if it should ever be rebuilt (which left Casanova wondering how this threat could be reconciled with Köprülü's more conciliatory statement).

92 Turcica I. 139/2, fols. 7–8v, HKR to vizier of Buda (28 February, 28 April 1667). The push for protections resulted in the granting of a sultanic *berat* in early 1668 with, however, uncertain results, in Turcica I. 140/1, fol. 217, Panaiotti to Casanova (28 February 1668) ("Sarà fatica sinche questo negotio sia ben stabilito").

93 Turcica I. 139/2, fols. 28r–v, HKR to vizier of Buda (22 December 1667).

94 On peaceful coexistence along the borders in early 1668, see Turcica I. 140/1, fol. 217, Panaiotti to Casanova (based on report of Buda vizier to Köprülü) (28 February 1668).

95 On continuing troubles with border pashas, esp. expanding *Huldigungen* and "exorbitant exactions," see Turcica I. 140/1, fols. 5, 81, 206; I. 140/2, fols. 54r–v, 71v; KA AFA 1668, fasc. 3, no. 2, fols. 63r–v, Montecuccoli to HKR (3 March); Bogišić, *Acta*, 112 (16 February 1668) on pasha of Uyvar. Habsburg sources mistakenly refer to the beğ as a pasha (*Bassa Novigradiensis*), see Turcica I. 140/2, fols. 65–6, Montecuccoli to Vizier Mahmud Pasha (13 August 1668); 72, HKR Opinio (August 1668, n.d.); 82, HKR to vizier of Buda (14 November 1668). The Heyducks (*hajdúk*) were free peasant soldiers settled by Prince István Bocskai of Transylvania on the periphery of eastern Hungary in the early seventeenth century. The "Land of the Heyducks" (*Hajdúság*), with its seven privileged

towns (among them Szoboszlo), bordered on Szabolcs County and came increasingly under Ottoman control after the fall of Varad. The Royal Free Town of Debrecen, which gave refuge to Hungarian rebels, was located in the Heyduck region. Cf. Rácz, *A hajdúk*, 155–7, 202, 232–3, 236–7.

96 Turcica I. 140/2, fols. 60–1, 63, 65–6, Leopold I, Gonzaga, and Montecuccoli to Vizier Mahmud Pasha (16 and 18 July, 13 August 1668).

97 Ibid., fols. 89–90, Vizier Mahmud Pasha to Leopold I (18 June 1668). The vizier deflected with enumerations of alleged atrocities by Habsburg border soldiers (ibid., fols. 79–80, 91).

98 Ibid., fols. 55v, 58, 74r–v, HKR to Vizier Mahmud Pasha (11 March, 5 October 1668); KA AFA 1668, fasc. 3, no. 3, fols. 64r–v, Montecuccoli to Leopold I (6 March).

99 Turcica I. 140/2, fols. 50r–v, Opinio des HKR (1668, n.d.) ("Weilen man umb dasjenige, was man vermög des friedens zuthun befught ist, bey ihnen nicht erst anfrag thun kann; es ist zwar wohl zu betauern, daß bishero die mittel ermangelt, die in jüngsten Türkhenkrieg ruinierte gränitzhäuser, absonderlich auf der Canisichen granizen wiederumb zu erheben, in bedenken, wann es so lang anstehet, so werden es die Türkhen nicht für alte, sondern für neue Palanken ausdeuten und deroselben reparierung nicht gestatten wollen").

100 KA AFA 1667, fasc. 13, no. 2, fols. 1–10, All' Eccelso Consiglio Aulico di Guerra (4 October), esp. 1, 5–6; KA AFA 1668, fasc. 6, no. 1, fols. 94–6v, Christoph Dorsch to Hofkammer (8 June). On corruption and disappeared funds allocated to border fortresses, see ibid., fasc. 9, no. 1, Leopold to Mustermeister Hilarius Leichtinger (4 September); fasc. 13, HKR meeting (9 September), fol. 191v ("Per l'armamento delle recrutte 100,000 fl[oreni], le quali poi non sono state armate").

101 KA AFA 1667, fasc. 13, no. 1, fol. 1, Meeting of Gonzaga, Montecuccoli et al. with Szelepcsényi and Nádasdy (31 August); KA AFA 1668, fasc. 5, no. 2, fol. 81, Ferenc Baboczay to Montecuccoli (7 March). Similarly on Tata Fortress, ibid., fasc. 5, no. 1, fols. 78r–v, János Esterházy to Montecuccoli (23 May) with a report on the miserable state of the Danube flotilla.

102 KA AFA 1668, fasc. 9, nos. 2–3, de Souches to Montecuccoli (21, 23 September), esp. fols. 131–2. On the allocation of *Judengelder* to fortresses, see ibid., fasc. 13, fols. 191–2 (Leopoldstadt, Győr, Komárom, Gutta). On Ottoman fortress repairs along the Hungarian borders during the 1670s, see Stein, *Guarding the Frontier*, 49–54.

103 This fixation started in late 1666, in Turcica I. 139/2, fols. 81, 85 (Residentia Caesareana, 3 March 1667) referencing reports by Casanova from December 1666; I. 139/3, fol. 93, undated HKR communiqué (discussing reports by Casanova from September–October 1667). Cf. ibid., I. 140/2, Opinio des HKR (1668, n.d.), fol. 50v ("Über die vorgehende Venedische Tractaten ein wachsames Aug zu haben").

104 Turcica I. 140/1, fols. 8v, 82–83, 89, Casanova from Edirne (15 January, 8 and 26 February 1668); 85–6, 131, Panaiotti to Casanova (Candia, 24 December 1667; 31 January 1668); 204–16, Casanova (17 April 1668), esp. 205v.

105 Ibid., I. 140/2, fols. 43r–v, 97–8, Casanova (26 June, 15 July 1668). Existing scholarship knows very little about Casanova except that he served as Habsburg resident from 15 September 1665 to 25 April 1672, was of Upper Italian noble origin, and a protégé of the powerful Count Johann Ferdinand Portia, chief court master and president of the Secret Council. Cf. Müller, *Kaiserliches Gesandtschaftswesen*, 217, 259, 294; Redlich, *Weltmacht des Barock*, 516. My own data indicate that he was trained by Resident Simon Reniger, one of longest-serving (1648–65) Habsburg diplomats at the Porte. He also was longer in office than has been assumed, as he continued to dispatch reports to Vienna until September 1672. Cf. Turcica I. 143/3, fol. 43; I. 144/1, fols. 185–6v, 189.

106 Turcica I. 140/2, fols. 131–2, Panaiotti to Casanova (23 June 1668) added to Casanova's report of 23 August 1668 (ibid., fols. 130r–v) which was discussed in the "imperial residence" on 19 October 1668 (ibid., fol. 144v).

107 KA AFA 1668, fasc. 13, fol. 195 (10 December).

108 Vanyó, no. 73 (23 September–14 October 1668).

109 Rački, no. 37 (11 November 1668); Vanyó, no. 75 (18 November 1668); Turcica I. 140/2, fols. 75–6, Vizier Mehmud Pasha to Montecuccoli (28 October 1668); 81r–v, HKR to vizier of Buda (14 November 1668). Cf. the HKR meeting to discuss the vizier's complaints, in KA AFA 1668, fasc. 13, fol. 193v (7 November).

110 Vanyó, no. 75 (18 November 1668). The Aulic War Council predicted a further intensification of Ottoman raids after the freezing of the Danube, in KA AFA 1668, fasc. 13, fol. 195 (10 December). Serious efforts to modernize the Vág River defense line began only after Montecuccoli had become president of the Aulic War Council; see ibid., fols. 190–2 (11, 18 August, 15 and 19 September 1668).

111 Vanyó, no. 76 (25 November–2 December 1668); Óváry, no. 1570, Chiaromanni (1 December 1668).

112 Rački, no. 39 (3 December 1668).

113 Vanyó, no. 79 (23 December 1668); Redlich and Huber, *Geschichte Österreichs*, 6: 615. Cf. KA AFA 1668, fasc. 13, fol. 195, HKR Meeting (10 December) concerning intensifying Ottoman raids along the Danube, "treasonous activities in Upper Hungary" (*tradimenti Ober Ungar*), a predicted Ottoman campaign against Croatia's maritime confines, and the possible exposure of HKR agents in Buda and Belgrade. On 17 and 29 December 1668 the Aulic War Council urged the immediate recruitment and dispatch of fresh troops to Hungary (ibid., fols. 195v, 198v).

114 Vanyó, no. 83 (10 February 1669), no. 84 (17 February–3 March 1669); Rački, no. 42 (16 February 1669), no. 43 (23 February 1669); Óváry, no. 1589, Chiaromanni (9 February 1669); Bogišić, *Acta*, 118–19 (28 February–29 March 1669), esp. 119

("L'on croit estre un intelligence des mescontens et protestans desdits Comtés [de la haute Hongrie] pour se mettre insensiblement sous la protection du Turc").

115 Rački, no. 47 (30 March 1669); Vanyó, no. 84 (17 March 1669); Bogišić, *Acta*, 120 (11 April 1669).

116 MNL OL, E254, March 1669, no. 9, fols. 16–17v, Report to ZK (2 March); Rački, no. 47 (30 March 1669).

117 Vanyó, no. 85 (21 April 1669).

118 Rački, nos. 51, 53–5.

119 Ibid., no. 56 (22 June 1669).

120 Vanyó, no. 87 (7 July 1669), no. 88 (14 July 1669). This fear was probably quite legitimate. According to Transylvanian informants just returned from Edirne, the Porte dispatched a large military force to Uyvar in May 1669. Orders were also issued to the Tatar khan to join; see Gergely 4, no. 349, p. 473; no. 353, p. 479.

121 According to Pauler, the court received positive confirmation of Candia's surrender only in late October in two reports by Resident Casanova, who was agonizing over where the Turks might turn next (Pauler, 1: 277). Candia surrendered on 5 September 1669; see Setton, *Venice, Austria, and Turks*, 228.

122 Vanyó, no. 90 (15 September 1669); Hammer, *Geschichte*, 6: 248.

123 Rački, *Acta*, no. 69 (28 September 1669).

124 Vanyó, no. 90 (15 September–27 October 1669), no. 91 (3 November–1 December 1669); Rački, no. 71 (5 October 1669), no. 76 (26 October 1669), p. 46 (quote), no. 85 (8 January 1670), no. 88 (25 January 1670). On rumours of Tatar troops sent to Varad, see Gergely 4, no. 432, p. 583. Cf. Óváry, nos. 1626, 1629, Rottal and Chiaromanni (20 September, 19 October 1669) and 1638, Chiaromanni (6 December 1669), reporting among others the mass flight of ordinary people from the Austrian borderlands to Vienna.

125 Vanyó, no. 84 (17 February, 10 and 17 March 1669).

126 Good examples are the efforts of Plenipotentiary Johannes von Rottal to prevent an Upper Hungarian secession. These efforts, which culminated in 1669, are reflected in Rottal's letters to the Transylvanian magnate Mihály Teleki on whom he relied for information about Turkish troops and Hungarian nobles. Cf. Gergely 4, nos. 303, 311, 317, 329, 341, 347, 369, 431 (9 January–12 December 1669).

127 Vanyó, no. 90 (25 August 1669), no. 91 (3–10 November 1669).

128 Ibid., no. 88 (28 July 1669), no. 90 (20–7 October 1669), no. 91 (3 November 1669), no. 92 (12 January 1670); Rački, no. 75 (19 October 1669). Venetian ambassador M. Zorzi observed that the Viennese court was very much aware that it would not be able to stop the Ottoman advance as long as "there was no vigorous army" (Rački, no. 56 [22 June 1669]). On 24 February 1669 Hungarian magnates demanded an increase in the number of troops before the Ottomans ended the war over Candia, in Vanyó, no. 84 (24 February 1669). Cf. Raimondo

Montecuccoli, "Unterthänigstes Gutachten über das Buch des Domherrn Johann B. Wenzel 'De constituenda militia perpetua in statibus Austriacis' (18 January 1668)," in Veltzé, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 2: 169–81, esp. 172–5; KA AFA 1669, fasc. 13, Konzepte aus der Korrespondenz des G.M.F.M. Raimund Montecuccoli, passim.

129 The garrison of Neutra (not far from Uyvar) was paid only for nineteen months between 1664–74; Fülek was paid once in nine years; Putnok, Szendrő, and Diósgyőr were paid twice in eight years; Kálló had not been paid once in four years (in 1669). Cf. Izsépy, *Végvári levelek*, 8; MNL OL, E254, February 1669, no. 1 (Kálló), no. 4 (Kálló, Szendrő); September 1669, no. 4 (Tokaj); February 1670, no. 2 (Kálló), no. 12 (Tokaj).

130 Ibid., January 1669, no. 11, Strassoldo to ZK (6 January), esp. fol. 23. Cf. a similar letter of 10 January, ibid., no. 9, fols. 19–20v. Szatmár probably was in a much better financial position than other border fortresses given its special relationship with the Vienna court.

131 Strassoldo was in close contact with Montecuccoli since August 1668 and helped draft a memorandum on *Fortifikationsgelder*, in MNL OL, E254, January 1669, no. 5 (9 January), fols. 10–12v; KA AFA 1668, fasc. 13, fols. 190–1, Strassoldo to HKR (28 August, 15 September). In his letters to the Zipser Kammer Strassoldo repeatedly emphasized his close relations with the emperor and the Aulic War Council; see, for example, MNL OL, E254, January 1669, no. 11; February 1669, no. 3 (28 February). See also note 145, below.

132 MNL OL, E254, February 1669, no. 3, fol. 7. Strassoldo feared that he might lose control over his German soldiers "who must be gratified rather than deprived of their privileges" (ibid.).

133 Ibid., March 1669, no. 24 (7 March), fols. 47–8v.

134 Ibid., May 1669, no. 6 (6 May), esp. fol. 12.

135 Ibid., June 1669, no. 9 (25 June), esp. fol. 18. On Starhemberg's pivotal role during the siege of Vienna, see Wheatley, *Enemy at the Gates*, 132–68. For a copperplate engraving of his portrait, see Sturminger, *Türken vor Wien*, 48; Eickhoff, *Venedig, Wien und Osmanen*, 382.

136 For example, some tax revenues and money sent by European states (*pecunia Christianitis*) arrived in July. Cf. MNL OL, E254, July 1669, no. 21 (10 July), Jacob Gneus to ZK.

137 Ibid., no. 24 (St Jacob's Day = 25 July 1669), fols. 48–9v; August 1669, no. 5 (3 August 1669), fols. 9–10v.

138 Gergely 4, nos. 372–3, Starhemberg to Teleki (25 July, 6 August 1669), esp. p. 507 (quote).

139 Ibid., no. 385, Strassoldo to Teleki (25 September 1669), p. 521.

140 MNL OL, E254, October 1669, no. 6 (15 October), fol. 12 ("D. V. as denuo obsecro, ut, quia de Candia nil nisi perditionem tanti ac talis loci habeamus, restantias pecuniarum deponere faciant, ne dictis laboribus pergere impediamur").

141 "Et adhuc dum fiunt preparatoria, ut de sufficienti defensione non sit periclitandum [referring to border defenses in Italy and France], moraliter loquendo, utinam et in his partibus hoc modo progrederetur; quod si non sit consultum bellum incipere, saltem de futuro providere, et ut christianos decet contra Turcarum potentiam nos defenderemus" (Gergely 4, no. 407, p. 547). For similarly alarming letters by Strassoldo, see ibid., no. 434 (15 December 1669), p. 587 ("Quotidie … Turcae excursiones faciant"); no. 447 (21 December 1669), p. 617 ("Utinam Deus a majoribus periculis nos liberaret"); no. 459 (31 December 1669), p. 642 ("Illos [pagos] defendant pro depopulatoribus Turcicis"); Gergely 5, no. 33 (29 January 1670), p. 69 ("Eo facilius nos invadent").

142 Czigány, *Reform vagy kudarc?*, 108. On the miserable state of the Habsburg army, see Óváry, nos. 1072, 1078 (border soldiers not paid for three years), 1118 (sick and undernourished), 1141, 1144 (freezing, hunger).

143 KA AFA 1669, fasc. 13, Konzepte aus der Korrespondenz Montecuccoli, no. 3, fol. 37 (225) (8 November). Cf. ibid., no. 1, Vermerkungen im Hofkriegsrat, Ungheria, Vienna 17.1669/3 (n.d., no fol. reference) ("Quanti [esserciti] miseramente periscono per tal diffetto").

144 The court resorted to unusual means, such as the allocation of *Judengelder* to fortresses, see KA AFA 1668, fasc. 13, no. 1, Memoires … des Montecuccoli, fol. 192 (19 September).

145 On Strassoldo's direct communications with the imperial court, see Gergely 4, no. 394 (8 October 1669), p. 532; no. 459 (31 December 1669), p. 642; Gergely 5, no. 58 (15 March 1670), p. 106. Strassoldo's reports and pleas for help were discussed by the Secret Conference on numerous occasions. Cf. Rački, no. 80 (7 December 1669), no. 85 (18 January 1670), no. 88 (25 January 1670); Bogišić, *Acta*, 126 (8 January 1670); KA AFA 1668, fasc. 13, no. 1, fols. 197–8 (14, 28 November); 1669, fasc. 13, no. 3, fol. 34 (222v) (22 November).

146 Vanyó, no. 91 (17 November 1669); Rački, no. 79 (23 November 1669); Óváry, nos. 1632, 1636 (6, 23 November 1669); Bogišić, *Acta*, 124 (21 November 1669).

147 Rački, no. 84 (18 January 1670), p. 51; KA AFA 1669, fasc. 13, no. 3, fols. 37r–v (225r-v) (8 November) ("Più malcontenti nell' Ungheria superiore che egli non trovò. E non è credibile che nel colmo della sua fortuna vorrà interrompere il corso della sua gloria e tralasciare la bella congiuntura"). On the mobilization of the imperial army in Upper Hungary, see Vanyó, no. 92 (12 January 1670).

CHAPTER TWO

1 The Latin text uses magyarized versions of the Ottoman terms (*ispaii*, *emingi*). Cf. Szilády and Szilágyi, *Okmánytár*, 469, 471.

2 MNL OL, E143, doboz 3, fasc. 11, fols. 23–4, Puncta Excellentissimo Domino Potentissimi Turcarum Imperatoris Vesirio Budensi (3 July 1665). Such horrors are confirmed by other contemporary accounts, see Katona, 33: 568–71, 585, 614. On *emins* (*eminler*, *Eméken*, *Emine*) operating like tax farmers in Gömör County,

see Weber, *Historischer Geschlechtsbericht*, 186 ("Arendirer, die da gewiße Städte u. gehuldigte Dörffer, so den Türkischen Keyser angehören, von dem Keyser in Bestand u. Arenda nehmen"). On *sipahis*, see Hegyi, "Aranyásó szpáhik," esp. 106 ("After the 1580s the sipahis became the principal subjugators [*fő hódoltatókká*] in Northern Hungary").

3 On the Ottomans' advance towards Pozsony, see Vanyó, no. 32 (5 June 1666); no. 38 (17 July 1666); Turcica I. 142/2, fol. 103, HKR to vizier of Buda (20 October 1670). According to rumours circulating in Lower Hungary, the pasha of Uyvar had hired Hungarian agents to burn down the towns of Pozsony, Nagyszombat, and Nyitra, in Katona, 33: 614. On Köprülü's plan of seizing Pozsony, see Óváry, no. 1272, Chiaromanni (6 October 1663). On the Spáczay family whose lands bordered on Nyitra County, see Nagy, *Magyarország családai*, 6: 323–8.

4 MNL OL, E143, doboz 3, fasc. 11, fols. 23–4.

5 Benczédi, "A Wesselényi-féle rendi szervezkedés kibontakozása," 604.

6 Pauler, 1: 3–81. About the execution of these magnates, see Bene, "Hóhérok teátruma." For recent versions of this standard narrative, see Dominkovits, "Verschenkter Sieg?"; Toma, "Friede von Eisenburg."

7 Tóth, *Concise History*, 223; Evans, *Making of Habsburg Monarchy*, 261–3; Pauler, 1: 46–7, 51–2 (with focus on Wesselényi and Zrínyi). According to István György Tóth, the Vasvár Peace Treaty "left Hungarian society in a state of shock. The magnates and nobles could not resign themselves to the expulsion of the Turks from Hungary being deferred to an uncertain time in the future" (Tóth, *Concise History*, 222). Similarly Péter, "Later Ottoman Period," 115; R. Várkonyi, "A Wesselényi szervezkedés történetéhez," esp. 441 ("Általános megdöbbenést keltett"), 444 ("Országszerte nagy volt a felháborodás"). Cf. Benczédi, *Rendiség*, 11 describing the Vasvár Treaty as "an explosive political event" that generated "national indignation of an elementary force [*elemi erejű orszagos felháborodás*]."

8 Pauler's study remains the "groundbreaking history" of the conspiracy to this day, see Dominkovits, "Verschenkter Sieg?," 144.

9 Fiedler, 107.

10 Ibid.

11 Rački, no. 1, pp. 5–7. On the doubtful attribution of this memorandum to the Croatian magnate Franjo Frangepán, see Redlich, *Weltmacht des Barock*, 197; Wagner, "Wiener Hof," 112. Contacts with the Rheinbund originated apparently during the 1663–64 war when – according to Habsburg intelligence – "the Hungarians … were negotiating with France and emissaries from the Reich" (KA AFA 1668, fasc. XIII, fol. 194, Secret Conference of 30 September).

12 MNL OL, E143, doboz, fasc. 11, fol. 24 ("Miseraque plebs pro incolumitate eiusdem ardentibus votis et precibus DEUM omnipotentem exorare possit").

13 Rački, no. 1, p. 1. Cf. similar ideas expressed in the *Oratio* of Nádasdy, in Redlich, *Weltmacht des Barock*, 201–2; Pauler, 1: 183–8.

14 Hungarica 325 A, fols. 35–6, Proiectum ad ponenda tractatus puncta inter Regem Galliae et Ungaros (n.d.) (an archivist mistakenly entered "1671" as the year of origins); Wagner, "Wiener Hof," 142; Bérenger, "Francia-magyar kapcsolatok," 282–3; Pauler, 1: 118–20. On Vitnyédi's contacts with the French ambassador Gremonville, see Bogišić, *Acta*, 39–43, 48–58, 69–76 (30 June 1665–10 September 1666). At this time the Catholic magnates Zrínyi and Nádasdy also begged for French help to recover lost fortresses and stop pillaging Turks. Cf. Redlich, "Tagebuch Pufendorfs," 586–7; Pribram, "Aus dem Berichte eines Franzosen," 289–90.

15 NRA, fasc. 517, no. 8, Literae attestatoriae Generosi Domini Magistri Nicolai Mailath S. S. C. et R. Majestatis Causarum Regalium Directoris … pro parte eiusdem extradatae (3 February–10 March 1671), fol. 9. Esterházy's testimony was confirmed by other witnesses such as the noble János Czingel (ibid., fol. 43). On the Zólyom County nobility, see Flóris, "Ortvay Tivadar jelentése," esp. 122–3.

16 NRA, fasc. 517, no. 8, fol. 10.

17 Ibid., fols. 8, 28, 38 (testimonies of magnate Miklós Esterházy, Vice-Captain János Szántó of Korpona Fortress, and noble Ferenc Herüdi). On Bory's involvement in a plot that failed to garner French support, see Benczédi, "A Wesselényi-féle rendi szervezkedés kibontakozása," 627.

18 For such appeals, see NRA, fasc. 517, no. 8, fols. 9, 24, 54–5, 57, 74, 96 and Kopčan, "Osmanische Provinz von Nové Zámky," 157–8.

19 NRA, fasc. 517, no. 6, Attestatio in comitatu Nitriensi peracta (17 February 1671), fols. 1–23, quotation 10 (witnesses from the town of Holics [Szakolca district]). On Nyitra County and the Turks, see Óváry, "A nyitrai központi bizottság jelentése," esp. 529–30; Óváry, no. 1589, Chiaromanni (9 February 1669); Pauler, 1: 294.

20 NRA, fasc. 517, no. 8, fols. 40, 77. Such statements were quite frequently heard at private and public gatherings of the nobility (ibid., fols. 41, 44).

21 Ibid., fol. 17. Bory and other nobles such as Ferenc Zembery and Miklós Baloghi spread similar stories "among the common people prompting them to believe that the emperor was poor because he lost everything at cards" (fol. 14). In fact, Leopold I was a passionate card player who lost huge amounts of money, see Acsády, *A Magyarország története*, 294.

22 NRA, fasc. 517, no. 8, fol. 48.

23 Fiedler, 81. For confirmation, see KA AFA 1668, fasc. XIII, fol. 194, Secret Conference (30 September).

24 Gergely 3, no. 81, András Székely to Teleki (13 April 1664), p. 100 ("Csak az Isten reményünk").

25 NRA, fasc. 517, no. 14, Eger Chapter Investigation (24 May 1671), fols. 26–7, Testimony by Ung County noble Michael Lochinskii about public speeches given by

Pál Chernel and László Gyulaffy; Grotefend, *Taschenbuch*, 102 ("Feria quinta proxima post Dominicam tertiam Sancti et Individuae Trinitatis").

26 Fabó, *Vitnyédi István levelei*, 1: 236 (letter to Szuhay dated 17 October 1662).

27 Cf. Hain, 300.

28 Fabó, *Vitnyédi István levelei*, 2: 139–42 (letter to András Keczer dated 1 January 1664), esp. 139–40 ("Az kinek hiti nincsen, az ki az teremtő istent, az emberi nemzetséget megváltó fiát nem böcsüli, söt böcsületleniti, az kinek mint az ördögnek soha egy igaz szava nem volt)." Ferenc Nádasdy told the Vienna court that Upper Hungary never became the target of an Ottoman attack during the 1663–64 war because the thirteen counties had negotiated a deal with the Porte, in Pauler, 1: 283.

29 Katona, 33: 632–5; Hammer, *Geschichte*, 6: 174; Hungarica 322 A, fols. 40r–v, Summary of *Geheimbe Relation* by Count Leslie (21 June 1666). On Habsburg spies in Buda, see Brown, *Brief Account*, 34.

30 Katona, 33: 614, 633; Pauler, 1: 141, 214 (dispatch of emissaries and money from Lower Hungary to the vizier of Buda in 1668). It is noteworthy that the vizier did not reveal any names to Leslie. The Trencsén appeal suggests that he was more likely invested in such contacts than he told Leslie: just before the nobles met in Trencsén – or during the meeting itself – they received the vizier's personal emissary (*chausius*) with honours, in MNL OL, E143, doboz 3, fasc. 11, fol. 23r.

31 The Vienna court initially ignored the vizier's revelations and discussed them only during an emergency meeting of the Secret Conference on 30 September 1668, in KA AFA 1668, fasc. 13, fol. 194, Nella conferenza coram Cesare.

32 Katona, 33: 635. Katona surmised that Vizier Gürcü ("Georgian") Mehmed Pasha revealed the secrets because he "had been born to Christian parents" and felt an obligation to inform the Habsburg emperor (ibid., 632–3). The new vizier Kasim Pasha, who was married to the sultan's sister, took office in October 1666. Cf. Hammer, *Geschichte*, 6: 174.

33 Sugár, "A Törökösség (Turcismus)," 101. Cf. similar prohibitions against Hungarian-Ottoman contacts in Ferenc Szakály, "Mi számított a XVII. századi hódoltságban törökösségnek?," 52–3. The meanings of *commercium* and *conversio* are very rich and hard to convey accurately in English, see Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, 378, 464.

34 *Magyar Törvénytár*, 2: 194–5.

35 Article 4 and 5 of the Vasvár Peace Treaty identified digressers as troublemakers, malcontents, and enemies of the emperors, in Wagner, *Türkenjahr*, 440.

36 Wagner, "Wiener Hof," 110. On the iniatives of Upper Hungary's Protestant elite, see Bogišić, *Acta*, 25, 35, 48, 82, 107 ("Hungari superioris Hungariae sperant a Turcis omne subsidium"), 117 ("Les mauuaises humeurs des protestants"), 124. Cf. Óváry, no. 1600, János Majthényi to Szelepcsényi (3 May 1669); no. 1604,

Anonymous report to Leopold I (6 May 1669), which identified the Thököly client Mihály Hidvéghy – a prominent Nyitra County Lutheran and regular visitor at the Thököly mansion – as the moving force of a vibrant Protestant party. On Hidvéghy, see Tasnádi Nagy, "Keczer Ambrus naplója," passim (cf. index, 617); Hungarica 284 E, Acta den Michaélem Hidveghii betreffend; Pauler, 1: 123.

37 Tasnádi Nagy, "Keczer Ambrus naplója," 129–30, 132.

38 Fabó, *Vitnyédi István levelei*, 2: 139–42 (1 January 1664); EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, Relatio attestationis contra rebelles pro parte Fisci Regii (August–September 1670), fols. 246–318, esp. 282, Witness 87 (István Nagymihály).

39 Fabó, *Vitnyédi István levelei*, 2: 157–8 (25 February 1664).

40 Cited in Wagner, "Wiener Hof," 133–4.

41 Gergely 3, no. 102, Wolf Frederich Cobb to Teleki (26 Mai 1664); no. 113, Johannes G. Strein to Teleki (8 June 1664); Bethlen, 191–4 and Pauler, 1: 27–8 about Wesselényi's appeals to the Upper Hungarian estates from 31 October 1663 and 17 May 1664. For Emperor Leopold's appeal to Upper Hungary from 10 November 1663, see Bethlen, 194–6.

42 Köpeczi et al., *Erdély története*, 2: 801; Trócsányi, *Teleki*, 42–3.

43 Similar observations can be made about Lower Hungarian nobles. For example, the Bezegh brothers owned estates in regions of Zólyom and Nógrád counties that were exposed to Ottoman incursions or had already become Ottoman tributaries. The brothers were relative newcomers to the Hungarian nobility: their father had received the patent of nobility by Emperor Ferdinand III in 1647. The Bezeghs did not own substantial estates and stood to lose everything by the Ottoman advance. Cf. Nagy, *Magyarország családai*, 1: 90–2.

44 On these *nobiles tributarii*, see EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fols. 258, 262v (László Fáy), 268v (Pál Semsei), 272 (Ferenc Katai); Benczédi, "A Wesselényi-féle rendi szervezkedés kibontakozása," 607 (on András Keczer).

45 Cf. the interesting data cited in Benczédi, ibid., 607–8; Izsépy, *Végvári levelek*, 62–4 (László Fáy). On Ferenc Ispán, see S. Varga, *Az 1674-es gályarabper jegyzőkönyve*, 76n198.

46 Deák, *A bujdosók levéltára*, 227–32. See figure 7.2 in chapter 7 for an illustration of Murány Castle.

47 Ibid., 229.

48 Ibid., 231. The emissary was to make sure that the sultan's charter would avoid the term "tribute" ("Arra is vigyázzon, hogy ezt ajándék pénznek és nem adónak irják az athnaméba"). Such a tribute was paid by Transylvania, Wallachia, and other Ottoman vassal states. Were the Hungarian nobles under the illusion that they could avoid long-term integration into the "sultan's patrimony"? Cf. Panaite, *Ottoman Law of War and Peace*, 458–60; on *ahdnames*, see Ágoston and Masters, *Encyclopedia*, 21–2, 118–19, 616.

49 Multiple pieces of evidence suggest that these magnates were more invested in the French connection, in Pauler, 1: 88–9, 111–14, 118–20; Wagner, "Wiener Hof," 94–6, 109.

50 Wesselényi's chameleon-like conversion was typical. For example, when Mihály Apafi asked Wesselényi in September 1663 to switch his allegiance from the Habsburg to the Ottoman Empire the palatine wrote back angrily. Citing the Gospel of St Matthew, he denounced Apafi's close alliance with the Ottomans as a dangerous illusion: the Turks were only "raging wolves who come to you in sheep's closing." Wesselényi spoke glowingly about his hopes for a successful military campaign against the Ottomans in another letter to Apafi dated 29 May 1664. Cf. R. Várkonyi, "A Wesselényi szervezkedés történetéhez," 441n68 and Papp, "Szabadság vagy járom?," 638. For more on Wesselényi's hatred of the Turks, see Pauler, 1: 27–8.

51 Pauler, 1: 144; Hungarica 292 A, Interrogation of Valentin Szenthe (Nádasdy's secretary), fols. 49–91, Delucidatio relationum mearum ad puncta interrogatoria.

52 The names of twenty-one participants can be reconstructed; of these, five were Catholic and sixteen Protestant. See Hungarica 294 C, fols. 1–14, Interrogation of András Nagy Figedi (a Calvinist participant in the meeting from Abaúj County); Pauler, 1: 101–2; *Bethlen Miklós levelei*, 1: 147, 153, 616; Zsilinszky, *A Magyar országgyűlések vallásűgyi tárgyalásai*, 3: 189, 190, 192, 235, 247; Nagy, "Néhány adat." András Keczer had represented the Lutheran nobility of Sáros County at the 1659 National Diet; he was tried in April 1671 for having given public speeches calling for the secession of Hungary to the Ottomans. Cf. Zsilinszky, ibid., 3: 137; Hungarica 293 C, fols. 1–31, Processus causae Andreae Keczer.

53 Lőcsey, *Báthori Zsófia*, 24–6; Zsilinsky, *A Magyar országgyűlések vallásűgyi tárgyalásai*, 3: 228–31, 233–4; Berey, "A reformátusok üldöztetése," 461–3. Relations between the confessions were apparently more peaceful in Sárospatak where Báthori resided, in Péter, "A református gyülekezet," esp. 118–19 ("A jezsuita térítés … nem volt erőszakos").

54 Marczali, "Regesták," 120–1, 123–6.

55 Pauler, 1: 61; Zsilinsky, *A Magyar országgyűlések vallásűgyi tárgyalásai*, 3: 232.

56 Marczali, "Regesták," 126 (20 June 1663). Cf. ibid., 120, 123–4.

57 "Unser Herr hiess den König herzlich willkommen, und dieser … leistete dem Grosswesir den Fußkuß … Unser Herr [erwies] dem König grosse Aufmerksamkeit und Gunst. Denn auch der verewigte Sultan Süleyman soll dem König von Ofen solche Aufmerksamkeit erwiesen haben" (Prokosch, *Krieg und Sieg*, 114).

58 Ibid.; Bethlen, 190–1. Note that Apafi had already established close relations with Upper Hungarian lords after his appointment by Köprülü in September

1661. The Vienna court believed that he secretly met with them in Kassa in September 1662 (Marczali, "Regesták," 119). By contrast, Papp and R. Varkonyi downplay the significance of Apafi's call for submission to the Ottomans, in Papp, "Szabadság vagy járom?," 637–8; R. Várkonyi, "End of Turkish Rule," 360–2.

59 Bethlen, 172; Prokosch, *Krieg und Sieg*, 114 ("Die Giauren Mittelungarns"). On the shifting meanings of the term "Middle Hungary," see Kopčan, "Zur historischen und geographischen Abgrenzung," 88–91. On the history of the term, see also Varga, "Az 'Orta Madzsar' szerepe."

60 Kopčan, "Zur historischen und geographischen Abgrenzung," 91–3 (citing among others the chronicle of Mehmed Ağa Silahdar); Bethlen, 190–1. R. Várkonyi insisted that the grand vizier's plan had no chance of success. But she also observed that "it was not so far-fetched as might seem at first glance" because people had been driven "to the point of despair" by religious persecution and "bands of marauding Turks" (R. Várkonyi, "End of Turkish Rule," 361).

61 Levinson, "Nuntiaturberichte Teil I," 761, no. 378 (20 October 1663). Cf. a report by the Parmese resident Giovanni Chiaromanni suggesting that Upper Hungarian Protestants wanted to join Transylvania "so that they could freely exercise their freedom of religion" (Óváry, no. 1290 [12 February 1664]).

62 On the same day the papal nuncio called for the evacuation of church properties from "a country … that will fall to the Turks at any moment [*von heute auf morgen den Türken zufällt*]," in Levinson, "Nuntiaturberichte Teil I," 761, no. 377 (20 October 1663).

63 Obál, *Religionspolitik*, 30–1, 45, 50–1, 191–4; Helbig, *Pufendorf's Bericht*, 49–51.

64 Such sentiments were expressed by the Upper Hungarian representatives at the 1662 National Diet. Palatine Wesselényi, who refused to intercede on the Protestants' behalf, warned them not to overestimate their power: the legendary princes of Transylvania were long dead and Prince Apafi was a Turkish puppet. If they would not give up their complaints he would consider them rebels. At the 1659 National Diet, Wesselényi told the Protestant delegates that their grievances were much less important than the Turkish question (*Türkenfrage*). Cf. Obál, *Religionspolitik*, 108, 141–2.

65 Gergely 3, no. 140, Szalárdi to Teleki (14 July 1664), esp. pp. 171–2; no. 151, Szalárdi to Teleki (21 July 1664), esp. pp. 189–90; no. 152, Szalárdi to Teleki (24 July 1664). Szalárdi claimed that his ideas were held "not just by two or three noblemen … but by the entire evangelical state" (Gergely 3, no. 151, p. 191). Cf. other letters by Szalárdi, ibid., nos. 150, 171, 177, 192.

66 Gergely 3, no. 151, p. 189.

67 On Szelepcsényi tenure as bishop of Nyitra (1648–66), see *Episcopatus Nitriensis*, 363–8; Fojtik, "Nyitra," 42–3.

68 Cf. KA AFA 1668, fasc. 13, Meetings of HKR, fol. 193 (27 September) discussing a

letter by a client of Szelepcsényi's who had betrayed the plot on 8 September. Mednyánsky's name is garbled as "Mensin Joannes barone." On his prominent role in Nyitra affairs, see Óváry, no. 1604; Nagy, *Magyarország családai*, 4: 386; Pauler, 1: 123; on Mednyansky's contact with the eschatological preacher Mikuláš Drábik, see Kvačala, *Dejiny reformácie*, 226–7.

69 A contemporary Dutch observer believed that pro-Ottoman sympathies contributed to the surrender of Érsekújvár (Uyvar), in Rylands Library, Special Collections, R82153, *Brief Accompt*, 7, 17–18.

70 Marczali, "Regesták, 120–1, 123–6, 130. On the "treason" (*proditio*) of the Nyitra garrison, see *Episcopatus Nitriensis*, 365; Fojtik, "Nitra," 41–2 (surrender without a shot). According to a contemporary observer Köprülü guaranteed Nyitra residents full religious freedom, in Rylands Library, Special Collections, R6974, *Prospect of Hungary*, 31.

71 Marczali, "Regesták," 130–1. But Neuman may have exaggerated, as there is good evidence that the Ottomans also destroyed or damaged Protestant churches; see Pauliny, *Dejepis superintendencie nitranskej*, 94–5.

72 Zsilinszky, *A Magyar országgyűlések vallásűgyi tárgyalásai*, 3: 216, 218–20, 222, 224–5; Marczali, "Regesták," 131. For anti-Protestant violence in Lower Hungary, see Fabó, *Az 1662-diki országgyűlés*, 27–54, esp. 50–4 (Nyitra County).

73 NRA, fasc. 517, no. 8, fols. 8, 79, 81.

74 Ibid., fol. 50, Testimony by noble Verebkoy from Zólyom County. Cf. ibid., fols. 52–3 (testimonies by Senator Michael Rajter, Johann Gottfried, and Abraham Seitz from Schemnitz). The confiscation of churches was a hot issue in several other towns (including Korpona, Kremnica, and Neusohl) whose magistrates dispatched emissaries to Upper Hungary for help (ibid., fols. 48, 52).

75 Mikulik, *Magyar kisvárosi élet*, 187, 195. The town was reputed to have recognized the sultan's authority (*oppidum Turcis deditum*) and to be exporting forbidden items such as iron and copper into the Ottoman Empire. Cf. Krones, "Zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens," 326–7; Telgárti, "Régi balvélemény," 48. Catholics remained a small minority. Cf. Telgárti, "A Rozsnyói plébánia története," 600–11; Tajták, *Dejiny Rožňavy*, 1: 440–1.

76 NRA, fasc. 517, no. 8, fol. 69 (Witnesses 96–7).

77 EKPS, Series P, no. 167, fols. 594–602, Recognitiones certorum quorumdem nobilium pro parte Egregii Domini Joannis Balintffi [sic] collectae (8 December 1670), esp. 597, 601. On the Bálintfi clan, see Nagy, *Magyarország családai*, 1: 130.

78 Lőcsey, *Báthori Zsófia*, 29–31; MNL OL, E143, doboz 3, fasc. 12, fols. 9–11v, Thirteen Counties to Rottal (24 February 1665), esp. 10r, 11v; E190, doboz 33, no. 8016, fols. 441–2, Wesselényi to ZK (18 September 1665), esp. 441r on anti-Catholic hatred and the violent potential of the conflict.

79 Cf. Krones, "Zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens," 339 ("Die Fürstin Sofie … benachrichtigte uns, daß sich sowohl auf ihren Gütern als in der Nachbarschaft

Schulmeister und Ortsrichter verschworen hätten, jedweden Genossen der Gesellschaft Jesu, der in ihre Hände fiele zu tödten oder der härtesten Gefangenschaft mit schweren Fesseln zu überantworten").

80 Cf. Szinyei, "Sárospataki diáklázadások," esp. 46 ("Ha ki kell mennünk az iskolából, olyat cselekszünk, hogy Magyarországnak füle megcsendül belé"); Szabó, no. 42 (20 March 1671).

81 Pauler, 1: 292–3; Bruckner, *Reformáció és ellenreformáció*, 263–5; Hain, 319–22, 332–3, 361, 363.

82 Cf. the Bethlen-Teleki correspondence in *Bethlen Miklós levelei*, 1: 129–32, 134–6, 138–48 (March–August 1666), 163–7 (February–March 1667); Gergely 3, nos. 412, 416, 427, 436, 438, 442, 445 (April–August 1666). For these Calvinist magnates' religious fervor, see Gergely 4, no. 34, Teleki to Anna Bornemisza (27 February 1667), p. 45 ("Vallásunknak előmozdítására"); Adams, *Autobiography of Miklós Bethlen*, 223.

83 Pauler, 1: 108, 121; Adams, *Autobiography of Miklós Bethlen*, 220; "Tököli, Štefan." The Habsburg court assumed that István Thököly played a crucial role in the plot but did not have any hard evidence, in Hungarica 322 A, fols. 1–6, Periculosissimae machinationes et conspirationes in Regno Hungariae (27 September 1668) (falsely dated "1661"), esp. 2v, 3v. On Thököly and a weak Wesselényi, see ibid., fols. 26–43v, Secret Conference (30 September 1668), esp. 34v, 36v ("Der Palatinus hab sich selbst nicht getrauet und deswegen in ein Kloster gehen, hernach aber wann diser handl angangen wehr, erst wider herauss und darzu kommen wollen").

84 Adams, *Autobiography of Miklós Bethlen*, 207–8, 219–20; *Bethlen Miklós levelei*, 1: 158, 162–3, 623–4; Gergely 4, nos. 7, 9, 14–15, 24–5, Thököly and Ambrus Keczer to Teleki (19 January–25 February 1667).

85 "Secreta instructio seu instructionis imprimis datae declaratio generoro Ladislao Baló porrecta," in *EOE* 14: 238–41, quotation 239; Pauler, 1: 152 (Baló speaking about religion to Köprülü). On the involvement of leading Upper Hungarian nobles in preparing the addenda to the original Murány *Instructio*, see also chapter 3.

86 R. Várkonyi, "Országegyesítő kísérletek," 1093 (from proceedings of 1662 National Diet). Cf. Fabó, *Az 1662-diki országgyűlés*, 239–53 ("Borsodmegyének 1662-diki országgyűlési követutasítása"); 253–75 ("A német kátonaság által Abaujban tett károk hivatalos összeírása"). On the "excesses, exorbitances, and extortions" resulting from billeting, the breakdown of discipline, and the lack of pay, see Kalmár and Varga, *Einrichtungswerk des Königreichs Hungarn*, 147–50. On the "despicable ordeals" (*erbärmliche Drangsalen*) inflicted by Habsburg soldiers whom he calls "insatiable bloodsuckers" (*unersättliche Saug-Egeln*), see Flämitzer, *Der Ungarische Libertiner*, 73, 112.

87 MNL OL, P507, fasc. 11, no. 408, Szatmár to Rottal (1664–70), fols. 165–6 (1 August 1664); 195–7v (1664, n.d.).

88 Fabó, *Az 1662-diki országgyűlés*, 89; MNL OL, E190, doboz 33, no. 8036, fols. 476–8, Appeal by Thirteen Counties to Leopold I (13 January 1667), esp. 477r–v; P507, fasc. 11, no. 408, fol. 166 ("Ha Ngd az rajtunk levő oppressiokat nem remedeallya kőzőnsegesen eő Felségetől el bucsozunk"). On violence against Protestant clergy and community, see ibid., fols. 165v, 185r–v; no. 409, Szatmár-Némethi to Rottal (1664–70), fols. 218v, 220v. At the end of the 1663–64 war the town of Szatmár was devastated by the daily terror of its German garrison: half of the homeowners had fled and the rest had to endure daily exploitation and humiliation (P507, fasc. 11, no. 408, fol. 165).

89 Marczali, "Regesták," 115, 121, 124.

90 Ibid., 115; R. Várkonyi, "Országegyesítő kísérletek," 1105.

91 Marczali, "Regesták," 115, 120, 122; R. Várkonyi, "Országegyesítő kísérletek," 1104–5. On a 1661 Ottoman-sponsored peasant uprising and massacre of German troops, see Óváry, nos. 1061, 1066, 1068, 1105 (13 August 1661). On peasants slaughtering stragglers, see ibid., no. 1144 (31 December 1661); Huber, *Österreichs diplomatische Beziehungen*, 38 ("Todtschlag durch die Bauern").

92 Marczali, "Regesták," 119 (court discussions anticipating an uprising), 124, 135. On the troop withdrawal and its reversal, see ibid., 119, 122.

93 On efforts to increase the size of the occupation army, see Óváry, nos. 1202, 1205 (15–23 September 1662), 1288 (22 January 1664). On rapid reinforcements, see letters by Habsburg commanders Johannes Strein and Wolf Friedrich Cobb, in Gergely 3, nos. 75, 79, 86 (3–20 April 1664), 172 (24 August 1664).

94 Zsilinsky, *A Magyar országgyűlések vallásűgyi tárgyalásai*, 3: 232; Pauler, 1: 61, 63. The Brandenburg ambassador reported already in November 1662 that the Upper Hungarian estates refused to follow orders by Habsburg commanders (Marczali, "Regesták," 121).

95 Bérenger, *Les "gravamina"*, 230; MNL OL, E190, doboz 33, no. 8036, fol. 477. Palatine Wesselényi already noticed the mass escape of peasants and other "poor people" from the Habsburg army into Ottoman territory in late 1661, in Óváry, nos. 1137–8 (22–3 December 1661). The Ottomans promised not to harass people in their homes and to pay for everything they needed in cash, in Óváry, no. 1595, Péter Zrínyi to Szelepcsényi (12 April 1669).

96 Veltzé, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 2: 383. In November 1667 Ferenc Nádasdy spoke of an Upper Hungarian plot to hand over Kassa to the Turks, in Pauler, 1: 163.

97 Weber, *Historischer Geschlechtsbericht*, 35, 49–50. Cf. OSZK, Manuscript Repository, RMK III. 2954, Pilárik, *Currus Jehovae*, p. B IV v on Turkish visitors dancing with the bride at a wedding ("Bei welcher Hochzeit sich auch Türcken unbekannter Weise eingefunden und mit der Braut getantzet haben"). On Upper Hungary's German Protestants' hostility towards the "hostile Germans," see Kónya, "'Von diesen und jenen' Deutschen," esp. 261–2.

98 Weber, *Historischer Geschlechtsbericht*, 165, 182–3, 186–9. Buchholtz considered the persecution of Protestant pastors "unchristian" and "more cruel and harsher" than Turkish slavery (ibid., 143). On Topschau under the Ottomans, see Markusková, "Gemerská stolica," 110, 112.

99 Weber, *Historischer Geschlechtsbericht*, 187–8.

100 Kowalská, *Na ďalekých cestách*, 123–4 based on Fabritius, *Spina pungens*. I thank Eva Kowalská for this reference. Cf. Klein, *Nachrichten*, 3: 137–8, referring to Fabritius' alleged "barbaric encounters" with Turks.

101 Markusková, "Charakter osmanskej moci"; Kowalská, *Na ďalekých cestách*, 123; Weber, *Historischer Geschlechtsbericht*, 35. On empty promises of protection given to Szatmár burghers by Habsburg military authorities, see MNL OL, P507, fasc. 11, no. 408, fols. 165–6, 195–197v.

102 Cf. the court's inaction in light of complaints by Prince Apafi, Primate György Szelepcsényi, and others, in Óváry, nos. 1524–6 (22 August–10 September 1666), 1555 (26 May 1667). On the court's primary concern with Ottoman raids and exactions, see Óváry, nos. 1350, 1353, 1360, 1423, 1437, Chiaromanni (17, 24 January; 14 February, 12 September, 12 December 1665). Cf. complaints by the vizier of Buda and Habsburg efforts to appease him, ibid., nos. 1411, 1417 (25 July, 25 August 1665); Turcica I. 139/3, fol. 1v (10 June 1667); I. 140/2, fols. 51, 55–66 (11 March, 11 April, 16 and 18 July, 13 August 1668); I. 141/1, fols. 148r–v, Mahmud Pasha of Buda to Montecuccoli (29 April 1669) with appended lists of excesses by Habsburg soldiers (fols. 153–74).

103 MNL OL, E143, doboz 3, fasc. 15, fols. 2r–v, Leopold to Thirteen Counties (14 March 1669).

104 Ibid., fasc. 19, fols. 433r–v, Appeal by Fourteen Counties [sic] and Six Upper Hungarian Towns to Leopold I (n.d. but before the death of Palatine Wesselényi in March 1667); Pauler, 1: 245–6.

105 Weber, *Historischer Geschlechtsbericht*, 181.

106 Gergely 5, no. 383, Pál Szepessy and István Petrőczy to Apafi (18 July 1671), p. 575. On Vitnyédi's anti-Turkish sentiments, see above.

107 Pauler, 1: 188–93, quotation 189–90. Pauler attributes the text to Ferenc Nádasdy but the author's praise of Ottoman religious toleration, his call for the return of confiscated Protestant church endowments, and his demand for punishing persecutors of Protestantism make this very doubtful. Nádasdy, after all, was a zealous advocate of the Counter-Reformation and distrusted by Protestant nobles. It appears that this text circulated in Calvinist milieux as suggested by its later false attribution to the Calvinist noble Pál Ráday (1677–1733) during the Ferenc II Rákóczi period (Pauler 1: 192–3n1).

108 On contacts with Poland and France, see Hungarica 322 D, fols. 110–11; Pauler, 1: 88–9, 111–14, 121, 172. On efforts to enlist other states, see Gergely 4, no. 309, Gábor Kende to Teleki (2 February 1669), p. 423; Pauler, 1: 89 (Dutch ambassador in Istanbul), 171 (German electors); Obál, *Religionspolitik*, 190–4 and Vanyó,

no. 52 (12 February 1667), no. 72 (16 September 1668) (German Protestant estates); KA AFA 1668, fasc. 13, Meeting of HKR, fol. 193 (27 September) (Silesia). On Protestants' rejection of Louis XIV ("a cruel prince") and interest in the military affairs of Sweden, Netherlands, and England, see Gergely 3, no. 400, Ambrus Keczer to Teleki (4 February 1666), p. 548.

109 MNL OL, E190, doboz 33, no. 8036, fols. 476–8, Petition (13 January 1667). For similar appeals from February, May, and December 1668, see Pauler 1: 180–1, 228. Cf. Gergely 4, no. 309, pp. 423, 425 (hoping for a quick resolution at the Porte).

110 Pauler, 1: 250. On Rottal's growing concern about the intentions of the Upper Hungarian nobility, see Gergely 4, no. 369, Rottal to Teleki (8 July 1669); no. 370, Kende et al. to Teleki (11 July 1669), p. 504 (Rottal trying to appease the Calvinist magnate István Bocskai).

111 MNL OL, E254, January 1669, no. 16, fols. 33r–v, Kálló to ZK (3 January); May 1669, no. 17, fols. 35–6v, Kálló to ZK (18 May); February 1670, no. 2, fol. 44/b, Kálló to ZK (21 February). On Kálló's special status in the Habsburg border defense system, see Borovszky, *Szabolcs vármegye*, 152–3.

112 Pauler, 1: 152–3. Cf. Gergely 4, no. 316, Apafi to Teleki (13 March 1669) on sending an Upper Hungarian emissary (after meeting an influential Thököly client). Most contacts with Vienna were channeled through the court's plenipotentiary Rottal, in Gergely 4, nos. 311, 317, 329, 341, 347–8, 369, Rottal-Teleki correspondence (5 March–8 July 1669); Szádeczky, "Az 1670-iki mozgalmak történetéhez" including anonymous dispatches to András and Menyhért Keczer (3–7 April 1670), quotation 427 ("Már ö f[elsé]ge semmi nemzetűeknek nem akar hinni"). On Transylvanian involvement, see *EOE* 14: 58–60.

113 MNL OL, P507, fasc. 11, no. 395, fol. 7, Letter signed by Sáros Diet (7 August 1664); no. 413, fols. 250r–v, Zemplén County to Rottal (20 August 1669); Szádeczky, "Az 1670-iki mozgalmak történetéhez," 428.

114 On Nádasdy's memorandum, see Pauler, 1: 139. Cf. Palatine Wesselényi's December 1666 appeal to France to save Hungary from "the many [*sokan*], especially in Upper Hungary, who want to join the Turk" (Pauler, 1: 113).

115 On Bory and the Ottomans, see NRA, fasc. 517, no. 8, fols. 28, 35, 40, 57, 67 (quote), 108. On the imperial court's dealings with Bory, see KA AFA 1668, fasc. 13, fols. 194, 195v, HKR meetings (30 September, 17 December). On Bory's involvement in the plot and his duplicitous dealings with Habsburg plenipotentiary Rottal, see Benczédi, "A Wesselényi-féle rendi szervezkedés kibontakozása," 620, 627, 629–30 (without any reference to Bory's Ottoman contacts).

116 On the dispatch of letters, money, and jewelry by nobles to unknown Ottoman recipients, see NRA, fasc. 517, no. 8, fols. 38, 40, 46–7, 60, 62, 76. On Gábor Baloghi's call for Ottoman help against Leopold I, see ibid., fol. 93.

117 *Episcopatus Nitriensis*, 366. On conversions to Islam in Uyvar, see Markusková, "Životné pomery," esp. 26, 29, 35.

118 Vanyó, no. 65 (21 April 1668), p. 45. For a similar case in Upper Hungary from 1665, see Pálffy and Fodor, *Ransom Slavery*, 40. On the Upper Hungarian noble, see Turcica I. 140/2, fols. 128r–v, Undated report of HKR in response to letters from Panaiotti and Casanova (23 June, 23 August 1668); 131–2, Panaiotti to Casanova (Candia, 23 June 1668), esp. 131v ("Una persona principale di Superiore Ongaria è scampato et è venuto in Uÿvar, di la fu mandato in Belgrado"); KA AFA 1668, fasc. 13, fol. 193v, HKR meeting (17 October). On Alexander Dalmady, see Turcica I. 140/2, fols. 134–5, 144v; KA AFA 1669, fasc. 13, fol. 227, HKR meeting (29 July). Cf. Hungarica 328 E, fols. 1–29v, Allertreÿgehorsamste … Information in Keÿ. Hungars. Commissions- und Cameral Sachen (n.d.), esp. 12r–v identifying the defector's name as István Dalmadi, who had been vice-captain of Sempte Fortress. According to the anonymous author, István Dalmadi became a renegade because he was influenced by the sermons of the pro-Ottoman preacher Miklós Drabik (see chapter 6). On the handing over of fortresses to Ottomans, see Wagner, "Wiener Hof," 115.

119 Gergely 4, no. 33, Miklós Bethlen to Teleki (26 February 1667), p. 44 ("Kara Ibraim által kezdenek bolondoskodni"); no. 154, Bethlen to Teleki (18 October 1667), p. 202; *Bethlen Miklós levelei*, 1: 165, 617 ("Nem volnaé iobb tsak Kara Ibraim által tractalni, hogy mivel eö Török"); "Pótutasítások Inczédynek," *EOE* 14: 286–7, 290 ("Bocskainak szólló level minutája clavissal írott") ; Pauler, 1: 91, 122, 154, 274. On Zrínyi's warning, see Pauler, 1: 171.

120 Blaškovič, "Türkische Urkunden," 72–3, 78–80, 84–5; NRA, fasc. 517, no. 8, fols. 60, 93, 97, 102; Pauler, 1: 62–3, 178 (on Upper Hungarian nobles' correspondence with Ottomans). On Zemplén, Szatmár, and Szabolcs counties, see NRA, fasc. 517, no. 8, fol. 103 (many leading Zemplén nobles talking about their readiness to submit to the Ottomans); Vanyó, no. 83 (10 February 1669); Óváry, no. 1589, Chiaromanni (9 February 1669); EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fols. 272v, 273v, 276v, 284, 293v. On presents sent to Eger by nobles from Abaúj, Bereg, Borsod, and Torna counties in October 1668, see ibid., fol. 262v; Pauler, 1: 228; Benczédi, "A Wesselényi-féle rendi szervezkedés kibontakozása," 608.

121 Pauler, 1: 126; NRA, fasc. 517, no. 8, fol. 94 (Ambrus Keczer about the vizier of Buda as a crucial ally); *Bethlen Miklós levelei*, 1: 171, 173.

122 Gergely 3, no. 49, Apafi to Teleki (6 March 1664), p. 57 ("Hírem jó jött, Istennek hála, a fővezértől az magyar országi dolgok felől, az athname is részekről meglészen"); no. 71, Szalárdi to Teleki (28 March 1664). On past *ahdnames*, see Papp, "Autonomous Muslim and Christian Communities," 406–11; idem, *Verleihungs-, Bekräftigungs- und Vertragsurkunden*, 258–86 (István Bocskai).

123 The Keczer brothers were so furious with Teleki for not doing enough that they threatened to kill his messenger, in Gergely, 3, no. 320, Judit Vér to Teleki (14 March 1665), p. 439.

124 On the close Transylvanian ties of István Thököly and his retainers, see Pauler, 1: 94, 106, 201; Gergely 3, no. 374, Thököly to Teleki (20 September 1665), p. 514

("Inter spem et metum azon hazának is állapotja"); no. 418, Teleki to Anna Bornemisza (21 April 1666). On the pivotal role of Thököly's messenger Benedek Csúthi, see ibid., nos. 411–13, 473; Tasnádi Nagy, "Keczer naplója," index, 613; Hungarica 322 D, fol. 112; Gergely 4, nos. 2, 50, 72, 130, 241, 255, Lónyay to Teleki (1667–8); Gergely 4, nos. 210, 335, Bocskai and wife to Teleki (26 March 1668, 7 April 1669).

125 Gergely 3, nos. 160, 321, 325, 331, 382, 414, Kende to Teleki (1664–6); Gergely 4, nos. 371, 375, 381, 386, Ispán to Teleki (July–September 1669); Gergely 4, nos. 224 (22 May 1668), 319, 324, 331, 388, Gyulaffy to Teleki (March–April, September 1669).

126 Gergely 3, nos. 420–1, Correspondence de Wallis-Teleki (26 April and n.d., 1666). On Fábián Farkas, ibid., nos. 376, 422 (5 October 1665, 12 May 1666); Gergely 4, nos. 308–9 (1–2 February 1669).

127 On Nagybánya and its pastors, see Gergely 3, no. 400, Ambrus Keczer to Teleki (4 February 1666), p. 549; no. 442, Miklós Bethlen to Teleki (27 July 1666), p. 595; Gergely 4, no. 363, Teleki to Judit Vér (9 June 1669), p. 495; Gergely 5, no. 155, János Bethlen to Teleki (1670, n.d.), p. 263; no. 156, Teleki to János Bethlen (1670, n.d.), p. 264. On Pál Görgei, see Gergely 3, nos. 308, 313, 320, 325, 331; Gergely 4, nos. 357–8; Zoványi, *Magyarországi protestáns egyháztörténeti lexikon*, 222. Bishop Bársony identified Görgei as a dangerous rabble-rouser and threatened to skin him alive, in Esze, "Bársony," 679.

128 Rački, no. 38, Marino Zorzi (25 November 1668).

129 On army terror in Szatmár, Bereg, and Ugocsa counties, see Lehoczky, *Beregvármegye monographiája*, 1: 159 (on pillaging soldiers); Pauler, 2: 52–3, 256; Berey, "A reformátusok üldöztetése," 469; Komáromy, "Ugocsavármegye levéltárából," 28–30. On the Ottoman advance in Szatmár County, see Borovskzy, *Szatmár vármegye*, 135, 479.

130 Blaškovič, "Türkische Urkunden," 75, 78, 80, 84–5 (29 January 1654, 24 July 1665, 20 September 1668). These letters carried the signatures, seals (*Siegel*), and emblems (*Hoheitszeichen*) of the pasha of Eger, military commanders, or other Ottoman power brokers. On similar promises of protection in edicts (*fermanlar*) by Sultan Mehmed IV, see Blaškovič, *Rimavská Sobota*, 213–17 (16–23 October 1668), 222–4 (27 October–5 November 1668), welcoming refugees and protecting them against harassment by local officials.

131 KA AFA 1667, fasc. 13, no. 1, fol. 1, Montecuccoli's handwritten notes (31 August). On these little-known tributary nobles, see Blaškovič, "Türkische Urkunden," 72, 79–84.

132 In fact, such assemblies often convened in emergency sessions to discuss the Ottoman advance and they usually resulted in signed appeals addressed to Leopold I or imperial plenipotentiaries such as Rottal and the archbishop of Esztergom. Cf. Pauler, 1: 180–1, 243–6, 250, 296, 308; NRA, fasc. 517, no. 8, fols. 24,

54–5. For efforts to engage the Vienna court directly or with Transylvanian help, see also Gergely 3, no. 308 (21 February 1665), p. 416; no. 314 (February 1665, n.d.), pp. 426, 428; no. 374 (20 September 1665); no. 438 (22 July 1666) and Gergely 4, nos. 317, 369, 377, Teleki-Rottal correspondence (14 March, 8 July, 1 September 1669). Cf. Bocskai-Teleki correspondence, in Gergely 4, no. 370 (11 July 1669), p. 504.

133 MNL OL, E143, doboz 3, fasc. 11, fol. 23.

134 Vanyó, no. 76 (25 November–2 December 1668); Óváry, no. 1570, Chiaromanni (1 December 1668). Cf. also Óváry, no. 1564, Chiaromanni (1 September 1668) on first reports of the intended secession of these two counties.

135 On gangs of Habsburg troops tyrannizing Nyitra County, see Óváry, "A nyitrai központi bizottság jelentése," 529.

136 Rački, nos. 63–6, 68–9, 71 (3 August–5 October 1669).

137 For example, Vanyó, no. 63 (10 March 1668), no. 69 (24 June 1668), no. 72 (16 September 1668).

138 Ibid., no. 63 (10 March 1668). On meetings of the Aulic War Council and the Secret Conference, see KA AFA 1669, fasc. 13, Konzepte Montecuccoli, fols. 183–91v (11 January–29 August); Hungarica 322 A, fols. 30–77, Conferentiae in consilio secreto (30 September, 17 December 1668, 28 January 1669).

CHAPTER THREE

1 On the term *Hungaria Superior* (*Oberungarn*) and the thirteen counties, see Kónya, "Protíhabsburské povstania," 63–4; Gogolak, *Beiträge*, 7 (differentiating between "Oberungarn" and the much later "Oberland" [*Felvidék*]); Tajták, "Východné Slovensko," 317. On the administration of Upper Hungary and the captaincy-general of Upper Hungary, see Gecsényi and Guszarova, "A Szepesi Kamara," esp. 653–5; Pálffy, "Origins," 47, 68.

2 On these revolts, see Benda, *Habsburg abszolutizmus*; Lencz, *Aufstand Bocskais*, 78–122; Makkai, "A Bocskai-felkelés"; idem, "Ellenreformáció," 801–52 (Bethlen), 865–83, 922–5 (Rákóczi). On the collapse of Catholic missions, see Molnár, *Lehetetlen küldetés*, 96, 114–15, 142–6; Krones, "Jesuitenorden," 209–11, 222–3, 291, 307–8, 313–14. The seven counties temporarily attached to Transylvania were Zemplén, Abaúj, Borsod, Bereg, Ugocsa (1621–29, 1645–48), Szabolcs and Szatmár (1621–29, 1645–60), see Kónya, "Protíhabsburské povstania," 65.

3 The memory of these past revolts was also on the minds of Habsburg leaders as noted by the Secret Conference in September 1668: "Gefährlich, wan sich Siebenbürgen daselbsten einmische, weilen von dorther allzeit ein Urspung der Unruhe und Kriege kommen" (Hungarica 322 A, fol. 42).

4 Hungarica 322 A, fols. 41v–43v, Conferentia in Consilio Secreto (30 September 1668).

5 On Ukraine, Doroshenko ("Doroszeiko") and the Ottomans, see Turcica I.

140/1, fols. 49r–v, 54r–v, Casanova (23, 27 January 1668); Turcica I. 140/3, fols. 120–2v, Casanova (Tyrnovo, 14 December 1668); I. 141/3, fol. 136 (Salonika, 24 December 1669); I. 142/1, fols. 76r–v (Salonika, 9 March 1670) ("Kossakische negotien"); Ostapchuk, "Cossack Ukraine," esp. 140–2; Zajcev, "La politique Turque," 516–19, 523–4. On Russia and the Stepan Razin revolt, see Turcica I. 142/3, fols. 30–2v, Casanova (25 January 1671), esp. 30 ("Daß ganz Moscau rebelliert habe, dem Rebellen alle zulauffen"); Man'kov, "Krest'ianskaia voina." On the Porte's close observation of relations between Ukrainian and Don Cossacks, see Kochegarov, *Ukraina i Rossiia*, 15.

6 Rački, no. 95 (15 February 1670), p. 61.

7 Turcica I. 141/3, Casanova (24 December 1669), fol. 135v ("Ich führe immer ein wachtsambs aug auf das Ungarische Secretum, alhier aber ist davon nichts zuerforschen"). Cf. similarly, Turcica I. 140/2, Casanova from Tyrnovo (1 December 1668), fols. 108r–v; I. 141/3, fol. 102v (14 November 1669); I. 142/1, fol. 42 (1 February 1670).

8 Gergely 3, nos. 320–1, 325 (cryptic references to a conspiracy and promises to communicate the full story in person); Gergely 4, nos. 308, 328, 331, 342 (Gábor Kende and Fábián Farkas on oral messaging and the use of cipher); Hungarica 322 D, fol. 106, on the burning of letters by Ferenc Nagy (Leszenyei) and Pál Szepessy after the April 1670 revolt. Cf. NRA, fasc. 517, no. 8, fol. 62 ("Latam Nagy Mihály egy levelét cifrakal irva, az mely levelet kezemben atta, hogy computaliam, de en ahoz semmit sem értettem: visza vette").

9 An unnamed Hungarian officer from Szendrő Fortress reported directly to the Aulic War Council, see KA AFA 1668, fasc. 13, fol. 198v (19 December). Nobles suspected of spying on their peers faced a wall of silence and exclusion from the inner circle of the conspirators. This was the fate of Catholic grandees Ferenc Nagy and Mária Széchy, in Hungarica 322 C, fols. 21–3, Nagy testimony (22 August 1670), esp. 21; 322 D, fols. 89–97v, 114, Nagy testimony (14 September 1670), esp. 92, 95, 114.

10 MNL OL, P507, fasc. 11, no. 444, fols. 491–2v, Letter to Rottal (3 October 1669). On the hostility that Rottal and imperial commissars encountered in Upper Hungary, see Pauler, 1: 244, 246; Hungarica 288 E, fol. 19v ("Commissarii metu maioris mali imminentis commissionem abrumpere et se Viennam recipere necessitati fuerint").

11 On Panaiotti, see Hungarica 322 A, fol. 25, Extractus des Panaiotti Schreiben (24 June, 7 September, 24 December 1667; 28 February 1668). On other spies, see Michels, "When Will the Turks Attack?"

12 On information leaked by Catholic nobles, see Hungarica 322 A, fols. 41v–43v, Conferentia in Consilio Secreto, esp. 42; Wolff, *Fürst Wenzel Lobkowitz*, 251–9. On Nádasdy's duplicity, see Benczédi, "A Wesselényi-féle rendi szervezkedés kibontakozása," 624; Pauler, 1: 139–40, 177–8; Acsády, *A Magyarország története*,

250–1; Óváry, no. 1585, Chiaromanni (12 January 1669). Other Catholic informants included István Barkóczy (Hungarica 322 A, fol. 36) and Ferenc Nagy Leszenyei, a declared enemy of Nádasdy, who appears to have been eager to tell the full story (Benczédi, ibid., 630). Nagy reported to the Aulic War Council in December 1668, in KA AFA 1668, fasc. 13, fol. 195v (17 December). On Nagy's tense relations with Nádasdy, see Hungarica 322 D, fol. 98.

13 Trócsányi, *Teleki*, 73–4; Gergely 4, no. 266, András Radics to Teleki (14 September 1668); no. 267, Csúthy to Teleki (16 September 1668), p. 358; KA AFA 1668, fasc. 13, fol. 190, HKR (28 August) ("Rumori di Transylvania incerti").

14 Pauler, 1: 209–10, 224; KA AFA 1668, fasc. 9, no. 4, Montecuccoli to János Esterházy (15 September) on suspicious Turkish troop movements; fasc. 13, Secret Conference, fol. 195v (17 December) [about Köprülü's stable master]. Montecuccoli and a secretary of the Aulic War Council also interrogated important informants such as Péter Zrínyi (Pauler, 1: 256). Montecuccoli's fears were shared by Archbishop Szelepcsényi, in KA AFA 1668, fasc. 13, Montecuccoli notes, fol. 193 (27 September) ("Il pericolo non soffre remora pensandosi che l' Apaffi si sia gia moto").

15 MNL OL, E143, fasc. 19, fols. 430–2v, 434, Tractatus Cassoviensis in negotio religionis (n.d.), esp. 430r (about regular interventions of the thirteen counties on behalf of "any kind of preacher").

16 Kende was a good choice to represent the thirteen counties at the court of Prince Apafi: as a *familiaris* of the Calvinist Prince György II Rákóczi, he knew Transylvania's leading politicians. He was also the brother-in-law of Dénes Bánffy, who was one of Transylvania's most powerful men. Cf. Trócsányi, *Teleki*, 54.

17 Gergely 3, no. 321, Kende to Teleki (23 March 1665), p. 439 ("Elszánt dolgunkhoz csalhatatlanul hozzá fogunk"). Cf. ibid., nos. 325, 331.

18 For Wesselényi's denunciation of Thököly, see Gergely 3, no. 405, Teleki to Anna Bornemisza (16 March 1666), p. 555. About Thököly's trip to Transylvania, see Tasnádi Nagy, "Keczer Ambrus naplója," 191–8 (1 March–14 April 1665). On Csúthy's mission and his meeting with Apafi, see ibid., 236 (19 March 1666); Gergely 4, no. 411, Csúthy to Teleki (3 April 1666); no. 412, Miklós Bethlen to Teleki (3 April 1666) and an earlier mission, in Tasnádi Nagy, "Keczer Ambrus naplója," 228 (10 January 1666). On Apafi's reaction, see Gergely 4, no. 413, Apafi to Teleki (4 April 1666), p. 564. On István Thököly's fervent Lutheran faith and great wealth, see Pauler, 1: 92–3.

19 Gergely 3, no. 423, Ferenc Wesselényi to Teleki (12 May 1666); no. 427, Miklós Bethlen to Teleki (4 June 1666); no. 431, István Csáky to Teleki (5 July 1666), p. 582 ("A hirek újultan újulnak, hogy országul akarnának és keszülnek is ellenünk kijőni"); no. 438, Miklós Bethlen to Teleki (22 July 1665), p. 589–90; Bethlen, 288–9.

20 Gergely 3, nos. 446, 449–50 (19–25 August 1666).

21 Ibid., no. 457, Kende to Teleki (2 October 1666), p. 611.

22 Cf. armed confrontations over Welbach (Szepes County) which had been seized by Catholic hooligans only to be retaken by county troops, see Bruckner, *Reformáció és ellenreformáció*, 263–5; Hain, 319–22, 332–3, 347–8. On the escalation of the conflict with Báthori in Zemplén County see Pauler, 1: 124–5; Zsilinsky, *A Magyar országgyűlések vallásűgyi tárgyalásai*, 3: 286–92.

23 Ibid., 3: 289; Pauler, 1: 125–6.

24 MNL OL, E143, fasc. 19, fols. 430–2v, 434, esp. 430v ("Insuper progressa est Superioris Hungariae sive dictorum Tredecim Comitatuum**,** vel potius in iis residentium, quorundam nobilium Acatholicorum audacia, ut spretis, et contemptis aliis statibus et ordinibus Regni, Comitatusque, ipsi soli pro Regno haberi, nobis imperitare et quidvis imponere, Vrae Maittis authoritatem convellere, et omnia susque deque miscere non reformident"). The text remained without signatures and has no date, suggesting that it may have been a draft copy that perhaps was never sent to Vienna. The dating "1664" by an archivist is misleading.

25 Ibid., fol. 430r. Cf. a similar effort to reach a compromise, in MNL OL, E190, doboz 33, no. 8016, fols. 441–2, Wesselényi to ZK (18 September 1665).

26 Gergely 4, nos. 17, 19, Wesselényi to Teleki (4–10 February 1667) with calls for compromise and warnings to Apafi that the Vienna court was mobilizing soldiers in response.

27 The sojourn in Transylvania was interrupted by a few weeks in Cracow, and Thököly designated Ambrus Keczer to negotiate in his name. See Tasnádi Nagy, "Keczer Ambrus naplója," 264–96 (19 November 1666–23 June 1667).

28 "Bethlen János, Miklós és Teleki uramék jüttek gróf uram szállására, holmi portára íratandó conceptusokat olvastatván előttünk" (ibid., 270; *Bethlen Miklós levelei*, 1: 620). The diary entry is dated "Friday, December 24."

29 "Kende Gábor Uramis mind benn volt ezekbe az Feidelem discursusiba es resolutioiba" (*Bethlen Miklós levelei*, 1: 165–7, quotation 166 [Bethlen to Teleki, 2 March 1667]). On the great trust that Apafi and leading courtiers placed in Kende, see Gergely, 4: 596, 605. On the Lutherans Ambrus Keczer and András Radics, and the Calvinists Ferenc Ispán, László Gyulaffy, and István Bocskai, see *Bethlen Miklós levelei*, 1: 153, 162–3, 170, 172, 175–6.

30 Ibid., 1: 164–5 (Bethlen to Teleki, 26 February 1667).

31 "Instructio generoso Ladislao Balo," *EOE* 14: 236–8, esp. 238; "Secreta instructio … Ladislao Balo porrecta," *EOE* 14: 238–41, esp. 239–40.

32 "Instructio generoso Ladislao Balo," 237. See also ibid., 236, and "Secreta instructio," 240. The assumption that the Hungarians were making a generous offer, which the Ottomans could not possibly refuse because of its obvious benefits, is found in other contemporary sources. See Gergely 4, no. 34, p. 45; no. 36, p. 48.

33 "Secreta instructio," 239.

34 The dates are not entirely clear. The meeting apparently started on February 28 and lasted at least two weeks (with the last documented session occurring around March 13). See Pauler, 1: 117, 131.

35 Ibid., 124, 130.

36 On Nádasdy's "Janus-faced politics" in Neusohl, see Hungarica 323 A, fols. 21–6, Interrogation of Ferenc Nagy (10 October 1670); Pauler, 1: 129, 227 (lack of trust); Benczédi, "A Wesselényi-féle rendi szervezkedés kibontakozása," 616. A written oath signed by Nádasdy on 9 March 1667 does not refer to the Ottomans but alleges – very doubtfully – his commitment to addressing the religious grievances of Hungarian Protestants. See Pauler, 1: 131.

37 Pauler, 1: 129–30. Nádasdy, Wesselényi, and Zrínyi signed a "letter of trust" (*hitlevél*) dated 19 December 1666 that they were ready to ask for Ottmoman protection if there was no alternative. However, during the months leading up to the Neusohl meeting they were actively pursuing contacts with France and Poland and left the development of direct contacts with the Ottomans entirely to the Upper Hungarians. See Pauler, 1: 114–22. Cf. a letter by Wesselényi to Louis XIV (23 December 1666) emphasizing that "the Upper Landers [*felföldiek*] in particular want to join the Turk." This must be prevented because "if Hungary enters the service of the Turk it will never be able to free itself from him" (Pauler, 1: 113).

38 On Ferenc Nagy and Mihály Bory, see Pauler, 1: 123–4, 129. Bory wrote a secret letter to Miklós Bethlen in early April 1667 which Bethlen "did not understand because he did not have the key [*clavis*] that I used" (*Bethlen Miklós levelei*, 1: 171).

39 Wesselényi was already mortally ill (he died on 28 March 1667) and was probably not much involved in any of the negotiations. We also know that he corresponded with Rottal during the months leading up to Neusohl. Was he playing a double game? See Pauler, 1: 135–6; *Bethlen Miklós levelei*, 1: 620.

40 On the emissary Demeter Zöldi, see Trócsányi, *Teleki*, 64.

41 *Bethlen Miklós levelei*, 1: 170–1; "Baló László után küldött informatio," *EOE* 14: 241–3, esp. 242.

42 Gergely 4, no. 136, Bethlen to Teleki (25 August 1667), esp. p. 180 ("Hogy ha vezér az tengeren innét tudta volna ezt az dolgot, nem ment volna által, hanem mint derekasabb dologhoz, ennek az gondviseléséhez fogott volna"). Confirmed by Habsburg intelligence, in Hungarica 322 A, Periculosissimae machinationes, fols. 2v, 3v (false intelligence about the dispatch of Kende to Köprülü).

43 This version of events is supported by Inczédy's letter written upon his return to Transylvania in March 1668 as well as intelligence made available (by Panaiotti?) to the Habsburg court, in Hungarica 322 A, Periculosissimae machinationes, fol. 2v; Gergely 4, no. 212, Inczédy to Teleki (29 March 1668). For Inczédy's initial more pessimistic assessment, see *EOE* 14: 290–1, Inczédy from

Porte (November 1667, n.d.). Cf. ibid., 284–9, Instructions to Inczédy (9, 28 October 1667), esp. 284.

44 For details, see Pauler, 1: 197–8, 211–14; Benczédi, "A Wesselényi-féle rendi szervezkedés kibontakozása," 627; Trócsányi, *Teleki*, 73–5.

45 Gergely 4, no. 267, Csúthy to Teleki (16 September 1668), pp. 354, 357–8.

46 Ibid., no. 309, Gábor Kende to Teleki (2 February 1669) and Teleki's undated response, ibid., pp. 424–6.

47 Ibid., nos. 364–5, István Nálaczy to Teleki (10, 27 June 1669). On similar rumours, see ibid., no. 356, László Székely to Teleki (20 May 1669), p. 485. General Strassoldo, the commander of Szatmár Fortress, fed false news to Teleki about the arrival of a large French expeditionary force in Candia and Köprülü's imminent defeat, in Gergely 4, no. 385, Strassoldo to Teleki (25 September 1669).

48 Ibid., no. 395, Mikes Kelemen to Teleki (Bucharest, 9 October 1669) with news of Köprülü's imminent victory. Kelemen was optimistic: he had only recently met with sultan and *kaymakam* and reassured Teleki that it was time for another expedition to Köprülü (ibid., no. 382, Kelemen to Teleki [20 September 1669]).

49 Ibid., no. 316, Apafi to Teleki (13 March 1669).

50 Ibid., nos. 327–8, 331, 335, 342 (2 April, 5 April, 7 April, and 1 May 1669); *EOE* 14: 60; Bethlen, 351, 354–5.

51 EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fols. 247v–248, 250, 253 (stay with Bocskai), 266, 300; Pauler, 1: 273–4; *EOE* 14: 61; NRA, fasc. 518, no. 4, fol. 6; fasc. 691, no. 4, fol. 588; Hungarica 291 A, fol. 15 (testimony of Bocskai's secretary). In May 1669 Apafi corresponded with Czeglédy about money that the Upper Hungarian lords had agreed to send. Was this the money demanded by the Transylvanian court as a precondition for resuming contacts with the Porte? See Gergely 4, no. 360, László Székely to Teleki (27 May 1669), p. 491 and *EOE* 14: 59, 417 ("Bizonyos summa pénzt kivántunk, melyek nélkűl a törökkel való tracta lehetetlen").

52 Gergely 4, no. 366, Teleki to Hungarian lords (30 June 1669). On Köprülü's *kapıtihája (kapitaha)*, see ibid., p. 500; Szilády and Szilágyi, *Okmánytár*, 479; Steuerwald, *Türkçe-Almanca sözlük*, 484.

53 Definite news of Candia's fall arrived in Transylvania on 5 November, in Gergely 4, no. 411 (5 November 1669), p. 550. News about the fall of Candia circulated in Upper Hungary by mid-November and leading Hungarian nobles (e.g., Gábor Kende, Ferenc Ispán, and Mátyás Szuhay) intensified their lobbying in Transylvania; see ibid., nos. 415 (19 November 1669), 424 (5 December 1669), 425 (December 1669, n.d.), pp. 567–8; 426 (7 December 1669), p. 571; 427 (7 December 1669), p. 575; 428 (9 December 1669), p. 576; 430 (11 December 1669); 432 (13 December 1669), p. 582.

54 Such rumours were consciously promoted by rebel leaders. For example, Tamás Apáczay, a prominent official in Zemplén County, fabricated false letters an-

nouncing that Turkish troops were about to invade. Cf. NRA, fasc. 518, no. 1, fol. 33.

55 Benczédi, "Az 1670. évi tiszavidéki felkelés," 514. The numbers may have been much larger: see Pauler, 1: 238 (Upper Hungarian leaders' own estimate of 20,000 troops to be mobilized by the counties alone). On the mobilizations, see Rački, nos. 95 (15 February 1670), p. 60; 98 (22 February 1670), p. 62; 285 (13 April 1670), p. 180; Bogišić, *Acta*, 130–2 (20 and 27 February, 13 March 1670).

56 Gergely 4, no. 440 (17 December 1669), p. 604. The leaders of the thirteen counties stood in correspondence with Lower Hungarian counties and found sympathetic audiences not just among nobles but also in Protestant towns such as Pápa, Veszprém, Korpona, Komárom, Trencsén, and Szakolca. Cf. NRA, fasc. 517, no. 8, fols. 6–7, 16, 21–2, 75, 110–11; fasc. 518, no. 1, fols. 91–7, 181–4, 424, 470.

57 Hungarica 322 D, fols. 93–4; Pauler, 1: 235–6.

58 Pauler, 1: 262–4, 278; Rački, 283–4, 296–7. Note also Zrínyi's frequent meetings with the Venetian ambassador and his plan to visit Pope Clement IX as well as Ferenc Nádasdy's ties with Spanish dignitaries and the papal nuncio in Vienna, in Pauler, 1: 276–7, 281; Hungarica 322 D, fols. 89v–91, 93.

59 On Zrínyi's fervent animosity towards the Ottomans and his eagerness to go to war against them, see Pauler, 1: 174, 232, 268; Rački, no. 63, p. 40 ("Augura vittorie alla serenissima republica et vorrebe con la sua persona esserne a parte"). Cf. also attacks on Ottoman territory by Zrínyi and other magnates such as Kristóf Batthyány (which was of great concern to Montecuccoli, Pauler, 1: 277n1).

60 Pauler, 1: 278–9; Rački, 288–90 (with data about similar contacts with the pasha of Kanizsa).

61 Hungarica 322 D, fol. 93r–v, esp. 93r ("Sed tunc Dom. Zrini non aliter quam Sathanam aversabatur Turcam et suadebat … recursum ad Principes Christianos").

62 On 21 June 1669 Zrínyi told Montecuccoli and Lobkowitz about a plot hatched by Ferenc Nádasdy to assassinate Leopold I. It is unclear if he made any revelations about his Upper Hungarian contacts. See Pauler 1: 256–61.

63 Gergely 4, no. 381, Ferenc Ispán to Teleki (16 September 1669), p. 516; Pauler, 1: 236.

64 NRA, fasc. 518, no. 1, fols. 421 (Tokaj Fortress), 427 (emissary sent to Szendrő Fortress offering soldiers a two-month salary).

65 Benczédi, "Az 1670. évi tiszavidéki felkelés," 514.

66 Note, for example, Rákóczi's conversation with his confidant Pál Cserney: "Ebben en benne vagyok kéntelen vagyok vele elől tűz hátul víz, oldalt hegyes tőr, engem ezen fenyegetnek nem tudok mit cselekedni közöttök" (EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fol. 277). Cf. the following threat by Mátyás Szuhay: "Ferkó, életed halálod kezemben vagyon" (ibid., fol. 293). For other evidence of dom-

ination and intimidation by leading Calvinists, see ibid., fols. 275, 277v, 281v, 284v; Pauler, 1: 299; Gergely 5, no. 123, pp. 204–5; Óváry, no. 1769, Zsófia Báthori to Leopold I (9 September 1670). Rákóczi's own later testimonies emphasize that he only did what others (be they Zrínyi or the Calvinists) told him. Cf. NRA, fasc. 518, no. 9, Recognitio et declaratio Rakocziana (n.d.), fol. 1. On the Calvinist lords around Rákóczi, see also MNL OL, E254, July 1670, no. 5.

67 On the regional progress of mobilizations, see EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fols. 275–6, 281, 283, 286, 292–4; Hungarica 289 C, fols. 3–6v, Causa contra Andream Keczer (29 April 1671), esp. 6 (Sáros and Ung counties). On the call for universal insurrection, see Rački, no. 95 (15 February 1670).

68 On the recruitment of nobles and peasants, see EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fols. 250v, 253v, 255, 280r–v, 282, 293; no. 261, fol. 390; Hungarica 322 D, fols. 107v–108.

69 EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fol. 273v; Rački, no. 95, p. 60; no. 98, p. 64; EKPS, Series P, no. 136, Attestationes pro parti Egregii Stephani Baxa (August–September 1670), fols. 487–514, esp. 492 (dating emperor's mobilization order to 22 December 1669). Astute observers noticed very quickly that the armed units assembled by Rákóczi and the counties were not joining imperial troops mobilizing "against the Turks" (*contra Turcas*). See, for example, EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fols. 297v, 299v, 300v.

70 NRA, fasc. 517, no. 8, fol. 75. On the use of cipher, see Gergely 4, no. 328, Kende to Teleki (2 April 1669); Benczédi, "Az 1670. évi tiszavidéki felkelés," 617.

71 NRA, fasc. 517, no. 8, fols. 6–7, 110–14.

72 Cf. a regional meeting in November 1669 at Kremnica "to join a union and league [*ligam*] with the thirteen counties" (NRA, fasc. 518, no. 1, fol. 424).

73 Gergely 5, no. 8, István Bocskai to Teleki (13 January 1670); NRA, fasc. 517, no. 8, fols. 35, 54–5, 109; EKPS, Series P, no. 136, fols. 505–6; Pauler, 1: 309–10.

74 Rački, no. 101 (1 March 1670).

75 NRA, fasc. 517, no. 8, fols. 13–15, 22, 28 (testimonies of *alispán* Paul Gerhard, county assessor Georg Gerhart, and *castellanus* Pál Verbély); Hungarica 322 D, fols. 95, 102–3.

76 Hungarica 322 D, fols. 97r–v; NRA, fasc. 517, no. 8, fols. 27–8 (Testimony of János Santó, vice-captain of Korpona). On developments in Nyitra, Trencsén, and Zólyom counties, see Hungarica 322 D, fols. 99–100. On Bars County, see EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fol. 265v.

77 Venetian emissary M. Zorzi was privy to meetings of the Secret Council, received news from Szatmár Fortress (through the brother of Commander Strassoldo), and enjoyed the confidence of Péter Zrínyi, who kept him abreast of Upper Hungarian and Croatian developments. See Rački, no. 86 (23 January 1670); no. 101 (1 March 1670); no. 102 (3 March 1670), p. 66.

78 Ibid., no. 85 (18 January 1670).

79 Ibid., no. 98 (22 February 1670), p. 63; no. 99 (22 February 1670), pp. 64–5.

80 Ibid., no. 105 (5 March 1670), p. 67.

81 Ibid., no. 95, p. 60 ("Va ragionevole … non rimanere esposti non alla guistitia d' prencipe clemente ma all' odio de fieri ministri persecutori"). On the growing hatred of Catholics, ibid., no. 99, p. 64. At least two reports identified Prince Lobkowitz as being responsible for the explosive situation, ibid., no. 85, p. 52; no. 90 (1 February 1670), p. 55.

82 EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fol. 273v. Lengyel was a trusted protégé of Rákóczi (ibid., fol. 273r). For a similar speech by the Lutheran András Dobai in the Sáros County Diet, see NRA, fasc. 517, no. 5, Fassiones et Attestationes collectae … pro parte Egregrii Magistri Nicolai Maylath, Causarum Regalium Directoris et Sacrae Regni istius Hungariae Coronae Fiscalis (March–April 1671), fol. 13.

83 Pauler, 2: 3–4 (Torna, Szepes counties), EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fols. 250v, 253–4, 267, 271–2 (Abaúj); 251v, 286 (Bereg); 272 (Borsod); 272 (Gömör); 272 (Szabolcs); 272 (Torna); 277v–278 (Zemplén); 291v (Ung); NRA, fasc. 518, no. 1, fol. 420 (Ung); no. 24, fol. 15 (Szepes); fasc. 691, no. 4, Acta delegationis Caesareae Posoniensis, fols. 277–8 (Abaúj), 333–56 (Sáros, Szepes, Abaúj), 590–3 (Abaúj). According to Pál Chernel, a client of István Thököly, such meetings took place "almost daily in one or the other counties" (Gergely 5, no. 53, p. 98).

84 EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fols. 249v, 250v, 252v, 253r–v, 254–5, 274v, 279, 287, 292.

85 Ibid., fols. 249, 251r–v, 252, 255r–v, 261.

86 Cf. chapter 2. On the insistence of leading conspirators that "they would remain loyal to His Majesty" during a meeting with Rottal in May 1669, see Pauler, 1: 249–50.

87 EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fols. 251v–253, 277v–278, 279v–281, 286, 301v. On Keglevics and Tyukodi, see ibid., fols. 272, 294–5.

88 Ibid., fols. 259v, 268 , 277, 281, 295. On plans to seize Catholic Church properties and extort money from Catholic hierarchs, see ibid., fols. 292, 299.

89 Hungarica 322 D, fols. 92, 94, 107v. The Lutheran András Keczer called Nagy a *fidefragus*, which might be translated as "traitor," " perjurer," or "renegade" (EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fol. 273r). In fact, there is evidence that Nagy leaked letters from Upper Hungary to the Vienna court in January 1669. Cf. Benczédi, "A Wesselényi-féle rendi szervezkedés kibontakozása," 630.

90 Nagy claimed that he had burned all letters demonstrating his involvement in the uprising and asked his interrogators to believe him (Hungarica 322 D, fol. 106). Naturally he downplayed his role but the rich detail of his narrative cannot camouflage his persistent efforts to ingratiate himself with Upper Hungarian leaders (who did not trust him).

91 Hungarica 322 C, fol. 21; 322 D, fols. 94–5v. Nagy also tried to ingratiate himself with Zrínyi's wife, who remained in Upper Hungary with her daughter (Rákóczi's spouse) after Zrínyi's departure, "but she accused [him] of deception and trickery" (ibid., fol. 94v). Szepessy appears to have become more cooperative after "the eruption" and acted "more reliably" (*magis realiter*) (fol. 95v).

92 On Báthori, see EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fol. 286v and Lőcsey, *Báthori Zsófia*,

36–7, 40; on Bársony, see Pauler, 2: 17, 50; Hungarica 322 D, fols. 69–72, Opinio Georgii Barsonii Episcopi Varadiensis (n.d., received by Rottal on 7 September 1670); on Ferenc Szegedi, bishop of Eger and former Hungarian chancellor (1667–9), see Pauler, 1: 292–3; *EOE* 14: 415; Vanyó, nos. 58, 66. Apart from Nádasdy and Frangepán sympathetic Catholic lords included the magnates István Csáky, Imre Balassa, and Kristóf Batthyány, one of the most powerful men in Lower Hungary, who was close to Zrínyi (cf. Rački, 295 vs. Óváry, no. 1681, Batthyány to Lobkowitz [7 April 1670]). On 11 March 1670 emissaries representing Zrínyi and Upper Hungary brought a letter purportedly by Prince Apafi of Transylvania informing Sultan Mehmed IV that Batthyány and another unnamed magnate – whose name Habsburg spies were unable to identify – were ready to join the revolt with 30,000 troops, in Turcica I. 142/1, Casanova (16 March 1670), fol. 88. On the Upper Hungarian magnate István Csáky, see Gergely 5, nos. 62, 90, 126; on Balassa, see Pauler, 2: 198–9.

93 Benczédi, "A Wesselényi-féle rendi szervezkedés kibontakozása," 598, 600–1, 617; Hungarica 322 C, fol. 21; 322 D, fols. 99r, 100r.

94 Kende responded to false rumours that Köprülü had died and believed the grand vizier's death had removed an important obstacle to winning Ottoman support, in Bethlen, 329–30.

95 Pauler, 1: 239–40n2; Katona, 33: 733. It has been argued that this letter was a later forgery to justify the summary expulsion of the Protestant clergy (cf. S. Varga, *Az 1674-es gályarabper jegyzőkönyve*, 116, 124–8). But I accept Pauler's argument that the letter could not possibly be a forgery because it was already cited verbatim in a report by Rottal in May 1669. Historians Franz von Krones and Ivan Mrva also considered the letter genuine, in Krones, "Zur Geschichte Ungarns," 363–4; Mrva, "Politicke a naboženske pomery," 35.

96 Hungarica 322 D, fols. 95v–96; Pauler, 1: 273 (mistakenly speaks of István Szendrei). Szendrei was accompanied by a little-known Calvinist noble named Péter Darnay from Sátoraljaújhely (Zemplén County).

97 Gergely 5, no. 236 (2 October 1670), p. 361; Rački, no. 85 (18 January 1670), p. 51. Cf. a letter by the Aulic War Council to the Hungarian chancellor, in Szabó, no. 1 (10 January 1670), pp. 204–5 ("Remonstratur der gefährliche status in Ober Hungarn … des Praedicanten zu Caschau Dancksagung wegen eroberten Candia von Türckhen").

98 Cf. NRA, fasc. 517, no. 5, fol. 6; no. 14, fol. 7; fasc. 518, no. 1, fols. 8, 32, 41, 72, 80, 101, 105, 136, 148, 156, 197, 213; no. 4, fol. 6; fasc. 1737, no. 2, fols. 8, 15, 25; no. 3, fols. 11, 179. See also Szabó, no. 1, p. 204n5 with extensive references to Czeglédy in Hungarica 288, 322–4.

99 Gergely 5, no. 236, Rottal to Teleki (2 October 1670), p. 361; Bethlen, 383. The Czeglédy case requires further inquiry, including a search for his sermons from the years 1669–70 and identification of "the little printed book" which

Habsburg agents confiscated after the revolt (see NRA, fasc. 518, no. 1, fols. 72, 101). His writings also circulated in Lutheran Lower Hungary; see Háan, "Deák Farkas jelentése," 103. Cf. Mihalik, "Turkismus und Gegenreformation," 329–30.

100 A collection of sermons celebrating war against the Habsburgs and Ottoman support was lost or destroyed (as suggested by Tibor Fabiny) after it was described in a 1906 publication of the Transylvanian Museum. On *Triumphant Weapon, or Supplications Written for the Necessary Expediences of the Truly Hungarian Camp* [*Győzedelmeskedő fegyver, vagy az igaz magyaros magyar tábornak szükséges alkalmatosságaira iratott könyörgések*], see Fabiny, "Religio és rebellió," 152–3n45. One wishes that scholars could find sermons that originated during the 1670 and 1672 revolts. Cf. funeral orations dedicated to István Bocskai, a principal rebel leader, in OSZK, Manuscript Repository, RMK I. 1164, *Szomorú halloti pompa*. Cf. Szabó, *Régi magyar könyvtár*, 1: 482. Note that *Győzedelmeskedő fegyver* was not listed in this standard survey of Hungarian prints. On the lack of sermons from this tumultuous period, see Schmidt et al., *Geschichte*, 2: 129.

101 Kowalská, *Na ďalekých cestách*, 52; Klein, *Nachrichten*, 1: 449–56.

102 Cf. OSZK, Manuscript Repository, RMK III. 2845, Fidicinis, *Eine Feste Burg*, pp. 252–9 ("Von den ersten Haufen der Ungläubigen/neulich von den Heyden, Türken, Juden und anderen"); Pilárik, "Turcico-Tatarica crudelitas." Fidicinis was a senior teacher of the Leutschau Lutheran school before he fled in the early 1670s. Pilárik, pastor of Senica in Lower Hungary, spent two months in Tatar captivity during the 1663–64 war; he was dean (*esperes*) of Nyitra County until his flight to Germany in 1673. Cf. Zoványi, *Magyarországi protestáns egyháztörténeti lexikon*, 199–200, 477–8. Fidicinis's denunciation of the Turks (whom he equated with Jews and pagans) made up only a small portion of his voluminous treatise: his primary intention was to denounce religious persecution ("the Devil's work") and provide solace for the persecuted (cf. OSZK, Manuscript Repository, RMK III. 2845, pp. 1–8, 323–30, 752–814).

103 On the confiscation of the Schemnitz Lutheran church, see Weber, *Historischer Geschlechtsbericht*, 96–104.

104 Hézser, *A tállyai ev. református egyház története*, 34–6; Rácz, *A Pozsonyi vértörvényszék áldozatai*, 172–4. On the pro-Ottoman preacher Márton Bagossy, who was a close associate of Czeglédy, see Pauler, 1: 273–4; 2: 72 ("Hirdeté, hogy a török megesküdött szakállára, napra, holdra, csillagokra, hogy a reformatusokat oltalmába veszi, megsegiti, a midőn aztán jaj leszen a pápistáknak, és mind azoknak, kik a németekkel tartanak").

105 NRA, fasc. 518, no. 1, fols. 18–24, Extractus inquisitionis (Szatmár, Szabolcs), esp. 24. On Calvinist ministers in the Veszprém and Pápa region, see ibid., fols. 91–7, esp. 96–7 ("Petrus Kajary praedicans Helvet. Confessionis possessionis Saagh contra Deum, Beatam Virginem Mariae et Religionem Catholicam terribiliter

blasphemando, dicebat Partes Superiores cum Turcis et Tataris exituros et si cum illis una Catholicos velle trucidare"). On radical pastors in Abaúj, Torna, and Zemplén counties, see ibid., fols. 42, 184–95 (István Telkibányai, István Fogarassy); fasc. 517, no. 14, fols. 20–1 (unnamed pastor of Nagymihály); fasc. 619, no. 4, fols. 198–200, 558, 560–1, 566 (Bagossy, János Técsy, Michael Zadányi, Szőllősy). On Telkibányai and Fogarassy, see Zoványi, *Magyarországi protestáns egyháztörténeti lexikon*, 202–3, 628.

106 Weber, *Historischer Geschlechtsbericht*, 98, 100–1.

107 Gergely 4, no. 388, Gyulaffy to Teleki (30 September 1669), esp. 265; EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fols. 277v, 283v–284, 286r–v, 288.

108 Gergely 5, no. 53, Pál Chernel to Teleki (3 March 1670), p. 99 ("Magunknak is volt ezer embere fustélyokkal, dorongokkal, visszaszegezett kaszákkal"). For an approximate translation of "visszaszegezett kasza" I have relied on *Régi magyar glosszárium*, 384, 636.

109 EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fols. 287v–88, Testimony of Ferenc Csáky.

110 Benczédi, "Az 1670. évi tiszavidéki felkelés," 544–5; NRA, fasc. 517, no. 5, fols. 52–3 (Witness 18); no. 8, fol. 15 (Witness 3); fasc. 1737, no. 5, Witness 6.

111 NRA, fasc. 1737, no. 5, fols. 31, 36 (Witnesses 70, 80). These rumours likely originated in "Turkish letters" (*Turcicae literae*) publicly posted in Ungvár (Ung County) and spread to surrounding areas, in NRA, fasc. 1744, no. 63, Investigation by Lelesz Convent (June–July 1672), fols. 5, 19–20, 22, 28, esp. 22 ("Ratione nimium Turcarum literarum, quae non parvam dederant animationem plebi de assistentia Turcarum assecurando eam"). Cf. Benczédi, "Az 1670. évi tiszavidéki felkelés," 518.

112 MNL OL, E250, fasc. 40, no. 1, MK to ZK (2 January 1670), including a copy of an imperial mandate to Upper Hungarian counties to prevent the flight of peasants from the hinterlands of Szatmár Fortress to the Ottomans ("Circa praecavendam subditorum ad arcem Szathmar spectantium Turcae sui deditionem"). On the flight of enserfed peasants to Ottoman territory to escape religious persecution, lower their tax burdens, and entrust themselves to pashas' promised protection, see R. Várkonyi, "Országegyesítő kísérletek," 1096–7.

113 Gergely 5, no. 19, Teleki to István Naláczy (21 January 1670), esp. pp. 39–40.

114 I focus here on Upper Hungary but there is good evidence that pro-Ottoman moods in Lower Hungary existed throughout all layers of society. Cf. NRA, fasc. 518, no. 1, fols. 94 (Pápa resident), 95 (a border soldier in Pápa Fortress), 96 (Pápa's Calvinist pastor), 470 (noble in Turóc County and townsmen of Korpona).

115 Several witnesses insisted that rumours of imminent Ottoman, Transylvanian, or Tatar invasions were created by Hungarian nobles to speed up military mobilization. Cf. EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fols. 253, 262v, 270v, 272v, 299v.

116 Ibid., fols. 270r–v.

117 Ibid., fols. 270, 275v, 281. On mass mobilization of ordinary people in Tokaj and environs, see NRA, fasc. 518, no. 1, fol. 17; Hungarica 288 A, fols. 8–10v, Two appeals for help by the wife of captured Tokaj commander Starhemberg (12 April 1670). Starhemberg's wife was with the officers holding out after the outbreak of revolt: "Aus der Festung kan ich auch nit mehr kommen, weilen hier seit des unglückseligen Tages viel hundert in der Statt versamelen wohl allweil mehr wohl mehr, weis also vor leid nit wo ich aus soll whol muss erwarten was Gott schickt befehle mich in Ihn gde gnad wol verblaib" (fol. 8v).

118 Testimony of the Lutheran István Szirmay, who participated in the meeting as a delegate from Sáros County (EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fols. 250v–251). Cf. ibid., fols. 250r, 268v, 270v, 271v, 291v; NRA, fasc. 517, no. 5, fols. 7, 11, 13. Cf. Ferenc Katai declaring one of his villages a Turkish tributary (EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fol. 272); Bogišić, *Acta*, 125 (2 January 1670) ("Plusieurs autres vouloient prendre l'exemple [de payer tribute]"). The pashas of Eger and Varad would "carry out [*el igazittya*] Article 14 of the 1647 [Hungarian] state law" (NRA, fasc. 517, no. 5, fol. 11), which promised punishment of Catholic clergy and nobles refusing to return confiscated Protestant churches. On the law of 1647 which guaranteed all residents of Hungary – including peasants – free exercise of religion, see Fata, *Ungarn*, 193–4; on article 14, see Zsilinsky, *A Magyar országgyűlések vallásűgyi tárgyalásai*, 3: 13, 34; Fabó, *Az 1662-diki országgyűlés*, 25, 57, 59, 76.

119 EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fols. 250v, 253, 266v, 271, 274, 276.

120 Ibid., fols. 258, 259v, 276, 280, 282v–283. Cf. speeches by *főispán* Bocskai and *judex nobilium* László Vékey (ibid., fols. 268, 279r–v). On similar speeches in other county diets, see ibid., fol. 291v (Ung); NRA, fasc. 517, no. 5, fols. 15, 17, 37–8 (Szatmár).

121 EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fols. 250, 251v–252, 256, 258v, 262v. One easily finds such nobles in every county; they often belonged to extended clans. See, for example, ibid., fol. 271v and NRA, fasc. 517, no. 5, fols. 51–4 (István Kerő and the Szilágyi clan in Szatmár County); NRA, fasc. 517, no. 4, fol. 24 and EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fols. 275v, 293 (Pál Uszkay, Apagyi and Patay clans in Szabolcs County); 259v, 267v, 275r–v, 293 (Zsigmond Gaudel, István Patolyi, György Lakatos, András Medgyessy, Mihály Veres in Zemplén County); 291v (Pál Szakacs, Pál Ubresi in Ung County).

122 EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fols. 260v, 267, 271, 274; NRA, fasc. 517, no. 5, fol. 7 ("Holnap meg segét az Isten, es az rabok csudalatossan meg szabadulnak"). Other prominent promoters of revolt included András Székely (Abaúj County) and members of the Görgey clan (Szepes County), in EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fols. 255v, 257v, 258v, 260, 262, 266, 268v, 292; Görgey, *A Görgey nemzetség*, 48–9, 51–2.

123 Bónis's letters circulated, for example, in Szepes County and were shown to

Kristóf Horváth, the top local official of the Zipser Kammer. Cf. EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fol. 260v. On letters dispatched by Bónis and other leading figures, see ibid., 255v, 259r–v, 271.

124 Hungarica 322 D, fol. 95 ("Hoc rumore omnia fora plena erant"); Gergely 5, no. 53, p. 101; no. 84, p. 136; Bogišić, *Acta*, 137 (27 March 1670).

125 On the growing impatience and concern about Köprülü's silence, see Gergely 5, nos. 1, 4, 11, 16, 20, 31, 61, 65–7, 71, 76, Letters in Mihály Teleki Archive (2 January to 26 March 1670).

126 On the dispatch of Dávid Rozsnyai, see Pauler, 1: 312. Habsburg spies were also unable to find out anything about Rozsnyai's meeting with Köprülü before he returned from Candia to Salonika in late February 1670. Cf. Turcica I. 142/1, Casanova (3 March 1670), fol. 63v.

127 Gergely 5, nos. 3 (Candia), 11, 46 (Salonika), 51 (Salonika), 67, 80 (letter from *kaymakam*).

128 On the importance of bribing leading Ottoman officials, see Gergely 5, nos. 3, 51, 53, 75, 156. There was also fear that the Venetians had taken back Candia, but this fear was quickly dispelled (ibid., no. 3).

129 Gergely 4, no. 445 (21 December 1669), p. 615; Gergely 5, no. 46 (9 February 1670), no. 62 (18 March 1670).

130 EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fols. 275v (László Kubinyi), 295v (György Baranyay), 296 (Márton Bánchy), 299v (István Jeney), 301v (Miklós Balthazar), 302v (Benedek Serédy). On invocations of God, see also Gergely 5, nos. 67, 71, Letters exchanged between Ferenc Ispán and Teleki (20–3 March 1670).

131 Hungarica 322 D, fols. 96r–v. Cf. undated letter by the pasha of Varad offering Transylvania to Apafi's competitor Miklós Zólyomi, in Pauler and Pesty, "A lőcsei bizottság jelentése," 528.

132 EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fols. 273v, 275r–v, 293v; Rački, 69–71, 79, 82–3, 282, 287, 292; Gergely 5, no. 117, p. 188; no. 123, pp. 203, 205. Some of these letters were conveyed to Rákóczi or Zrínyi's closest kin, i.e., his wife, daughter (Rákóczi's wife), and son, all of whom remained in Upper Hungary. Others were addressed to "the leaders of the revolt" (*capi der rebellion*) such as the Calvinists Pál Szepessy and Mátyás Szuhay.

133 Rački, 282, 291–2.

134 Gergely 5, no. 117, Kende to Teleki (May 1670, n.d.), esp. p. 188. On Zrínyi's agents in Buda and Eger, see ibid., no. 87, Kende to Teleki (5 April 1670), esp. pp. 140–1.

135 This subsequently lost letter from late December 1669 can be reconstructed on the basis of the magnate Frangepán's interrogation, Pauler, 1: 315–16; Rački, 230. The participants of the Kassa Diet could have learned about the Salonika meeting (but hardly its contents) from traveling Ottoman dignitaries such as the *sipahi* who told a Habsburg courier in early January 1670 (Pauler, 1: 313, 319–20).

On the circulation of information initially reported by Bukovacky, see EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fols. 259r–v, 261v, 267v, 273r–v, 291v–292, 295v, 308; NRA, fasc. 517, no. 5, fols. 17, 20, 24.

136 On Bukovacky's return to Croatia, see Pauler, 1: 325, 327; Rački, 72. Kara Ibrahim told Upper Hungarian delegates at a supra-regional meeting in Neusohl in March 1670 that Rozsnyai's mission had also been successful. But it appears Ibrahim's assertions were not trusted because they could not be confirmed by Transylvanian sources. Cf. Gergely 5, no. 95, Kende to Teleki (17 April 1670), p. 157; on the failure of Transylvanian intelligence to learn about Rozsnyai's mission, ibid., nos. 31, 40, 57, 61 (17 March 1670), 65–7 (20 March 1670), 71, 76 (26 March 1670).

137 Rački, 71–3; Bogišić, *Acta*, 137, 141, 145 ("Il traitoit avec les Turcs de se faire Roy de Hongrie"); Gergely 5, no. 87, Kende to Teleki (5 April 1670), p. 140; no. 151, László Gyulaffy to Teleki (23 May 1670), p. 253 ("Látja Isten, elhittem vala, áthnaméjok vagyon"). News brought by the returning Bukovacky traveled fast. Habsburg agents in Croatia already reported some of the main points on 13, 17, and 19 March 1670, in Rački, 72–3, 78, 81 (with the fantastic claim that the sultan wanted to make Zrínyi "grand vizier" in Croatia). Cf. a report by the Venetian ambassador dated 22 March 1670 (ibid., 98–100, esp. 98). Bukovacky's meetings with the divan and *Kaymakam* Kara Mustafa were known in Transylvania by early April (Gergely 5, no. 86, p. 138). And Habsburg commander Strassoldo learned about "Zrínyi's intention" on 4 April 1670 (ibid., no. 84, pp. 135–6). These were not mere rumours: a draft *ahdname* was shown to a Transylvanian envoy by a close associate of Köprülü's (Papp, "Ottoman Accounts," 39).

138 Rački, 82. Cf. a similar letter dated 10 March 1670, see ibid., 70 ("Turcarum Caesaris potens robur nobiscum erit, neque vos derelinquet, cuius intuitu ad omnia confinia mandata transmissurus, ut in omnibus auxilium ferant").

139 These items were allegedly found by agents of Zsófia Báthori among letters seized from the wife of rebel leader István Bocskai after the collapse of the uprising. Considering their importance it is strange that they were not turned over to Habsburg investigators; it is possible that the witness was mistaken. Cf. EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fols. 259r–v, Testimony by noble János Bartony reporting a conversation with an agent of Zsófia Báthori. Ottoman chronicles mention a "noble sultanic decree" (*hatt-i şerif*), in Papp, "Ottoman Accounts," 39.

140 EKPES, Series AG, fols. 263v, 265–6v, 270v, 275, 276v, 279, 293 (Eger); 279, 285v, 290 (Varad); 289, 306 (Buda); NRA, fasc. 517, no. 5, fol. 14 (Uyvar). Gergely 5, no. 90, p. 148 (Eger); no. 101, p. 163 (Buda); no. 112, pp. 179–80 (Eger); no. 119, p. 193 (Eger and Varad); Rački, 70 (Eger and Uyvar); Bogišić, *Acta*, 140 (Varad, Buda). László Gyulaffy, one of the principal commanders of the rebel army, reported a close personal relationship with Turkish military leaders ("For sure we ate and drank together with the Turks," Gergely 5, no. 152, p. 253).

141 Gergely 5, no. 71, Ferenc Ispán to Teleki (23 March 1670), p. 118; no. 95, Kende to Teleki (17 April 1670), p. 156.

142 Gergely 5, no. 91, Kende to Teleki (11 April 1670), p. 146; no. 95, pp. 156–7. On Kara Ibrahim and an anonymous Turkish envoy who met with rebel leaders on the eve of the revolt, see also Hungarica 289 C, fols. 6v, 13v–14, Fassiones Stephani Barkoczii (1671, n.d.).

143 Border troops were mobilizing "everywhere in [their] fortresses ready [to move] at any moment" (*mindenütt az végekben, minden órában készen legyenek*), in Gergely 5, no. 76, Ispán to Teleki (26 March 1670), p. 124; no. 78, László Székely to Teleki (27 March 1670), p. 126. For other evidence, see Rački, no. 106, p. 68 (Uyvar); Gergely 5, no. 24, p. 46; no. 27, p. 58; no. 29, p. 61; no. 81, p. 129; no. 82, p. 131 (Varad); no. 29, p. 60 (Jenő); no. 33, p. 69 (two unnamed pashas); Bogišić, *Acta*, 126, 128, 151 ("Toute sorte de preparatifs de guerre").

144 Rački, no. 98, p. 63 (Venetian report dated 22 February 1670); Gergely 5, no. 151, p. 253. The mobilization on recently seized tributary lands was seen as conclusive evidence by the Habsburg court that the Ottomans were serious about helping the insurgents (Rački, ibid.).

145 Rački, 72, 74, 280.

146 Ibid., 81. On Zrínyi's contacts with the vizier of Buda (including his correspondence), see ibid., 281, 287.

147 Rački, no. 130, esp. pp. 86, 88–9; Bogišić, *Acta*, 136, 142–3.

148 Cf. the emphasis on speedy action: orders were to be implemented immediately (*nunc in instanti*, *gleich iezo*, *an der Zeit*, *subito*, etc.) in the hope "that Your Imperial Majesty will still luckily overcome this storm with the help of the Almighty" (Rački, 88–9). On the panic in Vienna, see also Óváry, no. 1672, Chiaromanni (22 March 1670) and Vanyó, no. 92, p. 55 (4 May 1670) with a focus on Ottoman war preparations. Cf. anonymous Hungarian letter to Rottal which originated in Győr, in Óváry, no. 1674 (28 March 1670).

149 "Wird mir von allen confirmiert, daß selbige [Ungarn und Kroaten] diser zeith nit angenommen sind … nicht angenommen aus mangl des willens, oder aufrichtigkeit den Frieden zu halten, sondern zusehen, wo die Pollacken, Moscoviter und andere hinauswollen" (Turcica I. 142/1, Casanova [9 March 1670], fol. 74v).

150 "Daß Euer Kaiserliche Majestät dise rebellen beÿ zeithen auß dem Weg zuräumben hetten, denn sollten die Türken anderwertig nit angegriffen werden, würden sie unfehlbar mit E. K. M. anheben" (ibid., fol. 75).

151 Turcica I. 142/1, fols. 61r–v, Casanova (25 February 1670).

152 Ibid., fols. 63–4, Casanova (3 March 1670). Cf. Casanova's comment on Candia "where now even the minutest matters are dealt with [which explains] why *Kaymakam* Kara Mustafa and others right here are inactive [*müßig*]" (I. 142/1, Casanova [9 March 1670], fol. 76). On the paralysis of decision-making at the

Porte in Köprülü's absence, see ibid., fol. 74 ("Was in Candia beim Groß Vezier vorgehet, welcher absolute regiret"). I found no evidence that Kara Mustafa managed to increase his influence during Köprülü's absence, but the restrictions on his authority after Köprülü's return suggests that he tried; in Wasiucionek, *Ottomans and Eastern Europe*, 144–5.

153 "Mancherlei reden nun, weilen sie nit über einstimmen, geben argwohn, daß nichts gutes darunter steckt, und die sach endlich nit wohl ausschlagen kann" (Turcica I. 142/1, fol. 61v).

154 Turcica. I. 142/1, Casanova (16 March 1670), fol. 88. Cf. Venetian report dated 16 April 1670 on the appearance of three Hungarians at the sultan's court, see Rački, no. 282, p. 178.

155 Turcica I. 142/1, Casanova (25 February–16 March 1670), fols. 61, 63v, 76–7, 116r–v.

156 "Es wird von allen bestettigt, daß der Sultan und Groß Vesier, ihre leben zu erhalten ohne Krieg nit sein und die militia nit müßig lassen können" (Turcica I. 142/1, Casanova [24 February 1670], fol. 57). Casanova reports that the sultan tried to prevent *sipahi* and Jansissary rebellions in Istanbul: "Der sultan thette es aus forcht einiger sollevation der militia, welche sehr irritiert ist, daß er täglich auf der Jagt ligt, und sie so wol ungelegenheiten im Krieg und anderwerts ausstehen muss" (ibid., fol. 77). Such rebellions had been a distinctive feature of seventeenth-century Ottoman history before Mehmed Köprülü took power in 1657. Cf. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, vol. 3, pt. 1, 228–308; Yücel and Sevim, *Türkiye tarihi*, 3: 91–142.

157 NRA, fasc. 517, no. 5, fols. 20 (many Turkish troops just outside Szerencs), 38–9 (40,000 Turks; Csenger troops); on Zrínyi's successes (ibid., fol. 20); NRA, fasc. 1737, no. 2, fol. 50 ("Spargentes passim 60. millia Turcarum in promissis a Turcis"); Gergely 5, nos. 76, 78 (26–7 March 1670). On the sultan's alleged orders to the Wallachian and Moldavian princes to move against Hungary, see Gergely 5, no. 117, Anna Bornemisza to Teleki (2 May 1670), p. 194 ("Such a great lie"). Cf. On the sultan's alleged coming, see László Székely to Teleki (ibid., no. 118, p. 194n2) ("Azt hallották volna, az török császár Magyarországra jűne").

158 NRA, fasc. 518, no. 1, fol. 58; EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fols. 262, 273 ("Sua Majestas vel iam sit mortua, vel brevi moritura est"), 275v; 280, 282v, 294v ("Ördög adta nagy ajakú Császár ell szököt, el ment Romaba, csudak történtek rajta").

159 Cf. Strassoldo's boast in a letter to Teleki, in Gergely 5, no. 6 (6 January 1670), p. 13 ("Deus dat, ut talis sit pro defensione Christianitatis"). By contrast, see Strassoldo's and other commanders' panicked letters about Ottoman mobilizations and the explosive situation in Upper Hungary, ibid., nos. 33, 58, 84 (29 January, 13 March, 4 April 1670); Vanyó, no. 92, p. 55 (2 February 1670).

160 MNL OL, P507, fasc. 15, no. 528, fols. 135–6, Letter to Rottal (23 April 1670); Benczédi, "Az 1670. évi tiszavidéki felkelés," 513–14. Pethő behaved similarly in

September 1661 after Ottoman troops had broken into Upper Hungary, in Óváry, no. 1112, Pethő to Lobkowitz (8 September 1661), claiming to be too sick for military service.

161 MNL OL, E254, April 1670, no. 8, fols. 147r–v, Letter addressed to ZK (17 April). On Csáky's flight to Poland and his appeal to Rákóczi to spare his estates, see EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fol. 299; Benczédi, "Az 1670. évi tiszavidéki felkelés," 513.

162 Lehoczky, *Beregvármegye monographiája*, 1: 160; Gergely 5, nos. 95–9, 103, 112–13. Putnok, Károly, and Diósgyőr fortresses most likely also fell into rebel hands (ibid., nos. 115, 117; NRA, fasc. 517, no. 5, fol. 58). The German commander of Szendrő made a deal with rebel leaders to save his soldiers' lives, in Hungarica 289 C, fols. 31–6, Investigation of Captain Hans Peter Rudneby (19 May 1671). On the participation of townsmen, peasants, and vineyard workers, see Szopori, "A Pálóczi Horvát család naplója," 225.

163 EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fol. 301 ("Illi cum tympanis, tibicinibus, et fistulatoribus comparentes armata manu substiterunt prope domum congregationis").

164 Ibid., fols. 287v–288v, Testimony of Ferenc Csáky (2 September 1670); Gergely 5, no. 46, pp. 90–1; no. 53, p. 99. On Vér's repeated complaints about the emperor's failure to pay Kálló's Calvinist minister, see chapter 2.

165 MNL OL, E254, February 1670, no. 21, fols. 83–4v, Fábián Farkas to ZK (n.d.); EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fols. 275v, 287v, 298v, 308. On Farkas's close ties with Zrínyi and their alleged top-secret meeting in Venice, see Hungarica 289 C, fol. 9v, Testimony by Ferenc Barkóczy (n.d.). Before his call to Tokaj Farkas had been vice-captain of Putnok (1665–70), in Pauler and Pesty, "A lőcsei bizottság jelentése," 527.

166 On Csáky's marriage and his accumulation of offices (e.g., *főispán* of Bereg, captain-general of Szatmár troops, *Kammermeister*, *Kämmerer*, and *Innerer Rat*), see Nagy, *Magyarország családai*, 2: 82; Deák, *Adatok*, 4–5.

167 NRA, fasc. 517, no. 5, fols. 34, 40, 49; Gergely 5, no. 99, Ferenc Peley to Teleki (19 April 1670); no. 126, Anna Lónyay to Teleki (8 May 1670); Hungarica 322 D, fol. 100v.

168 Jankovich, "Újabb források," 282–5, Letters to Rottal (11 March–3 April 1670). The following excerpts capture the fears of this Habsburg official: "Das is unfahlbar, das in motibus futuris ih von hab und gut khum" (ibid., 282); "Wan ih nur ex Turcico iugo werde liberirt, dan also zu bleiben ist es schwere" (283); "Ich firchte, es wirt ibel her gehen in Ungarn" (284); "Das ganze Landfolk in bereitschaft ist … alles ist in Confusion und ist alles vor der Tiur was tempore Boczkai und anderen Rebellen Zeiten uns geschat hat" (285); and "Es geröstelt sich alles zum grieg" (285). On the readiness of some Upper Hungarian nobles to kill Forgács and other royal commissars, see EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fols. 285r–v ("Le kellene vagni a beste lélek kurvafiakat, akik Besztercen eő Felséghe

commissariusi voltanak"). On frantic military preparations and the fever pitch of local passion, see also the reports of the Parmese resident Chiaromanni, in Óváry, nos. 1666, 1669, 1671 (22 February, 1 and 8 March 1670).

169 MNL OL, E254, April 1670, no. 1, fol. 133, Czeróczy to ZK (5 April); EKPES, Series AG, no. 299, fols. 464–5, Protestatio Egreg. Christophori Czeroczy Causarum Regalium vice directoris et Sacrae Regni Hungariae Coronae fiscalis (n.d.).

170 Gecsényi and Guszarova, "A Szepesi Kamara vezető tisztviselői," 666–9; EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fols. 276–8; EKPS, Series P, no. 172, Relatio attestationis pro parte Illm. Dmi. Comitis Sigismundi Pethö (7 January 1671), fols. 620–4, esp. 624. The attack on Pethő probably precipitated the vice-general's flight. Holló did not leave Kassa and made some unknown arrangement that later made him suspect in Vienna. On these suspicions, see Gecsenyi and Guszarova, "A Szepesi Kamara vezető tisztviselői," 669.

171 MNL OL, E254, June 1669, nos. 15, 20; July 1669, no. 34; August 1669, no. 23; March 1670, no. 2, Michael Streczenyi to ZK.

172 NRA, fasc. 517, no. 5, fols. 29–32, Testimony of András Rutkay. Cf. also the testimonies of several townsmen, including the son of the imperial mintmaster (who probably switched his allegiance to the rebels when they threatened "to put their hands on him"), ibid., fols. 25–9. See also MNL OL, E254, August 1670, no. 3, Michael Streczenyi to ZK (23 July).

173 Cf. the treatment of István Buday, Mihály Szemes, Mihály Palánky and other officials (including the usurpation of their positions by noble strongmen), see NRA, fasc. 518, no. 1, Extractus inquisitionis, fols. 25–33, 140; fasc. 517, no. 5, fols. 10, 36, 58; EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fols. 256v, 274r–v, 290v, 297, 300v. A peasant leader (*paraszt ispán*) had driven Szemes away already in late February 1670, stating that he did not care "if [Szemes] was a servitor of His Majesty or the Devil" (MNL OL, E254, March 1670, no. 2, fols. 127–8v, Mihály Palánky to ZK [2 March]).

174 EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fols. 271v, 286v, 296v; MNL OL, E254, April 1670, no. 1, Ferenc Csáky to ZK (17 April), fol. 147v; Benczédi, "Az 1670. évi tiszavidéki felkelés," 513–14.

175 Silvester Joanelli (Giovanelli) was the nephew of Count Giovanni Andrea Joanelli, the Habsburg court's top mining official in Hungary and one of the principal targets of complaints to Vienna during the late 1660s. On the attack on Schmölnitz, see Bruckner, *Reformáció és ellenreformáció*, 267–8; NRA, fasc. 518, no. 1, fols. 28, 31; no. 24, fols. 1–8, Praedatorum nomina oppidi Szomolnok; fasc. 691, no. 4, fol. 278; Pauler, 2: 14, 28–9; MNL OL Filmtár, X7027 (E21), doboz 15894, cim 645, fol. 96 (21 March 1671); Bombera, "P. František Hanák," 75.

176 On the targeting of German soldiers by peasants, nobles, and soldiers, see EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fols. 269v, 282, 283v, 287v (a majority of the Abaúj Diet called for the killing of imperial soldiers), 288v, 292v.

177 Interestingly enough the Calvinist György Soós also saved these "Germans" from the wrath of Catholic nobles such as István Usz and László Melczer. Cf. EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fols. 254v, 291; NRA, fasc. 517, no. 14, fols. 32, 34–5; fasc. 691, no. 2, fols. 1–4, Investigation of György Soós (26 May 1671), esp. 4 ("Eosdem Germanos neminem … audere moliri"); Pauler, 2: 13. On Melczer and Usz, see EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fols. 252r–v ("Germani sunt trucidandi"), 254v; NRA, fasc. 518, no. 5, fols. 29, 32 ("Persecutor et captivator Germanorum"); Pauler, 2: 14.

178 One Hungarian soldier belonging to a detachment of "Germans" (*Germani*) was accused by someone who knew him of becoming German ("Quare inquit Germanizas, cum saepius ego tibi dixerim ne Germanizes"), in NRA, fasc. 517, no. 5, fol. 49. On the multiethnic composition of the *militia Germanica*, see Kónya, "'Von diesen und jenen' Deutschen," 263–4.

179 On the Szatmár revolt and the massacre of German soldiers, see Gergely 5, no. 96, Teleki to Ferenc Peley (18 April 1670), reporting that half of the German soldiers were killed – but this seems unlikely, because "the Germans" quickly gained the upper hand and disarmed the populace; no. 98, Márton Kászonyi to Teleki (19 April 1670); no. 99, Ferenc Peley to Teleki (19 April 1670). On the brutal hunt for fugitive Habsburg soldiers, see ibid., no. 101, László Székely to Teleki (20 April 1670), p. 163 ("Kivették onnan is őket s mind levágták"); no. 103, István Bocskai to Teleki (21 April 1670) from Szerdahely (Zemplén County), quotation p. 165 ("Már itten az németek kiírtásához hozza kezdettek az emberek"). On Kata Török's alleged call for the murder of Habsburg soldiers and her determination to go to war against the Habsburgs, see EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fol. 294; Bethlen, 470–1. Survivors later described the great dangers they had escaped, in MNL OL, E254, August 1670, no. 74, Schöningh from Tokaj Fortress (18 August); no. 79, Rudneby from Szendrő Fortress (9 August), fol. 556 ("In omnibus viis comitatus Abaujvariensis cum multo populo mihi praeoccupaverint me aut vivum capere aut vero occidere velle").

180 NRA, fasc. 517, no. 5, fols. 15, 17, 22–3. On this massacre in Gombás Forest, see also Mészáros, "Gombástól Majtényig," 136–9.

181 NRA, fasc. 517, no. 5, fols. 47–9. Cf. corroborating testimonies of other eyewitnesses (including Hungarian *praesidiarii*), ibid., fols. 17, 25, 33–4; EKPES, Series AG, no. 261, fols. 390r–v. Horses taken by rebels were later located and claimed by General Strassoldo and the Zipser Kammer, in MNL OL, E254, July 1670, no. 3, fol. 277.

182 NRA, fasc. 517, no. 5, fols. 65–77. The most brutal tormentors were the rebel soldiers; on one occasion they beat up a peasant who took pity on the captives when they were marched through his village (ibid., fol. 69). On the fate of captured Habsburg soldiers, see also ibid., fol. 35 (survivor testimony).

183 The captors distributed the prisoners among themselves (*inter se diviserunt*);

some were handed over to Rákóczi but it is a mystery what happened to the others. Peasants later testified that nobles ordered them to hunt down and kill stray German soldiers (*csak öllyek, vágiak az nemetek ahol kaphattak*). Cf. EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fol. 256v; NRA, fasc. 517, no. 5, fols. 51–3. On the disappeared soldiers and the discovery of two mass graves (one holding 180 corpses), see Gergely 5, no. 148, Strassoldo to Teleki (21 May 1670), p. 249; no. 149, Strassoldo to Teleki (22 May 1670), p. 250, with a strict warning not to harm imperial soldiers (who were presumably still being held captive).

184 EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fol. 285v. On similar declarations by other Calvinists (including townsmen), see ibid., fols. 269r–v ("Papista az Ördög lelkű az ura is papista meltó meg ölni"), 281 ("Omnes Catholicos trucidari et mactari debere"), 286 ("Jesuitarum et sacerdotum bona debere auferre, eosque omnibus proventibus spoliari"), 290v ("Quoscumque Catholicos invenient eos trucidabunt"); NRA, fasc. 518, no. 1, fols. 31–3.

185 EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fols. 299v–300. On similar scenarios elsewhere, see ibid., fols. 249v, 269 (Terebes), 291–2 (Ung County), 304r–v (Krompach, Bártfa); NRA, fasc. 518, no. 1, fols. 26, 30 (Abaújszántó), 28 (Somodi), 33 (Sátoralújhely).

186 Hungarica 324 E, fols. 26–33, Fassiones collectae Joannis Retteghi; NRA, fasc. 518, no. 1, fol. 29 ("Omnes Catholicos cum Principe Rakoczio exterminandos esse"); EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fols. 309v–312 (Witnesses 145–6), esp. 309v (quote); Benczédi, "Az 1670. évi tiszavidéki felkelés," 521–2. Catholic hierarchs who became targets of rebel hostility included Provost István Vaskovics of Lelesz Convent, Eger Canon István Kolosváry, and Vicar Gregorio Biberi of the Pauline Monastery in Sátoralújhely. Cf. EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fols. 259v, 268r–v, 277, 281.

187 For most Protestant nobles Rákóczi remained acceptable as the uprising's figurehead; instead of attacking Catholics they forced them to swear an oath of allegiance to Rákóczi or the Hungarian Kingdom (*pro parte Regni*), in ibid., fols. 275v–276, 290, 296; NRA, fasc. 518, no. 1, fols. 28, 35; Benczédi, "Az 1670. évi tiszavidéki felkelés," 517–18 (rumours that Péter Zrínyi, not Rákóczi, would be the next king of Hungary).

188 EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fols. 288v–290v, Testimony of Ferenc Megyery relating the following statement by Gábor Kende: "Öreg ember, kigyelmed, meg venűltel sogor, sokat lattal, hallottal, sok zűrzavarokat értel, de Isten engem ugy segéllyen soha ollyat nem lattal, aminémű leszen harom hét mulva" (fol. 288v).

189 Gergely 5, nos. 94–5, Gábor Kende to Teleki (17 April 1670), esp. pp. 155, 157; no. 97, Gyulaffy to Teleki (18 April 1670); EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fols. 275v, 285 (on Zrínyi's purported *liga* with Silesia, Moravia, and Bohemia), 303, 306 (on Zrínyi's insurgency); NRA, fasc. 517, no. 5, fols. 17, 20, 24, 36–7 (on Zrínyi and Turks); no. 8, fols. 8–9, 27, 32, 38, 48, 58 (rumour that Zrínyi was marching on

Pozsony), 62–3, 70; fasc. 518, no. 1, fols. 31, 91–5 (on developments in Lower Hungary and Zrínyi); Hungarica 322 D, fol. 103 (on intercepted letters).

190 EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fols. 275v–276, Testimony of Benedek Csoknay (an officer captured near Tokaj Fortress); Hungarica 322 D, fols. 102r–v; Gergely 5, no. 95, p. 196.

191 Information to the contrary was circulating among Calvinist magnates in Transylvania (with whom rebel leaders corresponded) and even among leading Lutheran nobles of Sáros County (who were perhaps not sufficiently trusted by the rebellion's Calvinist leaders). Cf. Gergely 5, nos. 86, 91–3.

192 The discredited magnate Ferenc Nádasdy warned the Upper Hungarians about Zrínyi's untrustworthiness on several occasions. Cf. Gergely 5, no. 76, Ferenc Ispán to Teleki (26 March 1670); nos. 88, 95, Letters by Pál Csernel and Gábor Kende (8 and 17 April 1670); Hungarica 322 C, fols. 21–3, Testimony of Ferenc Nagy (22 August 1670), esp. 21; Hungarica 322 D, fol. 98. Some rebel leaders continued to hope for a Transylvanian invasion, in Gergely 5, nos. 90, 94, 97, Letters by Gábor Kende and László Gyulaffy (11–17 April 1670).

193 Troops controlled by the pasha of Varad and his commander Agha Huszein seem to have played an active role: see EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fol. 285v; Turcica I. 142/1, fols. 110r–v, Montecuccoli to Vizier Mahmud Pasha of Buda (18 April 1670); 124r–v, Casanova (1 May 1670); I. 142/2, fol. 5, Panaiotti (20 May 1670).

194 Gergely 5, no. 115, Teleki to Márton Sárpataki (30 April 1670). On the systematic "extermination" of German soldiers, see also ibid., no. 103, p. 165.

195 Rebel leaders were not concerned about the dispatch of an invasion army (*ármádája az császárnak*) by Leopold I either, as their triumph over local Habsburg troops was almost complete; in Gergely, no. 5, no. 101, László Székely to Teleki (20 April 1670).

196 Cf. speeches and statements remembered by many witnesses. Cf. EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fols. 251v, 256, 258, 267, 270v, 272, 276v, 279v; NRA, fasc. 518, no. 1, fols. 11, 31, 33.

197 On János Török, see NRA, fasc. 518, no. 1, fols. 28, 141. For other evidence of Hungarian agents (including former Turkish prisoners) on Ottoman territory, see EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fols. 263v, 265–6, 284v–285, 293, 306. István Kelemen, Rákóczi's secret counselor (*secretus consiliarius*), controlled some of these agents (ibid., 284v). On agents in contact with Kara Ibrahim, see NRA, fasc. 518, no. 1, fol. 142.

198 EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fols. 266v, 285v, 295v.

199 Ibid., fols. 289–90, 295v.

200 NRA, fasc. 517, no. 5, fols. 57–64, Testimonies collected in Károly (26 March 1671), esp. 60. Rumours were circulating that "many thousands of Turks" were on their way (ibid., fol. 62). The reprisals in store for the surrendering

Habsburg soldiers can be guessed on the basis of what happened to a woman "traitor" (*áruló*) who had been caught carrying letters into the fortress. She was beaten in the marketplace in front of many spectators and then put in the stocks (ibid., fol. 59). On Ottoman troops from Varad in the vicinity of Károly, see Turcica I. 142/1, fol. 110v.

201 EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fols. 299v–300; NRA, fasc. 517, no. 5, fols. 38–48, 51, 56–7, Testimonies collected in Szatmár (23 March 1671); 15–23, Testimonies collected in Szatmár County, esp. 23 (on Strassoldo); fasc. 518, no. 1, fol. 140 (about an alleged oath of allegiance sworn by the Szatmár garrison to László Gyulaffy, who was the rebel army's top commander). Habsburg investigators considered the dispatch of spies into border fortresses a very effective rebel weapon (ibid., fols. 38–9, 50). They also attributed considerable power to the sermons of Szatmár's ministers. They accused these ministers of calling the emperor a faithless dog (*nincsen hiti az ebnek*) and invoking God's help for the rebels (fols. 40, 42). On the brutal treatment of this clergy by Habsburg soldiers, see MNL OL, P507, fasc. 11, no. 408, Town of Szatmár to Rottal (1 August 1664), fols. 165–6, esp. 165v ("Praedikatorunk hazátt eszakanak idején fel bontvan valamit életében kereset penzét, ezüst, marhajat … mind el vittek maga élet is csak szerencsesen maradot megh"); 195–7, Was Soldaten alles in unserer Stadt ausrichten (1664, n.d.); no. 409, Szatmár-Némethi to Rottal (1664, n.d.), esp. fols. 218v, 220r. On other Calvinist clergy in Szatmár County taking up arms against the Habsburg emperor, see Kiss, *A Szatmári református egyházmegye története*, 679–81. For sermons in support of the rebels and their Ottoman allies in other parts of Hungary, see NRA, fasc. 518, no. 1, fols. 33 (Somodi, Abaúj County), 96–7 (Turóc), 184 (Almás/Szadalmás, Torna County).

202 Mannheim, "Utopian Mentality," esp. 192–3.

203 *Sociology of Georg Simmel*, 333.

204 Turcica I. 142/1, Casanova (1 May 1670), fol. 124v.

CHAPTER FOUR

1 Trócsányi, *Teleki*, 88; Pauler, 2: 43–5. On Zrínyi's letters calling on Rákóczi and the Upper Hungarian counties to surrender, see Rački, 214. On the sudden change in atmosphere, see Hungarica 289 C, fols. 32–3v, Letter by Szendrő commander Hans Peter Rudneby (6 May 1670), esp. 33 ("Große alteration entstanden … beginnen auch viele … wie Pilatus die hände zu waschen").

2 Gergely 5, nos. 116, 123, Pál Wesselényi to Teleki (1, 6 May 1670); Pauler, 2: 44–5. Cf. Bethlen, 376–7 (citing the decree by Leopold I). On the circumstances of Starhemberg's capture, see Benczédi, "Az 1670. évi tiszavidéki felkelés," 508–9.

3 *TMAO* 4, no. CCLXXXVI, 484–5, Bánffy to Apafi (9 May 1670); *EOE* 15: 9–10; Trócsányi, *Teleki*, 94. It is stunning to see how quickly the counties started declaring their innocence. Among the earliest to ask for mercy were Szatmár,

Bereg, and Ugocsa counties. Cf. Hungarica 288 C, fols. 1–3, Szatmár County (May 1670, n.d.); 4–5, Bereg County (14 May 1670); 6–7, Ugocsa County (16 May 1670), esp. 6 ("Tumultui quoque nuperrimo nulla per nos ansa subministrata").

4 Gergely 5: 189–90, 193–4, 215–16. Yet, Kende also appealed to Rottal for mercy, distancing himself from the revolt; in Pauler, 2: 45–6; Hungarica 322 D, fols. 34–5 (21 August 1670).

5 Turcica I. 142/1, fols. 158–9, Substanz der Siebenbürgischen Audienz (attached to Casanova report of 30 May 1670). We are privy to every detail of the conversation thanks to a meticulous protocol by the Hungarian interpreter (who was on the Habsburg resident's payroll).

6 Ibid., fols. 124r–v, 129r–133v, Casanova (Salonika, 1 May 1670); 156–7v, 159v–161v, Casanova (Edirne, 30 May 1670). Only the Ottoman archives can tell us what explained this sudden change of tone. Had Hungarian pashas acted behind Köprülü's back, perhaps assuming that they could get away with it since Köprülü was in faraway Candia? Had powerful men in the vicinity of the sultan encouraged the Hungarian rebels without Köprülü's knowledge? Was there a power struggle in which court factions opposing an intervention in Hungary finally prevailed? What exactly was Köprülü's thinking on the issue? The Transylvanian emissary Dávid Rozsnyai who met with Köprülü and Köprülü's chief of staff, Pasha Ibrahim, identified two likely reasons: the need for giving the Ottoman army time to rest, and lack of trust in Hungarian Catholic magnates (such as Nádasdy, Zrínyi, and Batthyány). In Lénárd, "Rozsnyai Dávid," esp. 336–8; Michels, "Myth or Reality?," esp. 40. On court factions praising (*lodare*) the Hungarians, see Turcica I. 142/1 fols. 117r–v, Panaiotti to Casanova (2 March 1670).

7 "Gewissheit, dass uns die Türkhen mit Krieg überziehen werden und … Ungewissheit, wo sie die Absicht haben, uns zu treffen" (Montecuccoli, "Vom Kriege mit den Türken in Ungarn 1670," in Veltzé, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 2: 537).

8 Turcica I. 142/1, fols. 129v, 130v, 132v, 134 (1 May 1670); I. 142/2, fols. 4–5 (5 June 1670), 12–13 (21 June 1670); Bogišić, *Acta*, 167 (10 July 1670). On the pashas of Varad and Eger, see Turcica I. 142/2, fols. 34–5v, HKR to vizier of Buda (14 July 1670).

9 Ibid., I. 142/1, fols. 132r–v. The sultan's vice chancellor and other courtiers had already predicted in February 1670 that only a war with Persia could prevent another Habsburg-Ottoman war. Cf. ibid., fols. 46v, 57, 75, 77, 100, Casanova (Salonika, 29 and 24 February, 9 and 18 March 1670). Ottoman-Safavid warfare had given way to peace after the Zuhab Treaty (1639), but clashes continued to erupt over Basra and Southern Iraq. After Candia the danger of war returned, in part due to efforts by Polish and Russian emissaries to enlist Safavid help. Cf. Matthee, *Persia in Crisis*, 118–19, 130–1; Hathaway, *Arab Lands under Ottoman Rule*, 69.

10 Turcica I. 142/1, fol. 133 ("Die Pollacken und Moscowiter der ottomanischen Porten große sorg machen"); I. 142/2, fols. 4–8, 12, Casanova (5 June 1670 with postscripts of 8, 15 June, and 21 June 1671). On the breakdown of Cossack-Crimean relations and Tatar mobilizations in July 1670, see Solov'ev, *Istorii Rossii*, 6: 417; Doroshenko and Rypka, "Hejtman Petr Doroshenko," 28–9. On Doroshenko's outreach to the Polish crown and the Elector of Brandenburg (as he apparently lost trust in the Ottomans' willingness to rein in the Tatar Khan), see ibid., 30, 32. For his concomitant and ultimately successful appeal to Köprülü, see note 28 below.

11 According to French ambassador Gremonville, the Habsburg court's chief translator at the Porte – "a quite capable man" familiar with the latest news – had vowed that "he wants to lose his head if the Turks do not start an open war in Hungary within three months," in Bogišić, *Acta*, 151 (27 April 1670).

12 Turcica I. 142/2, fols. 4v, 6, 7v, 8, 12r–v, 21v, Casanova (Edirne, 5, 8, 15, 21 and 28 June 1670). Cf. Gergely 5, no. 174, Teleki to Strassoldo (24 June 1670). Cf. Rylands Library, Special Collections, R166595, Guillet de Saint-Georges, *Account of Late Voyage*, 352 ("The sultan is the grand vezir's slave").

13 Turcica I. 142/2, fols. 22–4, Casanova (10 July 1670), 30r–v, Casanova (13 July 1670). Cf. lists identifying some of Casanova's informants and the payments they received, Turcica I. 141/3, fol. 142; I. 142/2, fols. 57, 65.

14 Turcica I. 142/2, fols. 22v–23, 30r–v. According to Casanova, trust between the sultan and Köprülü had broken down as the latter apparently became concerned that the sultan's continued presence in Edirne might precipitate an immediate war with the Habsburg Empire. Yet attempts by Köprülü to lure the sultan away to Istanbul were unsuccessful (ibid., fol. 12). Cf. Turcica I. 142/1, fol. 57.

15 On the sultan's exuberance about Candia and his push for war, see Turcica I. 141/3, fols. 62–3v, 92–3; I. 142/1, fols. 48, 141v; I. 143/1, fol. 5 ("Der Sultan wolle einmahl einen Krieg sehen, und selbst mitziehen"). The sultan was under the influence of his court preacher who told him "daß er es im gewissen zu thun schuldig, und vermög seines glaubens die so Türkhen werden können, aufnehmen müste" (Turcica I. 142/1, fol. 43v).

16 It is certainly suspicious that Köprülü was told repeatedly Panaiotti was spying for the Habsburgs but did not remove Panaiotti from his inner circle. Cf. Turcica I. 142/1, fols. 64r–v (Apafi warning Köprülü); I. 143/1, fol. 107 ("Erst neulich dem Sultan ein memorial geraicht worden, daß er alle secreta offenbare, undt so ihn der Groß Vesier nicht geschützt, hette er sein Kopf verliehren mögen").

17 Turcica I. 142/1, fols. 141v–142, Kurier Gabriel Lenoris (17 May 1670); I. 142/2, fol. 71, Kurier Adam Schönberger (August 1670, n.d.). On the new pasha of Temesvár (Köprülü's brother-in-law), see Turcica I. 142/1, fol. 142; on Eger pasha (a client of the sultan), see I. 142/2, fols. 6, 7v; on the Albanian Vizier Ibrahim

Pasha of Buda, formerly *kaymakam* of Istanbul, see Turcica I. 143/1, fols. 44, 84v; Hammer, *Geschichte*, 6: 272. The new pasha of Bosnia was the Sultan's closest cousin (*engster Vetter*); see Turcica I. 143/3, fol. 102v.

18 Cf. Turcica I. 142/2, fols. 34–9, Vizier of Buda and HKR responses (3–14 July 1670); Bogišić, *Acta*, 168 (24 July 1670) ("Juste apprehension"). Cf. effort to reassure the vizier that the invading army was not seeking conflict: "Dicta militia penes confinia Polonica ad quatuordecim miliaria a Vestris praesidiis distantia progressa fuerit, ne forte per effrenem quandoque militarem licentiam confinia Turcica aliquo incommodo afficerentur" (Turcica I. 142/2, fol. 34v). On Ottoman troop concentrations, see ibid., fol. 58 (13 August 1670).

19 Turcica I. 142/1, fol. 142v; I. 143/1, fol. 39, Kurier Gabriel Lenoris (3 June 1671). On Köprülü's pride in the seizure of Candia and his sense of invincibility, see Hammer, *Geschichte*, 6: 245, 249–51; Turcica I. 144/1, fols. 7v–8 ("Noch hochmüttiger … er achte die Christenheit nit mehr") about Köprülü's scolding of the French ambassador in June 1672; I. 143/3, fols. 116–17, Köprülü to Montecuccoli (n.d.; delivered 28 May 1672) with a somewhat milder scolding.

20 Turcica I. 142/2, fols. 55–6, Remonstrance to Köprülü (2 August 1670). For an ultimatum issued by the *kaymakam* of Eger to General Sporck, see MNL OL, E254, July 1670, nos. 5, 48, 59 (5, 10, and 14 July). The pasha of Eger indicated on 3 July 1670 that he was ready to hand over Pál Szepessy and Mátyás Szuhay to the Habsburg army but he did not follow through, in Gecsényi, "A Szepesi Kamara," 669n99.

21 On the high cost of spies, see Turcica I. 142/1, fol. 140; I. 142/2, fol. 65; I. 142/3, fols. 54v, 57v–58, 59r–v (presents and payments earmarked for Panaiotti); I. 143/1, fols. 109v–110, Verzeichnis der extraordinarii uncosten.

22 On discussions of reports in the emperor's presence, see Turcica I. 142/2, fols. 84a r–v, 84r–v, Casanova from Edirne (23 September 1670 discussed in meeting of 31 October 1670); 131v (2 January 1671 with summary of Casanova report of 10 November 1670); I. 142/3, fol. 36v (20 March 1671 discussion of Casanova report from January 25). For examples of spy reports from Belgrade and Buda, see Turcica I. 143/1, fols. 70–5v, 98v, 100–1v; on spies operating in Upper Hungary and Transylvania and those dispatched by Habsburg border commanders, see Hungarica 180 D, fols. 9–10v; 324 E, fol. 64; 325 B, fols. 101, 181; Turcica I. 143/2, fol. 32; Gergely 5, nos. 48, 65, 68, 70 (Márton Kászonyi).

23 On Heister's trip to Vienna, see Óváry, no. 1829, Rottal to Lobkowitz (8 March 1671). Cf. secret mission of Captain Trapp, in Óváry, no. 1861 (27 June 1671). Reports by the couriers Adam Schönberger, Rudolph Dane, Gabriel Lenoris, Tomas Mihalovic and others will be cited throughout this book; they received significant attention from the Aulic War Council (e.g., Turcica I. 142/3, fols. 148r–v; I. 143/1, fols. 37–40, 139–40v). On the use of coded and semi-coded

letters, and their decoding, see ibid. I. 142/3, fols. 194–6v; I. 143/1, fols. 141–9; I. 143/2, fols. 10–16v, 72v.

24 Bruyninx, Sect. O, fols. 3v–5v (17, 24 September 1671). On Bruyninx's access to members of the *Geheime Rat* (Secret Council), see also Sect. Z, fol. 5r (12 April 1672); Bijlagen (1), Sect. D, fol. 2r (14 May 1671). On 1 November 1671 the court concluded a secret treaty with France guaranteeing neutrality in the Netherlands, see Redlich, "Tagebuch Pufendorfs," 556–7. It appears that Bruyninx did not know about this treaty.

25 A summary of Köprülü's response is found in Turcica I. 142/2, fols. 54, 57v, Casanova (13 August 1670 which did not reach Vienna before October). On the pashas of Eger and Varad, see Turcica I. 142/2, fols. 34–6, HKR to vizier of Buda (14 July 1670); Szabó, nos. 11–13, 28 (14 and 16 July, 12 August, and 24 September 1670); Óváry, nos. 1724, 1730 (5, 12 July 1670). On the slowing of communications with Casanova, see Turcica I. 142/2, fols. 123 (imperial mandate dispatched on 1 September arrived in Edirne only on 8 November 1670); 102v, 111, threats by vizier of Buda to hold back couriers (12, 20 October 1670); I. 142/3, fols. 39r–v, Leopold to Casanova (2 January 1671) complaining about slow delivery. On Ottoman expansionism in Transylvania and news of a possible attack on Kassa, see *EOE* 15: 12–13; Gergely 5, no. 192, Benedek Hedri from Szatmár Fortress (2 July 1670), esp. pp. 311–12. Cf. Transylvanian fears of an Ottoman invasion, ibid., no. 230, István Naláczy to Teleki (26 September 1670).

26 Bruyninx, Sect. A, fols. 5–6 (25 September 1670), esp. 6r ("Over het tydigh ende geluckigh dempen van de gevaerlyck opgeworpe rebellie"); Sect. B, fols. 1–2v (1670, n.d.), General Estates to Emperor Leopold. Interestingly enough, the French ambassador Gremonville was led to believe (by Montecuccoli and others) that the Ottoman army would turn against Ukraine. This was obviously a ruse to keep the French from intervening in the Netherlands, in Bogišić, *Acta*, 170–1 (28 August, 4 September 1670).

27 According to Casanova Köprülü had denounced the pasha of Eger for acting like a fool (*ein Narrenstück getrieben*), in Turcica I. 142/2, fols. 54, 57v, Casanova (13 August 1670); 67–9, Casanova (24 August 1670). Both reports were expedited only on 20 October 1670 (ibid., fol. 69v) and likely discussed with the emperor on the same day (fol. 107v). On Montecuccoli's meeting with the Porte's *çavuş*, see Bruyninx, Sect. C, fol. 1v (26 October 1670).

28 Turcica I. 142/2, fols. 54, 57v–65, Casanova (Edirne, 13 August 1670), esp. 57v, 60v–63; 69–70, Casanova (24 August 1670). Very little is known about Ukrainian-Ottoman contacts during the year 1670 except that Hetman Doroshenko appealed to Köprülü for help on 11 March 1670 (signed "Your loyal slave Petro"). He received a sultanic decree (in late May or early June) that renewed earlier offers of special protection. Cf. Doroshenko and Rypka, "Hejtman Petr

Doroshenko," 32–3, esp. 32 ("O stycích Dorošenkových s Turky g. 1670 víme velmi málo"); Zajcev, "La politique Turque," 524–5. On the isolation of the Polish ambassador, see Wagner, *Wojna polsko-turecka*, 1: 63.

29 Bruyninx, Sect. C, fols. 1v–2, 5–6v; Sect. D, fol. 1r; Sect. E, fols. 3r–v (26 October, 14 and 30 November 1670).

30 Óváry, nos. 1777, 1784, 1786–1806, Reports and letters from Upper Hungary (24 September–6 December 1670); Bogišić, *Acta*, 183 (8 November 1670); Bruyninx, Sect. B, fols. 3–4 (2 October 1670) with news about Hungarian refugees' lobbying in Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia. See especially the rising concern about the rapid expansion of Ottoman taxation (also in Lower Hungary) as emphasized in a meeting with the emperor on 20 October 1670, in Turcica I. 142/2, fols. 104–7v, esp. 107v ("Ut in voto, die Huldigung auf alle weiss zu verhindern"). The meeting concluded that little could be done as "this is not the time to irritate the Turks" (*jizt keine Zeith ist die Türkhen zu irritieren*), ibid., fol. 106.

31 Turcica I. 142/2, fols. 84–6v, Casanova (Edirne, 23 September 1670); 87–8, Casanova (1 October 1670).

32 Ibid., fols. 123–6, Casanova (10 November 1670).

33 Bruyninx, Sect. E, fols. 3v–4 (7 December 1670); Sect. F, fols. 1–5 (14, 21, and 25 December 1670; 4 January 1671); Sect. G, fols. 7–9 (18, 22 January 1671); Bogišić, *Acta*, 185 (1 January 1671) reports talk about moving the imperial court to Prague.

34 Turcica I. 142/2, fols. 127r–v, 131r–v, Auf des Casanova von 10. Novembris Opinio (Residentia Caesareana, 2 January 1671). On Ottoman spies including Armenian merchants, gypsies, Jews, Serbs, Hungarian renegades, and Turkish border soldiers of Hungarian origins, see Turcica I. 143/3, fol. 84v; I. 144/3, fol. 124v; Brown, *A Brief Account*, 70; Montecuccoli, "Vom Kriege mit den Türken in Ungarn," in Veltzé, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 2: 503–4.

35 "Men houdt het daervoor … dat de Turcken hier door den Vreden meer ende meer willen bekrachtigen ende verseeckeren" (Bruyninx, Sect. H, fol. 5v [26 February 1671]). Cf. Bruyninx, Sect. H, fols. 6r–v (1 March 1671); Sect. I, fols. 3v–4v (19 March 1671); Bogišić, *Acta*, 187–8 (12, 26 February 1670). On the seriousness of the winter crisis, see also the *Finalrelation* of Venetian resident Marino Giorgi (19 January 1671), in Fiedler, 119–41, esp. 123–4, 134–5.

36 Turcica I. 143/1, fols. 39r–v, Leopold I to Casanova (2 January 1671; resent 26 February 1671). The January 2 dispatch reached Casanova on February 21 but the court did not learn about it until much later and apparently sent the letter again (ibid., fols. 40v, 120).

37 Turcica I. 143/1, fols. 120–3, 128r–v, Casanova (15 March 1671), esp. 120v, 123.

38 "Csak ötön diványolnak, mire fogadnak ki, Isten s az idő tavaszig meg tanít" (Gergely 5, no. 224, László Baló to Teleki [21 August 1670], p. 346). Cf. similarly ibid., no. 259, Ferenc Rhédey to Teleki (13 November 1670).

39 "Dieses sey eine gar geheimbe Sach, davon der Sultan, Groß Vizier, und Caimecam allein Wissenschaft hetten" (Turcica I. 142/1, fol. 61r).

40 Turcica I. 143/1, Casanova from Turkish Camp (5 July 1671), fol. 107. On Hungarian and Transylvanian attempts to discredit Panaiotti, see ibid. I. 142/1, Casanova (3 March 1670), fol. 63.

41 On the appointment of Johann Philipp Beris, see below. Cf. Turcica I. 142/3, fols. 54–9, Verzaichnis derjenigen praesenten so Herr Secretarii mit sich nach der Türkey nemben soll (18 February 1671). On efforts to rein in unruly border troops, see Turcica I. 142/3, fols. 148–52v (Hofburg, 30 March 1671). About improvised diplomatic initiatives at the Porte to diffuse the growing Ottoman threat, see Michels, "Imminent Danger of the Turks," esp. 199–204.

42 As Casanova put it, "in dem die Türkhen von niemandt angefochten, sich mit ihrer gueten gelegenheit zum Krieg gerechthen und selben ins werkh stöllen mögen, wan, und wider wen es ihnen beliebig ist" (Turcica I. 142/3, fol. 128v).

43 Cf. Bruyninx, Sect. I, fol. 7v and Sect. K, fols. 1r–v (2 April 1671), esp. 1r ("Die tegens dit hoff haer interesse by alle occasie op, ende waer nemen"); Sect. Q, fols. 1r–v (8 November 1671), 5r (29 November 1671) ("Die Turcken het fortificeren van die plaets ongeerne sien, ende … soecken te beletten"); Turcica I. 142/3, fols. 32v, 128r–v, Casanova (25 January, 15 March 1671).

44 Intensifying Ottoman raiding and the breakdown of the condominium were top concerns in meetings of the "intimate council". See particularly Turcica I. 142/3, fols. 94–7, Letter by Leopold I to Beris (Laxenburg, 15 May 1671).

45 "In summa das [sic] dieses ein schlimmes Volckh und alle mittel tentiret, ein feür anzuzünden" (Turcica I. 142/2, fol. 60). Cf. ibid., I. 142/2, fol. 87v; I. 143/1, fol. 30.

46 Turcica I. 142/3, fols. 30–2v, 36v, Casanova (25 January 1671; discussed in "the imperial residence" on 20 March), esp. 32v.

47 Ibid., fols. 128, Casanova (15 March 1671); 175–8, Beris from Belgrade (31 March 1671); Bruyninx, Sect. L, fols. 2v–6r (14, 21, and 31 May 1671).

48 Turcica I. 142/3, fols. 191–7v, Casanova (7 April 1671; expedited May 15), esp. 191r; Bogišić, *Acta*, 203 (14 May 1671).

49 Ibid., esp. fols. 192r–v.

50 Turcica I. 143/1, fols. 1–6, 41–2v, Avisieren, wass an der Porten bey seiner des Beris anwesenheit … zuvernehmen gewäst (12, 19 May 1671), esp. 2r–v. On Beris' 1662–63 negotiations with Köprülü and Ali Pasha, see Huber, *Österreichs Diplomatische Beziehungen*, 53–63. On the 1282 Sicilian uprising against the French known as the Sicilian Vespers, see Davis-Secord, *Where Three Worlds Met*, 16.

51 Cf. Gergely 5, no. 313, Teleki to Strassoldo (12 March 1671), p. 483. Strassoldo had, however, no way of verifying this report since his own spies, who had tried to infiltrate Transylvania, had been arrested. Cf. ibid., no. 311, Teleki to Apafi (4 March 1671).

52 Turcica I. 143/1, fols. 70–5v, 82–9, 94–8v, Meninski Relation über seine Verrichtung in Ofen (19 June 1671), esp. 72v, 84. Franz von Mesgnien Meninski (1623–98) acquired his linguistic expertise in Polish diplomatic service as translator for the Polish legation before becoming the Viennese court interpreter (*Hofdolmetsch*) in 1662. He became known as the author of a pioneering Turkish-Arabic-Persian-Latin dictionary (1680) and grammar (1687). Cf. Petritsch, "Wiener Turkologie," 27–8.

53 Turcica I. 143/1, fol. 99, Scribuntur duo exemplaria pro legato Hispanico et Veneto (Edirne, 19 May 1671). The indicated date of 19 May 1670 is clearly an error.

54 Turcica I. 143/1, fols. 102–9v, Casanova from Despoti Taila (5 July 1671), esp. 104–7.

55 The German, Dutch, French, and Italian sources I consulted used the term "Ukraine" (*Ukraina, Ukranien*, *l'Ukraine*, *de Ukrain*, *la Ucraina*) rather broadly to designate not only the Cossack Hetmanate (which largely overlapped with the palatinates of Bratslav, Chernihiv, and Kiev) but also Galicia and Volhynia, in Turcica I. 142/3, fol. 176v; I. 144/1, fols. 1, 108; I. 144/2, fol. 42v; I. 147/2, fol. 146; Woliński, "Wojna polsko-turecka," 329, 332; KA AFA 1673, fasc. 4, no. 6, fol. 23v; Bruyninx, Part A2 [no pagination], 12 May 1672. Occasionally Galicia was clearly differentiated as "the land of Rus'" (*Reussenland*, *Reüssen*, *Russia* [sic]), in Turcica I. 143/3, fols. 41v, 108; Woliński, "Wojna polsko-turecka," 333.

56 "Der Polackhen Glück is auch unser Glück, in dem der Groß Vezier anfangt von seiner üblen Intention wider Ungaren nachzulassen" (Turcica I. 143/1, fols. 121–3v, Casanova from Turkish Camp [14 July 1671; discussed in imperial residence 16 August 1671], esp. 122). Cf. "The grand vizier has relented on his evil intentions" (Turcica I. 143/2, fol. 36v [30 August 1671]). The Polish army was significantly smaller with ca. 30,000 troops (including auxiliaries). The exaggeration was likely Doroshenko's who was eager to emphasize the urgency of immediate Ottoman intervention. In an apparent attempt to intimidate the Poles he also largely inflated the number of his own troops (more than 100,000). Cf. Doroshenko, *Het'man Petro Doroshenko*, 350–81, esp. 356–7, 365 (letter to Jan Sobieski).

57 "Die gefast apprehension von der Polnischen macht, bald evanescieren wird, weilen nichts daran ist, so dann die Porten darauf suchen ihre Kriegsvölker zu emploiren, und sich alherwerts wenden" (Turcica I. 143/1, fols. 132–4v, here 133v). On Hocher, ibid., fol. 134v.

58 Bruyninx, Sect. N, fols. 1v (12 July 1671), 3v (30 July 1671), 5r (6 August 1671), 5–6v (13, 16 August 1671).

59 Ibid., fols. 6r–v (16 August 1671); Sect. O, fols. 3–4 (10, 17 September 1671); Sect. P, fols. 4–5v (15, 22 October 1671), esp. 4v (quote). Cf. similar reports by the Venetian and Parmese residents in Vienna, in Rački, no. 646 (25 July 1671); Óváry, nos. 1863, 1870–1, 1874, 1882, 1886–7 (25 July–3 October 1671).

60 On Arab revolts, see Turcica I. 143/2, fols. 36v, 37v, 44v, 61, Casanova (30 August, 15 September, and 10 October 1671); I. 144/1, fols. 4, 39r–v, 189, Casanova (4 June, 11 July, and 14 September 1672). In October 1671 (n.d.) the Aulic War Council ordered Casanova to report details about the sultan's alleged departure to Bursa (ibid., I. 143/2, fol. 89v). The scope of these revolts was probably exaggerated but Köprülü's efforts to break the power of provincial Arab strongmen undoubtedly provoked significant resistance. Cf. Hathaway, *Arab Lands under Ottoman Rule*, 64–7, 76–7.

61 Turcica 1. 143/1, fols. 151–2v, Leopold I to Köprülü (23 July 1671); 154r–v, Leopold I to Ibrahim Pasha of Buda (24 July 1671) with a personal appeal to Köprülü to keep the peace "confirmed by both most powerful emperors [*ab utroque potentissimo Imperatore*] and observed until now to the solace of their subjects" (152r).

62 Bruyninx, Sect. P, fols. 5v–6 (25 October 1671); Sect. Q, fols. 1–3 (15, 22 November 1671), esp. 1v (quote). On 14 November 1671 a meeting in the imperial residence concluded that war was inevitable, in Turcica 143/2, fols. 63v–66v, Opinio, esp. 63v ("Auss diesen und anderen bißhero eingeloffenen avvisen, erhellet wie weniges mehr, daß es unfailbarlich zu einem Türkhenkrieg ausschlagen werde").

63 Bruyninx, Sect. R, fols. 3v–4 (31 December 1671).

64 Turcica I. 143/3, fols. 118–21v, Testimonies of Rudolph Dane and Tomas Mihalovic (12 January 1672).

65 Bruyninx, Sect. S, fols. 3–6 (24 and 31 January, 4 February 1672); Sect. T, fols. 1–2 (11 February 1672), esp. 1v (quote); Sect. W, fols. 3v–6 (3, 13 March 1672); Sect. X, fol. 1v and Sect. Y, fol. 3 (two reports dated 17 March 1672); Sect. Z, fols. 1–4 (27, 31 March 1672). For similar observations by the papal nuncio, see Vanyó, nos. 102–8 (27 December 1671–15 May 1672). For ongoing French mobilizations and secretive meetings of the French ambassador with Köprülü and the sultan, see Turcica I. 142/3, fol. 122v, 128; I. 143/3, fols. 30v, 43–4v. Cf. Casanova's concern that the French "were blowing into the fire [*in das feür blasen*]," Turcica I. 142/3, fol. 2 (7 January 1671).

66 Bruyninx, A2 (no pagination), 26 and 29 May, 5 June 1672 ("Dat S. K. M. niet alleen gedisponeert, maer saer geanimeert is de wapenen in de hand te nemen"); 9 June 1672; Wagner, *Wojna polsko-turecka*, 1: 45. Cf. the relatively relaxed atmosphere conveyed in Turcica I. 143/3, fols. 41v, 44, Casanova (4 April 1672); 70–1v, Köprülü to Montecuccoli (25 April 1672), esp. 70v ("Le parole et atti di questa parte non suono fuori delli termini d'amicitia … s'osserveranno le conditioni della bona pace"). But note Köprülü's cryptic conclusion ("Sia la pace a chi obedisce ai decreti di Dio", ibid., fol. 71r).

67 Turcica I. 143/3, fols. 81–5, Gabriel Lenoris Relationiert … waß er auf der raiß nach Adrianopel und wider zurück vernomben und gesehen (4 May 1672; relatum in Laxenburg, 18 May 1672); Bruyninx, A2, 12 May 1672 ("Dat de Turckse

armature tegens Poolen, naer de Ukrain aengesien is. T'geen hier te hooff een merckelycke veranderungh inde deliberation veroorsackt"). On Ottoman war preparations aimed at Poland in spring 1672, see Inbaşı, *Ukrayna'da Osmanlılar*, 223–6, 248–59; Wagner, *Wojna polsko-turecka*, 1: 209–14; Doroshenko, *Het'man Petro Doroshenko*, 406–11; Doroshenko and Rypka, "Hejtman Petr Doroshenko," 35 (order to Rumelian and Anatolian troops to appear in Edirne by 23 April 1672); Kołodziejczyk, *Podole*, 52.

68 Bruyninx, A 2, 12 and 16 June 1672; Turcica I. 143/3, fols. 39–44v, 55–8, 75–6v, Casanova (5, 18 and 28 April 1672), esp. 41v, 55, 75 (on Russian involvement); 70–1, First letter by Köprülü to Montecuccoli (25 April 1672); 116–17, Second letter by Köprülü (n.d.; delivered 28 May 1672). Cf. an undated letter by Köprülü to the Polish vice chancellor from mid-May 1672 in which he warned that the campaign would start on 5 June 1672, in Doroshenko and Rypka, "Hejtman Petr Doroshenko," 36; Kołodziejczyk, *Podole*, 52; Ostapchuk, "Cossack Ukraine," 144.

69 On Russian and Swedish involvement in Poland, see Turcica I. 144/1, fols. 1, 39, 67, 193; Gergely 6, no. 116, Teleki to László Székely (12 April 1672), p. 172; Doroshenko, *Het'man Petro Doroshenko*, 410 (Polish request for 25,000 promised Russian troops). On Swedish offers to dispatch troops in January and April 1672, see "Tagebuch Pufendorfs," 557.

70 Turcica I. 144/1, fols. 55–8, Casanova from Edirne (18 April 1672), esp. 55. On secret Habsburg overtures in Poland and talk about joining forces, see Turcica I. 143/2, fols. 58r–v, 62–6v, Protocol of Hofburg meeting (14 November 1671), esp. 65.

71 Turcica 144/1, fols. 36–9v, Casanova (11 July 1672), esp. 36; 67–75v, Meninski to HKR (7 August 1672), esp. 69 (after his return from Buda); 85–6v, Opinio des Hofkriegsrat (7 August 1672), esp. 85. Köprülü personally interrogated a captured German soldier who told him that 8,000 imperial troops were on location in Ukraine (and that the Poles expected 30,000 more), ibid., fol. 39. See also Turcica I. 144/1, fols. 47–8, Leopold to Casanova (20 July 1672). A second invasion route from Buda to Cracow was indeed considered by the Porte, Kołodziejczyk, *Podole*, 47.

72 Bruyninx, A2, 18 August 1672 ("De gerugten der Turcken die alhier inlopen bestaen tot meerder narigt darinne, dat des groten Turck met syn magt van Adrianopel is opgebroken … [en] dat in Polen grote confusie is en gevreest word dat de Turcken aldar grote advantagien vinden ende conquesten doen sullen"). For more on the rumours that engulfed the imperial court in August 1672, see chapter 6. For rumours about large sums of French money for the Hungarian rebels, see Turcica I. 142/3, fol. 122v ("They promised one million [forint?]"); Bruyninx, A2, 21 August 1672 (100,000 ducats).

73 On the continued presence of large Ottoman troop contingents in Hungary and border skirmishes, see Turcica I. 143/3, Casanova (5 April 1672), fol. 39; I.

144/1, Casanova (11 July 1672), fol. 36v; Meninski from Buda (7 August 1672), fols. 68 ("Risolutione del Gr. Signore di lasciar da questa parte del Danubio parte dell' essercito che altrimente andava adrittura in Polonia"); 87–8v, János Esterhazy (17 August 1672).

74 Turcica I. 143/3, fols. 116–17, Köprülü to Montecuccoli; I. 144/1, fols. 5–8v, Casanova (4 June 1672), esp. 8 ("Daß der Groß Vesier … noch hochmütiger sich erklärt hat, er achte die Christenheit nicht mehr"); 65–6v, Leopold to Casanova (1 August 1672; received October 12). On prisoners, see I. 144/1, fols. 8–9, 69v.

75 Benczédi, "Historischer Hintergrund," esp. 279–80; idem, *Rendiség*, 33–5, 41–5, 53; Obál, *Religionspolitik*, 8; Winkelbauer, *Ständefreiheit und Fürstenmacht,* 1: 157–8; Tóth, *Concise History*, 223–4.

76 Bérenger, *Léopold I^er^*, 288; Obál, *Religionspolitik*, 22; Acsády, *A Magyarország története*, 273; Tóth, *Concise History*, 223; Benczédi, *Rendiség*, 48 (on the court's purported self-confidence and the unprecedented defenselessness of Hungary). Cf. recently Nagy, "A magyarországi Habsburg-uralom," 10–12, 17–18, 28 (emphasizing that Habsburg rule saved Hungary from the Turks and claiming that Habsburg policy was not particularly oppressive).

77 Cf. Bruyninx, Sect. E, fols. 3r–v (30 November 1670); Sect. F, fols. 1r–v (14 December 1670); Óváry, nos. 1930, 1933–5, 1937–9, 1957–60 (undated memoranda and papers discussed in Secret Conference).

78 Turcica I. 142/2, fols. 34–5v, HKR to vizier of Buda (14 July 1670).

79 Such appeals apparently continued throughout the year 1670, see Rački, no. 432 (31 May 1670), p. 268 (2nd pagnation); BEK, Manuscript Repository, Collectio Hevenessiana, vol. 71, fol. 186, Litterae Leopoldi ad nuncios, ad imperium missos, auxilium contra Turcam petentes (6 April 1670); Szilágyi, *Catalogus manuscriptorum*, vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 665; Rački, no. 392 (4 May 1670), p. 246. Cf. the offer of three regiments by the duke of Sachsen Lauenburg, in Bruyninx, Sect. F, fol. 2 (21 December 1670).

80 Cf. Benczédi, *Rendiség*, 32–3; Pauler, 1: 391–4.

81 Turcica I. 142/1, fols. 124r–v, 129–34, Casanova (1 May 1670) citing promises by leading Porte officials to punish border commanders and pashas for inciting rebellion. Cf. a Venetian report of 10 May 1670 (Rački, no. 404, p. 254).

82 Lobkowitz was more optimistic than Montecucolli, in Rački, no. 403 (10 May 1670), p. 252; no. 422 (24 May 1670), p. 268; Pauler, 2: 53–4; Montecuccoli, "Vom Kriege mit den Türken in Ungarn," in Veltzé, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 2: 457, 463–6, 500 citing Sallust ("Man muss fürchten oder fürchten machen").

83 Report by General Sporck from Rosenberg (Rózsahegy, Ružomberok in Liptó County) from early June 1670, in Rački, no. 434 (7 June 1670), p. 270. Cf. ibid., nos. 405 (10 May 1670), 437 (14 June 1670), p. 273.

84 Benczédi, "Az 1670. évi tiszavidéki felkelés," 527–9; Benczédi, *Rendiség*, 33–4.

85 Cf. Rački, nos. 420–1, 423 (24–5 May 1670); no. 437 (14 June 1670), p. 273; no. 447

(21 June 1670); no. 522 (7 September 1670), p. 344; Óváry, no. 1712 (14 May 1670); Hungarica 322 C, fols. 21–3, 34–7; 322 D, fols. 89–114, Interrogations of Ferenc Nagy Leszenyei (22 August–14 September 1670); Pauler, 2: 108–13, 131–2, 162–8, 173–8 (on these and other interrogations starting in late July 1670). On Bohemia and Moravia, see Óváry, no. 1787, Rottal to Lobkowitz (14 October 1670).

86 Óváry, no. 1788, Rottal to Lobkowitz (15 October 1670); Bruyninx, Sect. B, fol. 3v (2 October 1670) [Ebersdorf]; Sect. F, fols. 4–5 (4 January 1671); Sect. K, fol. 6 (26 April 1671). On alleged plots to abduct and murder Emperor Leopold I, see Óváry, no. 1773, Chiaromanni (13 September 1670); Redlich, "Tagebuch Pufendorfs," 587; Pauler, 2: 153–5, 167, 281, 287, 329.

87 Hungarica 289 B, fols. 67r–v, Memorandum on Gremonville (n.d.); Lilek, *Kritische Darstellung der Ungarisch-Kroatischen Verschwörung*, 4: 89–97, esp. 94.

88 Bruyninx, Sect. A, fols. 1r–v (11 September 1670); Sect. C, fol. 5r and Sect. D, fol. 1r (14 November 1670), esp. D, fol. 1r ("Hoe langer hoe meer aen dit hoff gediscrediteert").

89 On Prince Lobkowitz's rude treatment of Gremonville, see ibid., Sect. L, fol. 6r (7 June 1671); Bogišić, *Acta*, 209 (14 June 1671). Gremonville also got into trouble with Leopold I's mother who banned him from her court, see Bruyninx, Sect. Y, fol. 3 (17 March 1672). For an Italian memorandum by Gremonville on the clash with Lobkowitz, see Hungarica 289 B, fols. 64–6 (n.d.).

90 Pauler, 2: 57–8 (Szelepcsényi), 120–2 (Volkra), 360–1 (Martinitz); Acsády, *A Magyarország története*, 275 (Hocher), 288, 297. Hocher and Lobkowitz urged wide use of the death penalty to establish control over Hungary (Pauler, 2: 138–9). Cf. "Gutachten des Hof-Kanzlers Freiherrn von Hocher an K. Leopold über die Zrini-Nadasdische Verschwörung," in Firnhaber, "Actenstücke," 68–75, calling for severe punishments and executions as the only way to guarantee the safety of Austria and preserve Habsburg power in Germany and Europe: "Novus Hercules es Domine, cui quotidie cum monstris pugnandum est. Vix uni caput amputasti, cum plura surgunt ac in locum priorum succedunt … Mortui non mordent … Noli credere Domine, eos ulla misericordiae spe conciliari posse … Perdomita semel Pannonia, tutam tibi imperator Austriam, fidam Germaniam, tranquillam Europam praestabit" (ibid., 68, 71, 74).

91 Pauler, 2: 55, 57; Acsády, *A Magyarország története*, 266; MNL OL, E143, fasc. 15, Mozgalmak 1669–92, fols. 9r–v, Leopold on dispatch of army (3 June 1670); P507, fasc. 11, no. 397, Abaúj County to Rottal, fols. 56–7v (2 June 1670) assimilating the language of imperial decrees ("[Ut] patria haec tanquam antemurale totius Christianitatis ab omni malo, et inopinata inquietudine libera reddatur"). The Venetian ambassador noted that Szelepcsényi had direct access to the emperor, in Rački, no. 434 (7 June 1670), p. 269 (2nd pagination) ("Capitato a Vienna … é trasferito subito a Lassemburg").

92 Gergely 5, nos. 145–6, 151, Letters to Mihály Teleki (19–23 May 1670), esp. pp. 242, 245, 254; Bethlen, 378; Botka, "Leszenyei Nagy Ferencz," esp. 77, 80–1; Szopori, "A Pálóczi Horvát család naplója," 226–7 (with names of those arrested); Komáromy, "Ugocsavármegye levéltárából," esp. 29–30.

93 Cf. Hungarica 288 E, fols. 17r–v, Márton Kászonyi to Szelepcsényi (27 July 1670) and Óváry, no. 1739, Kászonyi to Lobkowitz (27 July 1670); Acsády, *A Magyarország története*, 267–70. Cf. long lists of suspects targeted during the years 1670–1, in NRA, fasc. 517, no. 1, fols. 1–10, 49–77, 144–71; fasc. 690, no. 47, fols. 1–12v, 65–70, 85–90; fasc. 691, no. 4, fols. 184–201, 272–6, 421–4. Not all of them were arrested but many faced the confiscation of their estates (NRA, fasc. 690, nos. 43–6).

94 Cf. Pipes, *Degaev Affair*.

95 Bruyninx, Sect. E, fols. 3r–v (30 November 1670); Sect. F, fols. 1–2v, 4–5 (14, 21 December 1670; 4 January 1671); Sect. G, fols. 7–9 (18, 22 January 1671); Turcica I. 142/1, fols. 156v–157 (30 May 1670); I. 142/2, fols. 30v, 54, 123v–124, 125v (13 July, 13 August, and 10 November 1670); I. 142/3, fol. 6 (7 January 1671); Óváry, nos. 1730, 1777, 1788, 1802, 1806 (12 July, 24 September, 15 October, 25 November, and 6 December 1670); Gergely 5, nos. 204, 236 (16 July, 2 October 1670).

96 Cf. Casanova reports of 1 May, 13 July, 13 August, and 10 November 1670 (Turcica I. 142/1, fol. 132; I. 142/2, fols. 30v, 64, 124); 7 January, 7 April; 5, 14 and 20 July 1671 (ibid., I. 142/3, fols. 6v–7, 192v; I. 143/1, fols. 104v, 123, 133v, 136). Beris and Kindsberg shared Casanova's opinion. Cf. summary of Beris's reports of 13 and 20 July 1671, in Turcica I. 143/1, fol. 125 and Kindsberg's call for mass executions, in ibid., I. 143/3, fol. 102 (27 May 1672); I. 144/1, fol. 27 (29 July 1672).

97 "Mann merkhet, daß die Siebenbürger und schlimme Ungaren ganz nicht nachlassen werden ein feür anzuzünden. Er resident beharre dahero bey seiner allerunterthenigsten offt berichten ohnmaßgebigen mainung, daß selbe *gantz und gar mit der Wurzel auszurotten seint* [my emphasis], ehe daß sich die Türkhen zum Krieg gerechthen können, welches vergangenen Sommer viel sicherer hette geschehen können" (Turcica I. 142/2, fol. 124).

98 Ibid., I. 142/3, fol. 7 (7 January 1671).

99 Ibid., I. 143/1, fol. 136 (20 July 1671). Cf. similarly, ibid., fol. 161v (28 July 1671) ("Dahero wehren die rebellen auf alle waiss auss dem weg zu räumen ne simus in continuo metu et periculo").

100 Turcica I. 144/1, fols. 71–8v, 81, Relation von Hans Georg Hausch (14 October 1671), esp. 73.

101 *Privatbriefe Kaiser Leopolds I*, 2: 74, 88–9n (Babau = Wauwau, Schreckgespenst).

102 "Scoundrels" does not quite capture the utter disdain conveyed in the German *Lumpenpack*. The semantic spectrum of the word suggests alternative translations such as "riffraff," "rabble," "dirty tramps."

103 *Privatbriefe Kaiser Leopolds*, 2: 91, 98, 102, 106; Pauler, 2: 305 ("Erővel haragudnom kell"); Pribram, "Aus dem Berichte eines Franzosen," 291n1 ("Damitt auch die Erblanden ein Exempel haben").

104 Redlich, "Tagebuch Pufendorfs," 589–91. In 1680 Sinelli became bishop of Vienna, in Redlich, *Weltmacht des Barock*, 240.

105 MNL OL, E254, July 1670, no. 3, Michael Streczenyi to ZK (Szatmár, 23 July); no. 28, Matthias Dibaczi to ZK (Kálló, 9 July); August 1670, no. 8, Streczenyi to ZK (Szatmár, 10 August); no. 74, Schöningh to ZK (Tokaj, 18 August). Cf. ibid., August 1670, nos. 21, 30, 43, 61, 64, 78.

106 Ibid., August 1670, no. 77 (12 August), fols. 543r–v; Szopori, "A Pálóczi Horvát család naplója," 226. Habsburg officers used similar methods, in MNL OL, E254, August 1670, no. 74, Letter by Tokaj Commander Schöningh (18 August); no. 79, Letter by Szendrő commander Rudneby (9 August). On the pardoning of minor figures, see also Pauler, 2: 393, 402. On the domineering position of Sporck and the *Generalität*, see Hungarica 322, fols. 1–5, 66v, 93, Rottal to Leopold and Lobkowitz (17–30 August 1670). On the vital importance of willing collaborators, see Haraszy, *Az Ungi református egyházmegye*, 49; Pauler and Pesty, "A lőcsei bizottság jelentése," 529.

107 On Heister, see Gergely 5, nos. 186, 192, 196, 198, 203, 206; Óváry, nos. 1730, 1811 (June–December 1670). For similar challenges faced by generals Strassoldo and Spankau, see Gergely 5, nos. 235, 283, 311, 313 (October 1670–March 1671); Gergely 6, nos. 50, 53, 60, 85 (February–March 1672); Óváry, no. 1742, Spankau to Sporck (Kassa, 3 August 1670).

108 Cf. MNL OL, E254, July 1672, nos. 59, 62, 80; August 1672, no. 102. The garrison of Szendrő, for example, received new artillery pieces but no pay (ibid., July 1672, no. 90). For the horrendous impositions by Heister's soldatesca on Árva County, see Óváry, no. 1814 (December 1670, n.d.); Kubinyi, *Árva vára*, 121–5.

109 Gergely 5, nos. 181, 186, 196, 204, 258, 390; MNL OL, E254, August 1670, no. 54 (wives and children); no. 192 (Heister making lucrative deals); July 1671, nos. 60–1 (punishment of Keczer relatives); Pauler, 2: 371–2 (relatives of Dobai and Vitnyédi).

110 The evidence is overwhelming. Cf. Bruyninx, Sect. I, fols. 5–7 (26 March, 2 April 1671); Bethlen, 382–3; MNL OL, P507, fasc. 11, no. 395, fols. 13–14v, Sáros County to Rottal (14 January 1671); no. 401, fol. 87, Gömör County to Rottal (17 July 1670); MNL OL, E254, May 1671, nos. 27, 85; June 1671, nos. 43, 53; March 1672, no. 19; July 1672, no. 64; Pauler, 2: 170–2; Acsády, *A Magyarország története*, 299–301. On Kassa and Késmárk, see MNL OL, E254, May 1671, no. 23; March 1672, no. 39; July 1672, no. 134; August 1672, no. 80.

111 Bruyninx, Sect. A, fols. 1r–v (11 September 1670); Sect. E, fols. 3r–v (30 November 1670); Sect. H, fols. 1–6v (1, 12, 19, and 26 March 1671).

112 Pauler estimated that by the end of 1670 more than 2,000 nobles and other

well-to-do elites were languishing in jail, in Pauler, 2: 206. Acquittals cost money and the seizure of parts of estates, ibid., 399–400, 403; Benczédi, *Rendiség*, 35–6, 148n66; Vanyó, no. 96, p. 56 (19 July, 2 August 1671); Bruyninx, Sect. S, fols. 1r–v (10 January 1672). On the exorbitant sums of money that the fiscus expected from the sale of confiscated estates, see Pauler, 2: 206 (3 million forint); Vanyó, no. 100, p. 59 (1.5 million forint). We don't know how much money ended up in the coffers of the fiscus since military commanders often turned estates over to their soldiers for plunder (while other estates were destroyed in cross-border attacks by Hungarian rebels and Ottoman soldiers). The story of the Hungarian confiscations has yet to be written.

113 Turcica I. 143/1, fols. 132–4v (Residentia Caesareana, 24 August 1671), esp. 132; I. 143/2, fols. 21r–v, Montecuccoli to Vizier Ibrahim Pasha (19 August 1671); 26r–v, 28r–v, Translated letter by Ibrahim Pasha (1671, n.d.).

114 Montecuccoli, "Vom Kriege mit den Türken in Ungarn," in Veltzé, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 2: 457; Benczédi, *Rendiség*, 51. For other examples of Ottoman interference, see Turcica I. 143/1, fols. 103r–v, Panaiotti to Casanova (24 June 1671), esp. 103r ("La Porta sta in sospetti grandi circa il mantenimento della pace con S. M. C. et ha risoluto di mantenere li suoi sudditi Ongari et non lasciarli pagare le nove contributioni"); 151–2v, Leopold to Köprülü (23 July 1671); 155–6v, Montecuccoli to Ibrahim Pasha (24 July 1671); Vanyó, no. 96, p. 56 (26 July 1671).

115 On the failure of the *repartitio*, see Benczédi, *Rendiség*, 51; Pauler, 2: 373, 413–14; Benczédi, "Predigerprozesse," 270–2. For examples of Ottoman intervention in tax collection, see Turcica I. 142/2, fols. 36, 39; I. 142/3, fols. 51r–v, Beğ of Székesfehérvár to Bishop of Veszprém (2 February 1671); 95v–96, Leopold to Beris (15 May 1671); I. 143/1, fol. 95, Meninski from Buda (19 June 1671) claiming to cite Vizier Ibrahim Pasha of Buda verbatim ("Die neue contribution wäre aber wider den Frieden, in dem es selbe vormahlens nit practiciert worden").

116 Pauler, 2: 392–3, 396–9, 412; MNL OL, E41, 1671, nos. 298 (24 July 1671), 306 (7 August 1671), Orders to send Pozsony trial documents to Vienna. The court was considering a general amnesty of Hungarian rebels according to Bruyninx, Sect. M, fol. 4v (18 June 1671); Sect. O, fols. 4v–5 (24 September 1671); Bogišić, *Acta*, 214 (18 June 1671). Cf. the return of properties to pardoned prisoners, in MNL OL, G13/5, Restitutiones, fols. 1–2 (23 September 1671–19 August 1672). The extent of these pardons remains unclear, as demonstrated by the fate of András Székely who was immured in a dungeon and died two years later, in Guyla Pauler's review of Fabó, *Az 1662-diki országgyűlés* in *Századok* 8 (1874): 207–8.

117 On another wave of arrests in winter 1671–72 and the notorious trial of 400 Protestant burghers of Pozsony, see Bruyninx, Sect. S, fols. 1r–v (10 January 1672); A2, 16 June 1672; Pauler, 2: 417–19; Maurer, *Kollonitsch*, 52–4. Confiscations appear to have continued without interruption though Protestant nobles and town elites became the primary targets.

118 Szelepcsényi, whom other courtiers had accused of being secretly involved in the Ferenc Wesselényi Conspiracy, had completely regained the trust of Emperor Leopold by early June 1671. This was helped by revelations that he himself had been the target of murder and kidnapping plots. Cf. Benczédi, "Szelepcsényi érsek ügye," esp. 500–1; Vanyó, no. 95 (31 May 1671); Hungarica 289 C, fols. 5, 9, Fassiones Stephani Barkoczii.

119 BEK, Manuscript Repository, Collectio Hevenessiana, vol. 9, pp. 279–81, Discursus super questione, an reformatio religionis Lutheranae et Calvinianae, moderno tempore in Hungaria facienda sit (1671 n.d.), quotation 279 ("Nec quiescet Ungaria, quamdiu tolerabitur haeresis … Si irruat et superveniat Turca, probabile est omnes haereticos eidem adhaesuros"); Szilágyi, *Catalogus manuscriptorum*, vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 431; Redlich, "Tagebuch Pufendorfs," 592. The "Discursus" is found right next to another undated memorandum entitled "Consultatio quomodo Turcis obviandum esset et quomodo debellandi forent" (Szilágyi, *Catalogus manuscriptorum*, vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 431). On Szelepcsényi, see his letters and related documents, in Liebergott, "Tagebuch," appendix ("Urkundliche Beilagen"), 110–21. On Pálffy, see Pauler, 2: 182, 202, 234, 389; MNL OL, E254, July 1670, no. 15 (call for punishment of Pastor István Czeglédy); Hungarica 289 D, fols. 54–5; Bruyninx, Sect. L, fol. 6 (31 May 1671) (punishment of Lutheran lord András Keczer vs. call for amnesty in Upper Hungary which likely was to include only Catholics or Protestants who converted).

120 Vanyó, no. 97 (16 August 1671); Redlich, "Tagebuch Pufendorfs," 568, 588. The zealots probably included the emperor's Italian mother Eleonora, his Spanish wife Margarethe Therese, the Spanish ambassador Marques Balbaces, Reichsvizekanzler Leopold Königsegg, the emperor's confessor Philipp Müller, and most importantly, Chancellor Hocher. Cf. Redlich, "Tagebuch Pufendorfs," 570, 588–90; Bruyninx, Sect. R, fol. 4r (3 January 1672); Hungarica 324 A, fol. 20; Hungarica 432 A, fols. 91–2, Letters to Müller (12 May, 18 November 1671) about the persecution of Calvinists in Hungary; 324 E, fols. 24–6, Memorandum to Hocher (10 November 1671). Lobkowitz opposed this drift towards religious persecution (Redlich, "Tagebuch Pufendorfs," 574, 590).

121 On Volkra, see Pauler, 2: 120–2; Obál, *Religionspolitik*, 227–8; Benczédi, "Predigerprozesse," 280–1; Hungarica 323 C, fols. 10, 13v–14 (Leutschau Commission); Gecsényi and Guszarova, "A Szepesi Kamara vezető tisztviselői," 669.

122 Hungarica 323 A, fols. 13–20v, Ratione praesentium revolutionum et occurentiarum brevis et succinctus discursus (10 October 1670); 324 E, fols. 62-4v, Letter by vice-captain of Komárom to Szelepcsényi (drawing on reports by Catholic clerics in Buda and Belgrade) (29 December 1671), esp. 64.

123 On Szegedi, see MNL OL, P507, fasc. 18, no. 660, Letters to Rottal (1670–1), esp. fols. 409r–v (29 December 1670) on fear of the Turks ("Hogy a Töröknek torkában leven az egész vármegye félnék meg") and the great difficulties of tax col-

lection due to Ottoman expansion; on Pálffy, see P507, fasc. 16, no. 577, Letters to Rottal (1662–71), esp. fols. 426–7v (8 December 1664) expressing his great dismay about Upper Hungary's failure to mobilize against the Turks and friendly relations between mostly Protestant border soldiers and Turks ("A Törökkel valo nagj baratságban es vendégeskedésben elmerülven, igen rosszul ez elmúlt napokban jártak," ibid., fols. 427r–v), and lack of respect for the emperor. According to a contemporary source Bishop Pálffy narrowly escaped capture by Ottoman troops when he fled from Upper Hungary during the height of the April 1670 revolt, in OSZK, Manuscript Repository, RMK III. 3030, Novack, *Ungarische Avisen*, p. HIII 4.

124 On Bársony's correspondence with Leopold I, see Hungarica 288 A, Oberungarische Unruhen (1670–3), fols. 1–6, 12v, 14–15, 38, 41–5, 48–52. On Bársony's captured brother, see MNL OL, P507, fasc. 18, no. 619, János Bársony to Rottal (1667–April 1672), esp. fols. 83–4 (11 April 1672). It is ironic that we learn this information from a letter penned by Bársony's second brother János who was killed shortly afterwards by peasant insurgents, see chapter 5. Cf. Esze, "Bársony György 'Veritas'-a," 675 ("A totális ellenreformáció harci riadója"); on Bársony's tract and *Verwirkungstheorie*, see Obál, *Religionspolitik*, 220–1.

125 Bruyninx, Sect. R, fols. 4–6 (3, 7 January 1672); A2, 21 July 1672; 25 September 1672 (where he puts the blame on Hungarian bishops, esp. Leopold Kollonitsch). There is good evidence that Leopold I listened to ordinary Catholic clerics during times of great danger from the Ottomans. He is known to have asked for their prayers and confided his most intimate fears. Cf. his correspondence with the Capucinian friar Marco d'Aviano on the eve of the 1683 Ottoman campaign, in Kloppo, *Corrispondenza*, 2, 5–7, 14–17. Cf. Leopold's letter dated 27 December 1682 ("Ho ben bisogno delle ferventi preci di V. P. e, mentre essa da la sua beneditione ai miei popoli, mi consolo et credo fermamente, che tutto riuscirà bene e che si rintuzzerà l'orgoglio dei nemici della fede, sì che potró dire: Exurgat Deus et dissipentur inimici," ibid., 17).

126 Bruyninx, Sect. R, fols. 4–6v (3, 7 January 1672), esp. 5r ("Ende den erffvyandt Christelycken Naems haer niet mede uyt delghe, gelyck sy andere ende een ieder soecken uyt te delghen, die van haer dagelycke verbeeldinghe ende menselycke vercieringhe verschillen, off met deselve niet konnen over een stemmen").

127 "Nelle cose sole della religione sà usare di quella resolutione, che si desidera in lui nelle altre" (Levinson, "Nuntiaturberichte vom Kaiserhofe Leopolds I," 607, no. 66 [31 January 1672]).

128 While engaged in the hunt for rebels Habsburg commanders had repeatedly stopped excesses by Catholic bishops and magnates. Cf. Szabó, nos. 7–9, 16–17; Óváry, no. 1742. Cf. HKR to Casanova (1 September 1670): "Daß mann der calvinisten Kirchen und Gütter einziehe, seie ein lähres Vorgaben" (Szabó, no. 24, p. 211). Things began to change in March 1671 when György Bársony was given

troops to assist him in the Upper Hungarian towns of Bártfa, Leutschau, and Eperjes (Szabó, no. 36).

129 Bruckner, *Reformáció és ellenreformáció*, 266–70; Weber, "Az ellenreformácío," 587–8; Krones, "Zur Geschichte Ungarns," 424–5; Hain, 401–2.

130 Hörk, *A Sáros-Zempleni ev. esperesség története*, 82.

131 Gergely 6, no. 43; MNL OL, E254, July 1672, no. 71. Strassoldo had previously shown restraint, in Gergely 5, no. 309, p. 476. On Georg Basta, see Lencz, *Aufstand Bocskays*, 38–47.

132 MNL OL, E254, July 1672, nos. 10, 66–7.

133 Benczédi, *Rendiség*, 53–5, quotation 54 ("Templomfoglaló háború"); Bruckner, *Reformáció és ellenreformáció*, 267–90; Mihalik, "A Szepesi Kamara szerepe," esp. 257–77; Chalupecký, "Protireformácia alebo rekatolizácia?" (downplaying violence); H. Németh, "Unterdrückung oder Reform?," esp. 441–7 (showing the limited success of efforts to replace Lutheran magistrates). Bruyninx reported atrocities such as the execution of fathers in front of their children; but perhaps these were horror stories fed to him by his Protestant informants, in Bruyninx, Part A2, 25 September 1672, fol. 1v.

134 Szabó, p. 150n259; Gergely 6: 54 (soldiers roaming in vicinity of Eger); Bruyninx, Sect. Z, fols. 2v–4 (31 March 1672), esp. 3r (on Ottoman recruiters accepting anyone willing to take their money); Takáts, "Kisérletek," 19–22, 24, 119–22.

135 Redlich, "Tagebuch Pufendorfs," 590–1.

136 Ibid., 589–91 (on Danish resident, 590n1); Bruyninx, Sect. R, fols. 3v–4, 5r–v (31 December 1671; 7 January 1672); Sect. T, fols. 1r–2r (11 February 1672), quotation 1v; Sect. Z, fols. 2v–4 (31 March 1672). Bruyninx was in touch with the Lutheran burghers of Pozsony and the Calvinist community of Komárom and attached their petitions to his 14 February 1672 report (ibid., Sect. T, fols. 6v–7v, 8r–11v).

137 Cited in OSZK, Manuscript Repository, RMK III. 2732 (App H. 979), *Hungarische Praedikanten-Unschuld*, pp. 16–23, esp. 17, 19–22.

138 Turcica I. 144/1, fols. 36–9v, Casanova from Timarova (11 July 1672), esp. 36v. Cf. ibid., fols. 5–8v, Casanova from Edirne (4 June 1672), esp. 7; 26–7v, Kindsberg from Timarova (29 July 1672), esp. 26v (on Casanova's efforts to defuse the impact of "die Ungarische Rebellionshändl" at the Porte).

139 On the hunt for couriers, spies, and other agents going back and forth across the border despite strenuous efforts to keep "alien travelers" out, see Gergely 6, no. 85, Spankau to Teleki (17 March 1672); no. 101, Teleki to Apafi (31 March 1672) on the interception of couriers by Spankau; nos. 130–1, Spankau to Teleki (and Teleki's response) (2 May 1672 and 1672, n.d.) on growing tension along the borders; no. 175, Kende and Szepessy to Teleki (17 August 1672) about the arrival of an emissary of the thirteen counties.

CHAPTER FIVE

1 "Spankau nyiltparancsa a 13 felső-vármegyéhez," 283–5. For a somewhat different Latin version of the text, see MNL OL, E190, doboz 33, no. 8091, fols. 583r–v (n.d.). An archivist penciled in "1670," but that dating is clearly incorrect as the Hungarian and Latin texts completely overlap in most passages.

2 As demonstrated by letters he exchanged with Transylvanian leaders, in Gergely 6, nos. 85, 96, Spankau to Teleki (17, 28 March 1672); *TMAO* 5, no. LXXVII, 109–10, Apafi to Spankau (10 April 1672).

3 MNL OL, E190, doboz 33, no. 8091, fol. 583v ("Ut eos qui … scintillas turbulentorum motuum fovere, ac discidiorum fomites sufflare quomodo nituntur … statim ac defacto severissima inquisitione investigari curent").

4 KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fols. 221r–v, nos. 110–11 (18 May); 270r–v, nos. 83–4 (18 June 1672); Exp. Prot. 1672, fols. 377 (27 April 1672) and 446, no. 102 (June 1672, n.d.); Óváry, no. 1995, Report by Chiaromanni (30 April 1672). Spankau focused his investigation on Mátyás Istvánffy, deputy county sheriff of Torna, and concluded that the peasants' claim was indeed true: as he indicated in his report to Emperor Leopold of 18 May 1672, Istvánffy had given the order to take up arms. Orders for Istvánffy's arrest and trial had already been issued in February 1671, in NRA, fasc. 518, no. 1, fol. 387, Litterae citatoriae (6, 9 February 1671).

5 Cf. MNL OL, E254, March 1672, no. 39, Abaúj County to Leopold (Kassa, 6 March); E190, doboz 33, no. 8104, fols. 25–8v (23 March 1671); E23, March 1672, fols. 24–7v (23 March); August 1672, fols. 59–122 (18 August), reports about the excesses of soldiers under the command of General Strassoldo.

6 Komáromy, "Ugocsavármegye levéltárából," 30–2.

7 G13/2, fols. 2–3, Imperial mandate (May 1672, n.d.), esp. 2v ("Contra abusus condescensionum seu hospitationis gratuitae denuo abrogamus et interdicimus"). For a similar imperial mandate issued on 6 June 1671, see Óváry, no. 1855.

8 Montecuccoli, "Vom Kriege mit den Türken in Ungarn," in Veltzé, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 2: 511 ("Hass und Feindseligkeit zwischen dem Soldaten, der auf Raub ausgeht und dem Bauer, der das Seinige vertheidigt"); MNL OL, E190, doboz 33, no. 8143, fols. 99–100v (20 February 1672).

9 MNL OL, E254, July 1670, no. 28 (9 July); August 1670, nos. 43 (26 August), 66 (19 August). Similarly, ibid., June 1671, no. 55, István Pethő from Szendrő Fortress (27 June).

10 Ibid., July 1670, no. 3 (23 July), esp. fol. 277v ("Nalam nem volt, s levelet nem vitt, el nem hitette"); August 1670, no. 61 (30 August). Later Horváth got in touch with General Spankau and asked for protection, in ibid., May 1671, no. 4 (10 May).

11 Ibid., June 1670, no. 5; July 1670, no. 29; May 1671, nos. 27, 30, 85; June 1671, no. 58; November 1671, no. 42; February 1672, no. 55; May 1672, no. 45; June 1672,

no. 58; August 1672, no. 74; MNL OL, E23, August 1671, fol. 41 (18 August); March 1672, fols. 24–7v, esp. 25 (23 March); Gergely 5, nos. 192, 205, 229, 413; Gergely 6, no. 133; Vanyó, no. 101 (13 December 1671); Acsády, *A Magyarország története*, 328; Szákaly, *Magyar adóztatás*, 255; Varga, *Jobbágyrendszer*, 215; Pauler, 2: 373–4; Kisbán, *A Magyar Pálosrend története*, 1: 271; Maurer, *Kollonitsch*, 65.

12 Vanyó, no. 109 (3 July 1672); Óváry, no. 2007, Report by Chiaromanni (2 July 1672). In Upper Hungary General Spankau issued letters of protection to runaway peasants to lure them into returning, in KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fol. 379 ("Was er denen Bauern zu Almas [in Torna County] auf Ihr Bitten wider nach Hauß zu erlauben, vor protectionales ertheilet") (30 April).

13 Veselá, "Slovakia and Ottoman Expansion," 27–35 showing that ordinary people were "accepting … new Ottoman masters" in record numbers during the last two decades of Ottoman rule. Veselá laments the paucity of the surviving evidence – in Habsburg but apparently not in Ottoman archives – and argues that people later destroyed documents demonstrating that they enjoyed Ottoman protection. She emphasizes that admission of pro-Ottoman sympathies became very dangerous after Hungary had been reconquered by the Habsburgs (ibid., 27, 30–1). That war contributions and other military exactions could easily lead to popular perceptions that the Ottomans were more benevolent than the Habsburgs, even after the so-called "liberation of Hungary," is demonstrated by an apprehensive letter of Duke Ferdinand von Dietrichstein addressed to General Antonio Caraffa, commander in chief of Upper Hungary, dated 7 March 1686: "Daß diese und andere Leuthe unter Ihrer Majestät Schutz mehr linderung als unter dem Türkhen finden möchten, und dieselbe dahero nit Ursach haben, mehr diesen als uns zu verlangen" ("Caraffa levelezése," 597).

14 Turcica I. 143/1, fols. 94v, Meninski from Buda (19 June 1671); 101r–v, Spy report from Belgrade (3 July 1671); 105, Casanova from the Turkish Camp (5 July 1671). Cf. Ibrahim Pasha's intervention on behalf of peasants near Győr and Komárom fortresses, in Turcica I. 143/2, fols. 4–6, Relatione di cio ch'il Hagi Disawer Chiaus di Buda dice haver in commissis dal Vesiro suo Padrone (Residentia Caesareana, 16 August 1671); the 29 June 1670 warning by his predecessor, Mehmud Pasha, to Vice-General Esterházy of Győr, in Turcica I. 142/2, fol. 39 ("Se per avanti … vengano aggravati li poveri sudditi, ciò è una cosa contro la pace, nè è lecito di prestarvi consenso"); the pasha of Eger's protests against the taxation of his tributary subjects, in Óváry, no. 1789, Report by Chiaromanni (18 October 1670); and these peasants' refusal to pay Habsburg tax collectors (MNL OL, E254, April 1672, no. 19).

15 Turcica I. 142/3, fol. 96r, Leopold to Beris (15 May 1671) ("Als ob solche gehuldigte [Orte] ihnen allein zugehörten"); I. 143/1, fol. 156v, Montecuccoli to vizier of Buda (24 July 1671). On the great dangers of collecting taxes in parts of Abaúj, Borsod, and Gömör counties, see MNL OL, E254, June 1672, no. 10, István

Pethő to ZK (5 June). Officers were uncertain how to treat Ottoman tributary peasants, in KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fols. 348, 376v (Borsod County, May).

16 KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fol. 153v, no. 17; Exp. Prot. 1672, fol. 274, Correspondence between General de Suys and HKR (22 March, 4 April). Cf. *Huldigungsbriefe* disseminated by the pasha of Uyvar January–April 1672, ibid., Exp. Prot. 1672, fols. 205v, 206v, 211, 214v, 284; Reg. Prot. 1672, fols. 38, 110, 166.

17 On the potential meanings of *pribek* and *törökös*, see Bartal, *Glossarium*, 523 ("Pribekius"), 679 ("Turcismus, turcissare").

18 MNL OL, E254, March 1672, no. 70, fols. 146r–v, Vice-Captain Ferenc Sennyei to ZK (22 March) citing an order by Spankau. Sennyei ordered these peasants to appear at his court to punish them, but he was not confident they would ever appear.

19 Turcica I. 142/3, fols. 108r–v, László Károlyi to Rottal (5 February 1671). Károlyi was inclined to attribute the peasants' switch of allegiance to the threat of violence – a topos that is often found in letters by Habsburg officers who were powerless to reverse the trend. Cf. ibid., fols. 104r–v, Pál Esterházy to HKR (18 February 1671). Renegades (*Pribeken*) dispatched by the pasha of Eger repeatedly visited Upper Hungarian villages, in KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fol. 133, no. 158, HKR to Spankau (24 March).

20 These problems are noted in Szákaly, *Magyar adóztatás*, 252–3, 256–8 but largely downplayed by Hegyi, "A Köprülü-restauráció," 63–70.

21 Turcica I. 143/3, fols. 113–14, Mandate by Emperor Leopold to Casanova (26 May 1672), esp. 113v ("Widersetzliche Dörffer und Unterthanen zu schuldigen gehorsamb zu bringen … undt ihnen nicht wohl zu verwähren … zumahlen sich widrigen falls alle gehuldigte Dörffer Ihren Grundobrigkeiten widersetzen und denenhalben ihre schuldigkeit abzuführen verwaigern dörffen"). By contrast, see letter to the vizier of Buda dated 18 February 1671: "Militibus nobis subjectis sub gravi poena demandare, ut quoque ex sua parte pacem et bonam vicinitatem observant neque ullas hostilitates erga Turcas exercere debeant" (Turcica I. 142/3, fol. 111v).

22 Szákaly, *Magyar adóztatás*, 255–6.

23 Krones, "Jesuitenorden," esp. 218–19; Haraszy, *Az Ungi református egyházmegye*, 42–3, 45–6. For a good introduction to scholarship on Upper Hungary's Ruthenians, see Danilák, "Dejiny Rusínov-Ukrajincov," esp. 82, 85.

24 Cf. Haraksim, "Užhorodská Únia" (with survey of relevant literature); Véghseő, *"Catholice Reformare"*, 228–32. Véghseő says nothing about popular resistance to the Union.

25 Cf. Péter, "Gálszécsnek és vidékének egyházi hanyatlása" (with references to the Soós, Szemere, and Bocskai clans).

26 On the importance of brigandage (*zbojníctvo*), see O. Stavrovs'kyj, *Slovac'ko-pol'sko-ukrajins'ke prykordoňňa* (Prešov: n.p., 1967) reviewed in Danilák, "Dejiny

Rusínov-Ukrajincov," 82. Cf. also Weber, *Historischer Geschlechtsbericht*, 14–16, 40, 46–7.

27 MNL OL, E254, June 1671, no. 3, fols. 6–9v, János Berzeviczy to ZK (14 June); July 1672, no. 37, fols. 77–8, Report from Ungvár to ZK (9 July), esp. 77r. On a Ruthenian brigand fleeing with his wife and children to Ottoman territory (from where he conducted a lucrative cross-border trade), see Weber, *Historischer Geschlechtsbericht*, 14. The first attested use of Hungarian *Ukrajna* (later *Ukránia*) occurred in 1636; in Upper Hungary and Transylvania the term referred primarily to Galicia. Cf. Loránd, *A Magyar nyelv történeti-etimológiai szótára*, 3: 1030; KA AFA 1673, fasc. 4, no. 6, fol. 23v ("Die Ukraine, welche mit denen Marmorischen gränizet").

28 On Ujfalussy's involvement in the April 1670 revolt, his subsequent arrest, and trial, see Pauler, 2: 5, 7–9, 269, 273, 314.

29 MNL OL, E254, June 1671, no. 3, fol. 7v; July 1672, no. 34, Report by Peter Jantolovics (9 July), fol. 72 (on Bocskai estates). Apparently Ujfalussy's wife retained part of her husband's estate. The remaining properties were confiscated on 4 and 17 November 1672 (MNL OL, E245, 27. k., nos. 2022, 2054).

30 MNL OL, E254, July 1672, no. 33, Chaplain Márton Szolczany to ZK (8 July 1672).

31 On the Berthóty clan and Samuel Berthóty whose estates were confiscated only in November 1672, see Tóth, *Sáros vármegye monografiája*, 1: 259–62; MNL OL, E245, 27. k., no. 2067 (26 November 1672).

32 HFU, Karton 240, Konvolut October 1672, fols. 218–34, regarding the appointment of a new bishop in Munkács (January–October 1672), esp. 228r (127r), 232v (129r), Letters by Archbishop Malachovszky (n.d.). On the poverty of Uniate clergy, see MNL OL, E254, June 1672, no. 17, Zsófia Báthori to ZK (17 June). On the Orthodox population's refusal to pay the tithe, see ibid., October 1671, no. 2, Memorandum (2 October).

33 MNL OL Filmtár, X7027 (E21), doboz 15898, cim 657, September 1672, fol. 96 (10 September); Hörk, *A Sáros-Zempleni ev. esperesség története*, 82; NRA, fasc. 1744, no. 64, Investigation by Eger Chapter (13 May–1 June 1672), fol. 40.

34 MNL OL, E254, August 1672, no. 101, Ciprianus to Holló (30 August). On György Semsei, see Pauler 2: 8, 13, 269; EKPS, Series P, no. 167, Recognitiones certorum quorundum nobilium (December 1670, n.d.), fols. 595–6.

35 MNL OL, E254, August 1672, no. 21, fols. 39–40v, Szolczany to ZK (4 August), esp. 39; E23, August 1671, fols. 28r–v, Letter by Holló (26 August), esp. 28r; "Thököly István levelező könyve," 231–2, Letter by István Thököly to pastor of Viborna (Bierbronn) (1658, n.d.).

36 MNL OL, E254, August 1672, nos. 80, 89, Khristóf Horváth to ZK (17, 19 August); Weber, *Historischer Geschlechtsbericht*, 135–6; OSZK, Manuscript Repository, RMK II. 1226, *Solennitas Inavgvrationis Templi*, 11, 17 (on Zsigmond Thököly and Martin Machner). On Zsigmond Thököly's efforts to protect the Lutheran faith, see Galla, *A magyar katolikus restauráció misszionáriusa*, 20.

37 MNL OL, E254, September 1671, no. 6, fol. 12; no. 20, fol. 35; Weber, *Historischer Geschlechtsbericht*, 136. On Szent András parish, see Hradszky, *A Szepesi "tíz-lándsások széke,"* 144–5.

38 MNL OL, E254, August 1672, no. 89, fol. 191; no. 94, Khristóf Horváth to ZK (16 August). A year earlier Zsigmond Holló, Horváth's superior at the Zipser Kammer, had ruled categorically against the petitions of "Acatholic preachers" to receive the tithe, in E23, August 1671, fol. 23r–v (19 August 1671). Pastor Machner also submitted such a petition, which undoubtedly was rejected, in E254, August 1672, no. 86, fol. 185 ("Supplicationem sedi superiori porrexit").

39 MNL OL, E254, August 1672, no. 86, Chaplain Martin Mras to ZK (18 August).

40 On the revolts of the Szepes villages of Kabsdorf (Káposztafalva, Hrabušice) and Hunsdorf (Hunfalva, Hucovce), see Vanyó, no. 99 (4 October 1671); Bruckner, *Reformáció és ellenreformáció*, 253, 267, 269–70; Weber, *Historischer Geschlechtsbericht*, 132–4. After military suppression of their revolt, Kabsdorf peasants resisted paying the tithe and very likely supported their pastor Andreas Guenther, who remained in hiding nearby. Cf. MNL OL, E254, July 1672, no. 85, fols. 162–4, Horváth to ZK (18 July), fol. 162; Drobný, *Evanjelickí slovenskí martyri*, 101. On the resilience of Lutheranism in these villages, see Hornyánszky, *Zur Geschichte evangelischer Gemeinden in Ungarn*, 75, 80; Hradszky, *A XXIV királyi plébános testvérülete*, 15–16.

41 For the common failure to support Catholic priests, see MNL OL, E254, August 1670, no. 21; E244, June 1672, fols. 5r–v; July 1672, fols. 5, 12, 17, 94r–v, 122; August 1672, fols. 13, 31, 33, 47–8v, 63, 148, 154, 198. On money allocated to impoverished priests (*pecunia pro depauperatis parochis*), see E244, January 1672, fols. 84r–v; EPL AEV, Sect. 1/1, Primasok iratai, Lippay György es Szelepcsényi György iratai, no. 244, fols. 1–20 (July 1672, n.d.).

42 MNL OL, E254, July 1672, no. 70, fols. 137–9v, Streczenyi to ZK (16 July), esp. 139 (about the villages of Nagyar, Nábrád [both Fehérgyarmat district], Tunyog, and Szekerat [illegible in manuscript]). Pastor Stephan Uylaki of Penyige (Fehérgyarmat district) openly defied Streczenyi in his supplication to the Zipser Kammer, in E254, August 1672, no. 15, fol. 28. Cf. the Calvinist noble Balint Chernel's complaint about the expulsion of the pastor of Szilvásújfalu (Zemplén County, Gálszécs district), ibid., July 1672, no. 15, fols. 33r–v. Cf. E23, August 1671, fol. 40, Letter by Holló ("Acatholicos Praedicantes instare in eo, quatenus iis etiam … decima ipsis tribueretur").

43 MNL OL, E23, August 1671, no. 28, fol. 28v, Holló about Reverend Valentin Istvánffy, parish priest of Kassa, who was traveling "through entirely dangerous places [*per loca omnino periculosa*]" in Upper Hungary's Calvinist counties. Istvánffy was undeterred and demanded proper remuneration, in ibid., no. 28, fol. 29r–v, Istvánffy to ZK (1 August). On the dearth of priests, see E254, March 1672, no. 42, György Szegedi to ZK (4 March 1672); E244, August 1672, fol. 141, István Pethő to ZK (28 August). On the absence of priests in Calvinist villages, see

E244, June 1672, fols. 11r–v, 88; E254, June 1672, no. 37, Ferenc Török to ZK (17 June); Mihalik, "A Szepesi Kamara szerepe," 295–6.

44 On the precarious position of Habsburg forces in Lower Hungary, see Turcica I. 142/3, fols. 94r–v (Laxenburg, 15 May 1671); I. 143/1, fols. 102v–103 (5 July 1672). Cf. especially the letter by Commander in Chief Pál Esterhazy to HKR (18 February 1671), in Turcica I. 142/3, fols. 114r–v. On the Ottoman push into Trencsén County, see KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fol. 773v, nos. 87–8 (October–November); Reg. Prot. 1672, fol. 539, no. 1, General Spork to HKR (1 November).

45 KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fol. 248v, no. 12, HKR to Rabatta (2 June) responding to Rabatta's report from 28 May 1672; MNL OL Filmtár, X7027 (E21), cim 655, June 1672, fols. 119–20 (21 June 1672). The Puhó (Púchov) district was featured in the 1674 tribunal against the Hungarian Protestant clergy, in S. Varga, *Vitetnek ítélőszékre*, 48–9, 184, 187, 190–1; eadem, *Az 1674-es gályarabper jegyzőkönyve*, 37, 103, 152, 215, 217.

46 MNL OL, G 10, fols. 28–33, Investigation by Trencsén County (6 April 1673); G 13/4, fol. 4, Wesselényi's loyalty oath to avoid seizure of his castles (18 June 1674). On László Wesselényi, see Nagy, *Magyarország családai*, 7: 159, 162.

47 MNL OL, G10, fols. 28–30.

48 Ibid., fols. 30v–32, esp. 32r ("In praedictum comitem armati irruissent, ac protestationes … inusitatas et derogatorias peregissent, dictumque comitem a continuatione introductionis praehibuissent"); MNL OL, E41, Annus 1672, no. 210, Wesselényi to MK (28 August); no. 217, Michael Jeszensky to MK (31 August).

49 Ibid., no. 236, Casparus Sichicz to MK (16 September); no. 242, Stephanus Zalusky to MK (24 September). Peasant women's revolts against the imposition of the Catholic faith occurred also in Zólyom, Szepes, and Ung counties. Cf. Benczédi, *Rendiség*, 55; Bruckner, *Reformáció és ellenreformáció*, 269–70; MNL OL, E254, December 1671, no. 85, Horváth to ZK (10 December), fol. 164 ("Az aszoni embereket mi forman, et qua via vel lege kerjem impensioba, az kik violentiat patraltak"); Haraszy, *Az Ungi református egyházmegye*, 233.

50 Thaly, "Felső-Ozorócsi és Kohanóczi Ottlyk György önéletírása," 6–7. The case is puzzling since György Illyésházy was himself a Lutheran. Was he concerned about demonstrating his loyalty to the crown? Cf. Szilágyi, "Gróf György Illyésházy levele," 276.

51 Szabó, nos. 197, 201, HKR to General de Suys about military assistance for Bársony's "visitation" (*visitirung*) in Trencsén County (17, 24 July 1672).

52 Pauliny, *Dejepis superintendencie nitranskej*, 85–6; Szabó, nos. 193, 202–6 (9 July–26 August 1672), esp. no. 193, pp. 150–1n260; KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fols. 400, 475v; Vanyó, no. 110 (17 July), p. 66 ("Uccisero il fratello del Vescovo … alcuni Cattolici à cavallo, intimoriti dalla gran crudeltà si salvavano colla fuga verso i monti").

53 Today Myjava (Ómiava) and Sobotište (Ószombat).

54 Pauliny, *Dejepis superintendencie nitranskej*, 38–40; Varga, *Úriszék*, 820–32, esp. 827; Szabó, nos. 227, 240, 292, esp. no. 227, pp. 159–60n304; Vanyó, no. 118 (9 July 1673); KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fols. 476, 510v, 512v, 514 (efforts to close passes to Moravia and Silesia); MNL OL, E41, Annus 1672, nos. 154, 174, 205, 234, 244, 248–50 (July–October). For more on this uprising, see chapter 8.

55 Cf. Hungarica 432 A, fols. 93–5 (19 November 1671); MNL OL, E244, June 1672, fols. 38r–v, 86; July 1672, fols. 71r–v (Kassa); August 1672, fol. 114; P507, fasc. 11, no. 419, fol. 279 (Bártfa); E244, June 1672, fols. 84, 131; August 1672, fols. 171, 190v; E23, July 1672, fols. 22–3v (Eperjes).

56 Rákóczi was the town's principal landlord and claimed his patrimonial right (*ius patronatus*) to force the Calvinist townsmen into the Catholic faith. Cf. Borovszky, *Zemplén vármegye*, 117.

57 Szabó, nos. 121–2, 126, 129, Correspondence between Spankau and HKR (11 December 1671–15 January 1672); KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fol. 1, no. 1, HKR to Spankau; Babocsay, *Fata Tarczaliensia*, 31–2; Gergely 6, no. 3, Mihály Katona to Teleki (4 January 1672), p. 4. On Szendrei, see Hézser, *A tállyai ev. református egyház története*, 34, 45.

58 Baboczay, *Fata Tarczaliensia*, 29–31; Hézser, *A tállyai ev. református egyház története*, 43; Borovszky, *Zemplén vármegye*, 117. Cf. the brutalization of the noble János Buday ordered by Ferenc Rákóczi, see MNL OL, E254, May 1671, no. 88 (May 30), fols. 187v–188; June 1671, no. 20 (June, n.d.), fol. 42 ("Vasban s bilincsben es kalodaban való rabságot, éhséget es szomrúságot szenvedtem"). It is unclear if Buday was related to István Buday, the Tállya pastor who played a prominent role in the 1672 revolt (Pauler, "A bujdosók," 14).

59 Heczer, *A tállyai ev. református egyház története*, 28, 36, 39–41. On the fate of the Sárospatak Academy, see Szabó, nos. 42, 47–9, 59, 82, 88, 116. The exact date of the academy's seizure is not clear. However, students and professors were forced to leave Sárospatak in October 1671. Cf. Zoványi, *Magyarországi protestáns egyháztörténeti lexikon*, 523–4; Borovszky, *Zemplén vármegye*, 270–1.

60 Szabó, no. 122 and KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fol. 32, no. 68, Spankau to HKR (26 December 1671); Szabó, no. 129; KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fol. 13, no. 46, HKR to Spankau (15 January). On these towns' participation in the April 1670 uprising, see MNL OL, E23, October 1671, fols. 50–4v, Miklós Kis from Mád to ZK (28 October).

61 KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fol. 13v, nos. 46–7, HKR to Spankau (15 January).

62 Gergely 5, no. 441, Bánffy to Teleki (12 November 1671), p. 651 ("Adja Isten, legyen igaz az beste nagyfarkú kurvafiának veszedelme"). Historically the Hungarian term *veszedelem* means much more than "danger, peril." Linguistic equivalents are found in Latin ("clades, strages") and German ("Niederlage," "Verderbnis," "Verdammung"). See *Régi magyar glosszárium*, 764–5.

63 MNL OL, E23, March 1672, fol. 7, Vicar Gregorius Beberi to ZK (1 March). The November 1671 attempt was not unique: the pastors of Sátoraljaújhely antici-

pated the Rákóczi clan's attack on their religion already in March 1671, in Gergely 5, no. 316, Péter Selyki to Teleki (21 March 1671). The church was not confiscated until 1673, in Hézser, *A tállyai ev. református egyház története*, 44. On the Pauline monastery's economic privileges and its situation during the 1670 revolt, see Pauler, 2: 78; Borovszky, *Zemplén vármegye*, 144, 240; Galla, *A magyar katolikus restauráció misszionáriusa*, 8; MNL OL, E23, May 1671, fols. 38v–41v (on wine trade with Poland).

64 MNL OL, E254, July 1672, no. 55, fols. 110r–v, János Verebélyi to ZK (13 July); E244, July 1672, fol. 20, ZK to Ferenc Pethő (11 July). On pastor István Szőnyi Nagy, who made regular visits to Torna from Szikszó (and did not flee to Debrecen, as assumed by Pauler), see Pauler 2: 239–40. On Cucolsqui's assistance in the Torna County church confiscations in April 1671, see Szabó, no. 46, Cucolsqui to HKR (4 April 1671).

65 Benczédi, *Rendiség*, 55. Chalices, vestments, and rugs from the confiscated Tállya church ended up in Gönc, in Mihalik, "A Szepesi Kamara szerepe," 302. The market town of Gönc had a long-standing tradition of religious radicalism and unruliness. For previous attempts to discipline its preachers (who stood accused of Puritanism by the Calvinist establishment) and popular revolts, see Makkai, *A magyar puritánusok harca*, 35–6, 142–4, 164–5.

66 MNL OL, E254, March 1672, no. 27, Berdóczy to ZK (9 March); April 1672, no. 37, Horváth to ZK (14 April); E244, fol. 77, ZK to town judge (2 April); Mihalik, "A Szepesi Kamara szerepe," 303–4.

67 MNL OL, E254, July 1672, no. 19, Berdóczy to ZK (6 July), fols. 40r–v; no. 45, Berdóczy to ZK (10 July), fol. 93; Mihalik, "A Szepesi Kamara szerepe," 304.

68 Pauler, 2: 240; EKPS, Series Q, no. 148, fols. 529–31, Investigation in Bártfa (24 February 1673).

69 MNL OL, E254, July 1672, no. 19, fol. 41, Berdóczy to ZK (6 July); no. 26, Jacobus Hoczay to ZK (7 July), esp. fols. 56v, 58; E244, July 1672, fol. 24, ZK to Hoczay (13 July). On the tense conflict in Gönc, see also E254, June 1672, no. 60, Hoczay to Holló (30 June); E244, July 1672, fols. 59r–v, 86r, 95r–v, 97r, ZK to Hoczay, the town judge, and local officials (5–6 July).

70 On the Hegyalja towns of Agárd and Királyhelmec, see Gergely 6, no. 387, Pál Csernel to Teleki (26 July 1671); MNL OL, E254, October 1671, no. 2, fols. 5–6, Anonymous memorandum to ZK (2 October), esp. 6r; Mihalik, "A Szepesi Kamara szerepe," 258. On Szerencs, see E244, August 1672, fol. 141 (28 August); on Tarcal, see Babocsay, *Fata Tarczaliensia*, 29, 31, 35–6; Borovsky, *Zemplén vármegye*, 120, 161; KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fol. 406, no. 145 (August, n.d.); MNL OL, E250, fasc. 44, no. 30 (5 September 1672) (contacts with exiles and participation in 1672 revolt).

71 MNL OL, E254, July 1672, no. 26, fol. 56v.

72 MNL OL, E23, April 1672, fol. 26, Holló to MK (5 April); May 1672, fol. 52, Holló

to MK (25 May); E244, July 1672, fol. 5, ZK to Stephano Moszanos (10 July); E254, August 1672, no. 100, György Szegedi to ZK (14 August). On efforts to provide stipends for Catholic priests, see Szabó, "Ellenreformáció a végvárakban," 459–60n5; Szabó, no. 135, p. 135n181 with data on the creation of a *cassa parochorum* with money from the imperial Court Chamber (*Hofkammer*) and the Hungarian Chamber.

73 MNL OL, E254, August 1672, no. 98, Jelenicsek to ZK (12 August), fol. 208 ("Timendum erit in brevi nolentes volentes cogamur dicere omnes: in vanum laboraverunt, qui aedificant eam [ecclesiam]"); E244, September 1672, fol. 15, ZK to Ferenc Barkóczy (2 September). The Nagymihály and Vinna churches had been confiscated in February 1672. Cf. E254, February 1672, no. 11 (4 February); Benczédi, *Rendiség*, 152n19.

74 MNL OL, E23, July 1671, fol. 49, Holló to MK (25 July). On difficulties with provisioning of the town's new priest, see E254, May 1672, no. 30, Gáspár Bánóczy to ZK (30 May). On Szemere's unruly serfs who were paying taxes to the pasha of Eger, see E244, July 1672, fols. 60r–v, 65 (5–6 July); his arrest and trial, see Benczédi, *Rendiség*, 148n66; Pauler 2: 5, 269; his letters, see MNL OL, P507, fasc. 18, no. 662, fols. 426–32v (1670–71).

75 Gergely 6, no. 103, Teleki to István Naláczy (31 March 1672), esp. p. 144; no. 104, Teleki to Bánffy (31 March 1672), p. 146; Esze, "Bársony György 'Veritas'-a," 680.

76 Friedreich, "Hanacius Ferencz," 37–8; Bruckner, *Reformáció és ellenreformáció*, 268; MNL OL, E23, October 1671, fols. 8–10v, 48–9v, Joanelli to ZK (10, 24 October). A 1700 *visitatio* showed 1490 Lutherans and 507 Catholics, in Hradszky, *A XXIV királyi plébános testvérülete*, 14.

77 OSZK, Manuscript Repository, RMK III. 3030, Novack, *Ungarische Avisen*, pp. H II 2–J, J III 3–K III; Pauler, 2: 238; Klein, *Nachrichten*, 1: 235–7.

78 For resistance in other nearby mining towns, see E244, July 1672, fol. 128; August 1672, fol. 195 (Gölnitz); E23, September 1671, fol. 5; October 1671, fols. 24–30v; E254, September 1672, no. 18 (Csütörtökhely); Esze, "Bársony György 'Veritas'-a," 680 (Vel'ká). On these towns' German majorities and growing Slavic minorities, see Chalupecký, *Dejiny Krompách*, 48.

79 MNL OL, E254, May 1671, no. 48, Horváth to ZK (23 May), fol. 99; June 1671, no. 63, Krompach magistrate to ZK (4 June). The Aulic War Council appointed General von Mansfeld who reported directly to Vienna, in E254, June 1671, no. 65, Horváth to ZK (27 June), fol. 130. On church confiscation and Pastor Jan Fontana, see Chalupecký, *Dejiny Krompách*, 41–2; Drobný, *Evanjelickí slovenskí martyri*, 99; Hornyánszky, *Zur Geschichte evangelischer Gemeinden in Ungarn*, 104; Hain, 403; OSZK, Manuscript Repository, RMK II. 1226, *Solennitas Inavgvrationis Templi*, p. 11. On István Thököly and Krompach, see Chalupecký, *Dejiny Krompách*, 35; R. Várkonyi, "Országegyesítő kísérletek (1648–64)," 1104.

80 MNL OL, E244, June 1672, fols. 53r–v, Ladislaus Gilany to Spankau (7 June). On

the Zipser Kammer's continuing troubles with Krompach, see E244, June 1672, fol. 69 (15 June); E254, July 1672, no. 48, Horváth to ZK (12 July); E244, July 1672, fol. 66; August 1672, fol. 169, Holló to Krompach priest (20 August). On Rottal and Holló, see Chalupecký, *Dejiny Krompách*, 35, 37, 41; E254, May 1669, no. 4 (21 May) about Holló's aggressive methods to expand his economic assets.

81 Münnich, *Igló tőrténete*, 320–1; Bruckner, *Reformáció és ellenreformáció*, 306–7.

82 Ibid., 308–12; Friedreich, "Hanacius Ferencz," 39–48; Bombera, "P. František Hanák," 75.

83 MNL OL, E254, August 1672, no. 49, György Sramko to ZK (12 August), fols. 102–3; E244, August 1672, fols. 67r, 69–70v, 87r, 96r, 120r, 145r (6, 11, 19, and 23 August). See also E254, July 1672, no. 39 (9 July) on the Lutheran pastor's role in local resistance; Mihalik, "A Szepesi Kamara szerepe," 272–3. On Jolsva's role as a Lutheran religious and educational centre, see Hornyánszky, *Zur Geschichte evangelischer Gemeinden in Ungarn*, 75–7; Mikulik, *Magyar kisvárosi élet*, 31, 35, 195, 199.

84 MNL OL, E244, August 1672, fols. 67, 112 (19, 26 August); E254, August 1672, nos. 71, 79, Sramko (19, 24 August). Cf. ibid., no. 36, Sramko (9 August), fol. 72 about townsmen claiming protection by the pasha of Eger ("Nékiek parancsolta a Török") which is confirmed by data cited in Mihalik, "A Szepesi Kamara szerepe," 275–6.

85 Bruckner, *Reformáció és ellenreformáció*, 314–24, esp. 323; Hain, 400. On these towns and their peculiar legal status, see Glassl, "Rechtsstreit," 23, 27–8; Krones, *Deutsche Geschichts- und Rechtsquellen*, 19–24; Sváby, *A Lengyelországnak elzálogosított XIII szepesi város története*, 210–17.

86 Montecuccoli bore these towns a grudge for having refused his troops entry and shelter ten years earlier when they withdrew from Transylvania after being pushed out by the Ottomans. Cf. MNL OL Filmtár, X1509 (E142), fasc. 27, no. 23, fols. 1–76, Cursus legationis Viennensis (17 September 1671–15 February 1672), esp. 17–18. Késmárk joined the Confederation of Upper Hungarian Royal Towns in 1665 (Bruckner, *Reformáció és ellenreformáció*, 271).

87 Cf. declarations of loyalty by Kisszeben and Késmárk magistrates (in German), in MNL OL, P507, fasc. 11, no. 421, fol. 288 (15 September 1670); no. 422, fol. 292 (14 September 1670).

88 On Leutschau, see Bruckner, *Reformáció és ellenreformáció*, 280, 282–3; Hain, 400; MNL OL, P507, fasc. 18, no. 659, fols. 393–8, German military reports about the "allhir entstandene Rebellion." A similar revolt in Késmárk remains poorly documented, in Bruckner, ibid., 272–3; Hain, 400. Késmárk successfully held on to its Slovak and German churches while Leutschau yielded only the Slovak church (Bruckner, ibid., 273, 281).

89 Evanjelický a. v. zborový archív Prešov, Status et fatorum Ecclesiae Evangelicae utriusque nationis Germanicae aequae Slavicae in Regia ac Libera Civitate

Cibiniensi succincta descriptio (1778), 63–4 as cited in Kónya, *Prešov, Bardejov a Sabinov*, 44–5; idem, *Dejiny Sabinova*, 146; Klein, *Nachrichten*, 3: 355–6.

90 MNL OL, E254, August 1672, no. 101, Ciprianus to Holló (30 August); E244, August 1672, fol. 86r, ZK to Kisszeben magistrate (24 August); Kónya, *Dejiny Sabinova*, 121.

91 Križko, *Dejiny banskomestského seniorátu*, 246–8, 252–3; MNL OL Filmtár, X7027 (E21), doboz 15897, cim 656, July 1672, fol. 235, Petition by Kremnica Catholics "adversum Ludovicum Lucium nationis Slavonicae … [et] alium autem eiusdem farinae ministellum Danielem Hökel [sic]" (28 July 1672).

92 On Schemnitz, see Križko, *Dejiny banskomestského seniorátu*, 248–50; Vendelín, *Dejiny jezuitov*, 81–3. On the military occupation of Schemnitz in early April 1672, see KA Exp. Prot 1672, fol. 256v (13 April).

93 EPL AEV, Sect. 1/7, Acta Religionaria, fasc. 149, no. 1790/2, fols. 183–369, Contra cives, inhabitatores Posonienses velut principales in causam attractos eorumque complices (12 May–13 June 1672) (hereafter Acta Religionaria); Liebergott, "Tagebuch," 44–68; Šatek, "Odobranie kostolov" (based on town archives).

94 According to a contemporary estimate the town's population included ca. 7,000 males of whom 5,000–6,000 were Protestants (almost all German and Slovak Lutherans). About 400–500 Lutherans and almost as many Catholics enjoyed corporate rights as burghers. Cf. Maurer, *Kollonitsch*, 51. On the prominent role of women, see Acta Religionaria, fols. 217–18, 281, 297–8, 302; Šatek, "Odobranie kostolov," 111, 119. On the various lower-class strata involved, see Acta Religionaria, 205, 216, 281, 283–6, 297; Šatek, "Odobranie kostolov," 111; Liebergott, "Tagebuch," 45–6.

95 On the various professions involved, see Acta Religionaria, fols. 284–8, 290–1, 297, 301, 327; Liebergott, "Tagebuch," 45–6. On weapons, see Acta Religionaria, fols. 284–5, 287, 294, 298; Liebergott, "Tagebuch," 46, 51.

96 Acta Religionaria, fols. 281, 290, 292, 301–2; Liebergott, "Tagebuch," 48–52; Šatek, "Odobranie kostolov," 108–9. The Lutheran noble János Vitnyédi was seen as a dangerous rabble-rouser "even more audacious and more eloquent" than his deceased father István, in Maurer, *Kollonitsch*, 50–1, 430. Vitnyédi was quickly rearrested and taken to Pozsony Castle (ibid., 51).

97 Acta Religionaria, fols. 321, 327 ("Nihilque aliud invicem egisse, quam quod cantaverint et oraverint"); Šatek, "Odobranie kostolov," 112–13.

98 Acta Religionaria, fols. 297, 301–3, 305, 307, 317; Liebergott, "Tagebuch," 48; Šatek, "Odobranie kostolov," 107.

99 The operation involved three cavalry and twelve infantry companies led by Colonel Octavio Nigrelli of the Sovereign's Own Regiment (*Kaiserliche Leibregiment*), in Liebergott, "Tagebuch," 55, 61, 64.

100 Liebergott, "Tagebuch," 51–2, about Hauptmann Schütz and his wife who played prominent roles in the defense of the German Lutheran school. Schütz's

superior, General von Herberstein, defended him against verbal abuse from Archbishop Szelepcsényi, in KA Exp. Prot 1672, fol. 210, no. 197, Herberstein to HKR (March, n.d.); Reg. Prot. 1672, fol. 139, HKR to Herberstein (28 March) with reference to Wilhelm Schürz [sic]. On a similar incident involving an officer making "improper speeches against His Majesty [*ungebührliche Reden wider Seine Majestät*]," see KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fol. 211v (March, n.d.).

101 The participation of Habsburg soldiers in the Pozsony revolt requires more attention. The archival evidence is referenced, in Šatek, "Odobranie kostolov," 107–9 (holdings in the Pozsony town archive). It is likely not a coincidence that the Vienna court dispatched the *Kaiserliche Leibregiment*, whose soldiers had been handpicked for loyalty, to suppress the Pozsony revolt.

102 Szabó, nos. 206, 220, 223–4; KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fol. 475v, no. 200 (23 September).

103 Cf. Szabó, no. 6, General von Sternberg to HKR (20 February 1670). On the defection of *Hauptmann* Hans Peter Rudneby, the German commander of Szendrő, see Hungarica 289 C, fols. 1–3, 31–6, 42.

104 Szabó, "Ellenreformáció a végvárakban," esp. 457–8; Pálffy, "Türkenabwehr," esp. 136–7.

105 Pilot studies based largely on soldiers' petitions did not lead to further research on soldiers' experiences. Cf. Takáts, "Kisérletek"; Benczédi, "Bányavidéki várőrségek." More recent studies focus on earlier periods and army reform. Cf. Pálffy, "Türkenabwehr in Ungarn."

106 For an excellent treatment of the archival dilemma, see Pálffy, "A modern hadtörtenetirás," esp. 544–6; idem, "Türkenabwehr in Ungarn," esp. 104–6.

107 Takáts, "Kisérletek," 24.

108 MNL OL, E254, February 1672, no. 18, Strassoldo to ZK (8 February), fol. 34 ("Ingens damnum, et multarum animarum Christinorum jacturas ad illas partes /:uti non pridem contigit:/ imminere video"); no. 64, Strassoldo to ZK (20 February).

109 Cf. Szántó, "A 'vitézlő rend'," passim; Benczédi, "Bányavidéki várőrségek," 155–7; idem, "Parasztság és kurucság," 154–8; idem, "Warrior estate," 352–3.

110 On pay rates for border soldiers, see Takáts, "Kisérletek," 9–13. Takáts and Benczédi focused entirely on Hungarian soldiers, in Takáts, "Kisérletek," passim; Benczédi, "Bányavidéki várőrségek," passim. On the anti-Hungarian animus of the Vienna court, see Benczédi, "A Habsburg-abszolutizmus indítékai," esp. 539–40. On the miserable situation of German soldiers, see KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fols. 414v ("Stehen die Regimenter sonderlich zu Ober Hungarn fast ganz bloß"), 436v ("Wegen der hinterhaltender Verpflegung"), 425v (Győr), 440 (Komárom), 452, 478, 534 ("Klagen der Reutter wegen ihres ausbleibenden Unterhalts"), 548v–549 (Szendrő), 591 (Ónod); KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fols. 151v ("Von Lebensmitteln entblößt"), 211 (Szatmár), 262, 270v (Fülek); MNL OL, E23, April 1671, fols. 9–12v, Hartyányi to ZK (4 April) ("De excessibus militum Germanorum");

December 1671, fols. 23–4v (16 December), esp. 23r ("Immerito et supra modum [miseros subditos] aggravare nulli dubitaremus"). See the repeated complaints of the Aulic War Council about the failure of local authorities to collect the war taxes, in KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fols. 163v, 203r–v, 226, 237, 382 ("Verwundere mann sich, daß die einrichtung der repartition … so langsamb hergehe").

111 MNL OL, E254, July 1672, no. 90, fols. 171r–v, Hirschberger to ZK (19 July), esp. 171r ("Täglich, ja fast stündlich auf den Hals liegent lammentierliches klagen, und umb ihre bezahlung anhalten").

112 Ibid., August 1672, no. 102, fols. 215r–v, Schöningh to ZK (30 August 1672), esp. 215v ("Damit meinem billichen ansuchen geholffen werden möge. Wiedrigen fals, da waß feindliches für ginge, undt der Mehl Vorrath für die Vestung, so wohl andere Ihr Maj[estäts] Kriegsvölcker abginge, will entschuldiget sein. Womit verbleibe in erwartung einen [sic] guetten antwort").

113 Takáts, "Kisérletek," 17; Szántó, "A 'vitézlő rend'," esp. 146–7, 152; Benczédi, "Warrior estate," 354. The Habsburg court was afraid that raids could generate war with the Ottomans whose troops pursued and executed raiding soldiers inside Royal Hungary. Efforts to curb such raiding – apart from harsh punishments, even involving executions – included the return of Turkish captives, stolen horses, and other booty, in Turcica I. 143/3, fols. 106–8v, HKR report (27 May 1672) presented to the Secret Conference (Residentia Caesareana, 20 June 1672); 113–4v, Leopold I to Casanova (27 May 1672) signed by both Leopold and Montecuccoli; KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fols. 21v ("Verschaffung Satisfaction denen Türcken, wegen der Ihnen zugefügten Schäden und Bestrafung der Thätter"), 54 ("Daß die Türken in Oberungarn … executiones vornehmen, weilen die Hungarische Räuber nicht gestraft werden"), 228v ("Daß die von denen Türkhen benente Räuber aus den Gräniz Register abgethan und bestraft werden"), 271 (Turkish captives), 329v ("Die erdapente Thätter schlagen und gefangen nehmen"), 381v ("Mit arrestierten Delinquenten scharf verfahren"); 354v, 355, nos. 222–3, and 414v, no. 186 (proposed exchanges of Turkish captives); Exp. Prot. 1672, fols. 274, 291, 378v, 392, 446, 456, 483r–v, 514 (efforts to account for Turkish captives before arranging for their return), 522 (on Christian captives sent to Buda for exchange), 533 (imperial officers and soldiers to be exchanged); 445v ("Wegen Ausführung der von denen Türkhen benannten Räuber aus deren Musterregistern"), 446v, 452v (Spankau sends lists with the names of the worst plunderers, 8 and 29 June 1672).

114 MNL OL, E254, June 1672, no. 10, István Pethő to ZK (5 June), esp. fol. 18 ("De csak az Isten tudja minemű nagi félelemmel es rettegéssel vihettünk véghez az Török miatt, szokszor éczakának idigen erdőkön es mezőkön lappangottuk miert hóldolatlanok vagjúnk … en előrőmest nagj alázatos engedelméssegel meg cselekednem, ha az Töröktűl nem félnek … Az Egri Török mind ejjel és nappal el járhat").

115 Ibid., January 1672, no. 68; February 1672, no. 26 (Károly); January 1672, no. 85; March 1672, no. 48 (Szatmár); March 1672, no. 39 (Kassa), fol. 83 ["Subsecuta (: aliquot pagis exceptis:) ad fortalitium usque Cassoviensem Turcica subjectione"]; March 1672, no. 69 (Fülek); March 1672, no. 70 (Kálló); April 1672, no. 19; June 1672, no. 27 (Ónod).

116 Szabó, "Ellenreformáció a végvárakban," 457; Takáts, "Kisérletek," 5; Acsády, *A Magyarország története*, 128 ("A végbeli katonaság úgy szólván egészen [nemkatholikus volt])."

117 Szabó, "Ellenreformáció a végvárakban," 457; Takáts, "Kisérletek," 5, 7, 15; Tóth, *A Pápai Református egyház története*, 87–8 (starvation used to force Calvinist soldiers into the Catholic faith).

118 Such petitions started in July 1671 and culminated in summer 1672. They were addressed to the Aulic War Council, Plenipotentiary Rottal, and the Dutch resident Bruyninx. Cf. Szabó, "Ellenreformáció a végvárakban," 464n16 (with multiple archival references); Szabó, nos. 86 (Pápa), 87 (Komárom), 92 (Komárom), 124 (Légrád), 157 (Veszprém, Pápa, Komárom); KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fols. 67 (Győr); 101v, no. 35 (Veszprém, Pápa, Komárom); KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fols. 130 (Győr), 191 (Veszprém), 273 (Szatmár, Ecsed), 452v (Szatmár), 528 (Ónod).

119 Colonel LaBorde, the officer in charge of the Ecsed operation, wrote a detailed report in which he described the nature (*Beschaffenheit*) of the revolt and the punishments he carried out (apparently including executions). One wishes this report had been spared destruction by later archivists. For a short summary, see KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fol. 2, no. 6, HKR to Colonel La Borde (3 January). The failure to pay Hungarian soldiers undoubtedly contributed to the outbreak of the revolt, see MNL OL, E244, January 1672, fols. 67r–v, Appeal by ZK to Habsburg military authorities (27 January); MNL OL Filmtár, X7027 (E21), August 1672, fols. 61–2, Imperial order to increase the salaries and provisions of Ecsed garrison (12 August 1672).

120 MNL OL, E190, doboz 33, no. 8084, Notum manifestum … datum in possessione Matócz (14 July 1670), esp. fols. 567v–568, Ecsed's conditions for surrender in Hungarian; 568v, the acceptance and guarantee of these conditions in Latin ("Assecuramus, acceptamus, approbamus, confirmamus promittentes nos fide nostra Christiana eadam postulata observaturos") with the signatures of Count Johannes Adolphus, General Gottfried Heister, and General Paris von Spankau (in this order). An undated and unsigned copy of the agreement is found in MNL OL, E211, Lymbus, cs. 113, t. XXXIII, fols. 2–3v. Similar assurances were signed by Ferenc Rákóczi and his mother Zsófia Báthori, in Berey, "A reformátusok üldöztetése," 517–18. On the siege of Ecsed and Habsburg fears that the Ottomans would get involved, see Gergely 5, no. 192, Benedek Hedri to Teleki (2 July 1670), p. 311; nos. 203, 206, General Heister to Teleki (12 and 16 July 1670); no. 204, Hedri to Teleki (16 July 1670), esp. pp. 326–7; Óváry, nos. 1728, 1740,

Márton Kászonyi to Lobkowitz (9 July 1670 and 1670, n.d.); nos. 1730, 1736–7, Reports by Chiaromanni (12, 19 and 26 July 1670); Pauler, 2: 101–4. On Count Johann Adolphus, see Pauler, 2: 88–90; Szabó, 207n23.

121 MNL OL, P507, fasc. 11, no. 407, fols. 154–5v, Szatmár County to Rottal (16 September 1670). Initially only a small German garrison entered the fortress and townsmen were not forced out of their houses, but the garrison grew significantly after Emperor Leopold I failed to ratify the agreement. Cf. Gergely 5, no. 211, Apafi to Teleki (24 July 1670); no. 221, Teleki to Apafi (20 August 1670); Óváry, no. 1777, Rottal to Lobkowitz (24 September 1670) on the dispatch of Spankau to Ecsed; MNL OL, E23, October 1671, fol. 20, Báthori to ZK (14 October); Pauler, 2: 103.

122 Szabó, nos. 31–3 (3–24 January 1671); Berey, "A reformátusok üldöztetése," 468. It is likely that the fortress' pastor was only arrested after the suppression of the December 1671 uprising. The dispatch of an emissary to Vienna in February 1672 and a written appeal to liberate both the schoolmaster and pastor from prison (dated 20 March 1672) remained unsuccessful even though the appeal was forwarded to Leopold I. The emperor apparently rejected the petition based on field reports by Colonel LaBorde (see note 119) and General Strassoldo. Cf. Kiss, *A Szatmári református egyházmegye története*, 124–5; Szabó, no. 173, HKR to Leopold I (16 May 1672). About the pastor's imprisonment, see also Szabó, nos. 171, 178 (April and May 1672, n.d.). The name of Ecsed's pastor is not mentioned in the archival record; it was likely Gergely Körösi, whose ordination was recognized by the general synod of the exiled Upper Hungarian Calvinist Church on 7 July 1671, in MNL OL Filmtár, X832, doboz 33, fols. 119–20. Ecsed Fortress remained a strong outpost of Calvinism throughout the 1670s despite repeated efforts to disloged its clergy, ibid., fols. 129, 134.

123 KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fol. 2, no. 6. On Tokaj, see Szabó, no. 121; KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fol. 32, no. 68, Spankau to HKR (26 December 1671).

124 Szendrő replaced Eger, which was lost to the Ottomans in 1596, in Pálffy, "Origins," 56. On the revolt and its immediate aftermath, see KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fols. 342, 389, 445; MNL OL, E23, June 1672, fols. 25r–v, Bossányi to ZK (n.d.).

125 KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fol. 594, no. 24, Szegedi to HKR (August, n.d.); MNL OL, E23, July 1671, fol. 5; June 1672, fol. 24, Holló to MK. On Joanelli, see MNL OL, E254, August 1670, no. 79, fol. 556 (recommending a noble who had apparently converted); July 1672, no. 128, Petition by Catholic community (*közönség*) to Joanelli and Holló (27 July); NRA, fasc. 518, no. 24, Praedatorum nomina oppidi Szomolnok et bonorum [Johannis] Andreae Ioannelli, fol. 8.

126 KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fol. 510, no. 66, Vice-Captain Horváth to HKR "per seiner installation und protection" (July, n.d.). The church was likely seized in the second week of July 1672 but the pastor was not expelled, despite threats by the Zipser Kammer. Cf. MNL OL, E244, July 1672, fols. 57, 107, ZK to István Pethő (5,

20 July); E254, July 1672, no. 10, fol. 21 (3 July); no. 128, fol. 247v (27 July); E23, August 1672, fols. 43–7, István Pethő to ZK (5 August).

127 MNL OL, E254, April 1672, no. 56, Szendrő's Calvinist nobles and soldiers (*vitézlő rend*) to ZK (26 April), fol. 119 ("Iterato Istenért reménkedünk az Tekintetes Nemes Camaranak tandem immar cum contento legyen jó resolutiónk, ugyan Szendrőből fügven ez darab hazanak conservatiója").

128 KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fol. 432, Spankau to HKR (forwarding Schöningh's request on 15 June). *Musterungsoffizier* Leichtinger also urged sending reinforcements, ibid., fol. 522v (July, n.d.).

129 KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fols. 288v, 339v, HKR to Spankau (27 June, 17 July) following the latter's repeated calls for reinforcements. The Aulic War Council left the decision of whether or not to remove Horváth entirely to Spankau ["Werde ihm anheimb gestellt, wann er anderst befindet, daß der Horvath … kann amoviert werden," ibid., fol. 366 (1 August 1672)].

130 Ibid., fol. 393v, no. 101 (13 August 1672); Exp. Prot. 1672, fol. 590, Musterkommission Zimmermann relationiert (August 1672, n.d.).

131 In June 1672, for example, Szatmár's Lutheran soldiers secretly resumed celebrating church services, the Calvinist majority came under scrutiny for secret contacts with Transylvania, and the Calvinist vice-captain Szadoraj was watched for suspicious behaviour. Cf. Szabó, nos. 183, 189; KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fol. 447; Reg. Prot. 1672, fol. 288 ("Verdachts halber sei auf denselben gute aufsicht zu halten").

132 KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fols. 448, 452, 528; Reg. Prot. 1672, fol. 326v; MNL OL, E244, July 1672, fol. 13. On punishments meted out by Vice-General Bercsényi in July 1672, see KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fol. 509, no. 59. On the joint refusal of town and garrison to support the Catholic priest, the continued presence of the Calvinist pastor, and the town's troublesome Calvinist students, see MNL OL, E244, July 1672, fols. 70, 212; August 1672, fols. 212r–v; E254, July 1672, no. 67, fol. 131; August 1672, no. 40, fol. 82. On Vice-Captain György Tolvay, see Izsépy, *Végvári levelek*, 16–19, 24–5.

133 KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fols. 383, 447, 449; Reg. Prot. 1672, fols. 181, 288v.

134 MNL OL, E244, July 1672, fol. 20, ZK to Ferenc Pethő (11 July). On tensions in Putnok over attempts to discipline foraging soldiers and the resignation of the long-tenured captain István Orlay, see KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fols. 382, 494v; Reg. Prot. 1672, fol. 181. Cf. Izsépy, *Végvári levelek*, 8.

135 On these fortresses' strategic significance, see Pálffy, "Border Defense System," 48–9, 58. On the Catholic character of Leopoldstadt, where no Protestant pastors had been allowed since construction started in 1665, see Obál, *Religionspolitik*, 183.

136 The principal advocates were Primate Szelepcsényi, the bishop of Győr, and the parish priest of the fortress town of Korpona. Cf. Szabó, nos. 43, 45, 84, 141 (31

March 1671–30 January 1672). The Aulic War Council condoned military actions against the Pápa Protestant clergy beginning in April 1671, allowed the removal of the Győr pastors in June 1671, and enabled the arrest of the Komárom pastors in early July 1671 (ibid., nos. 44, 80, 87, 92). On Pápa and Veszprém, see also Tóth, *A Pápai Református egyház története*, 89–90.

137 Evliyâ Celebi, an Ottoman diplomat-spy and later famous traveler, visited Komárom and Győr in 1665 and provided detailed descriptions of the fortresses, suggested ways they might be seized, and appealed to Allah to hand them over to the sultan. Cf. Kreutel, *Im Reiche des Goldenen Apfels*, 70–2, 74–83 (with excellent commentary authenticating Celebi's 1665 trip). On these two fortresses, see also Czigány, *Reform vagy kudarc?*, 114–16, 132–4.

138 For similar developments in other fortresses, see Szabó, nos. 156–7; KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fols. 376v, 454v; Reg. Prot. 1672, fol. 101v (Veszprém); Szabó, nos. 44, 86, 141, 146–7, 157; Szabó, "Ellenreformáció a végvárakban," 461–2, 465; KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fol. 101v (Pápa); Szabó, nos. 14–15, 19–21, 25, 29, 124, 128, 134 (Légrád); MNL OL, E254, June 1670, no. 30; April 1672, no. 20; KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fols. 262, 270–1, 379v (Fülek); Reg. Prot. 1672, fols. 210, 237; Szabó, nos. 132, 177 (Trencsén).

139 On these soldiers' outrage about the removal of their pastors and school teachers, see a petition to Court Chancellor Hocher from February 1672, in Hungarica 325 A, fols. 182–5 (n.d); Szabó, nos. 149–50, 152 (on Lutheran and Calvinist soldiers insisting on dispatching emissaries to Vienna). On the brutal treatment of Győr's pastors, see Bruyninx, Sect. N, fols. 5r–v (6 August 1671).

140 Szabó, nos. 87, 92, 141. On the revolt, see Földváry, "Száki János Ekeli Praedikátor," 446–7; KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fol. 121; Prot. Reg. 1672, fol. 101v; Szabó, "Ellenreformáció a végvárakban," 461.

141 KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fol. 214v, no. 227, Hofkirchen to HKR (March, n.d.); 523v, nos. 203–4 (28 June); Földváry, "Száki János Ekeli Praedikátor," 447–8.

142 Hofkirchen had to manage more than 400 discontented Hungarian soldiers as well as the town's angry populace. In March 1672 the Hungarian garrison of Komárom comprised 100 hussars, 297 Heyducks, thirty artillerists, and twenty-five extras. Cf. Takáts, "Kisérletek," 116; Czigány, *Reform vagy kudarc?*, 124–5 (with a slightly different number of artillerists and extras).

143 KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fols. 410, 478, 523 (extra and advance payments for German soldiers), 562v, 584v, Hofkirchen to HKR (6 June–26 August).

144 KA, Reg. Prot. 1672, fol. 370, HKR to Hofkirchen (1 August).

145 Földváry, "Száki János Ekeli Praedikátor," 448, 450–1; Szabó, no. 195; KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fols. 338–9, no. 160, Hofkirchen to HKR (17 July).

146 Czigány, "A végvári katonaság," 98–103; Czigány, *Reform vagy kudarc?*, 127, 129–30; Takáts, "Kisérletek," 115–118. On the Laxenburg consultations, see Takáts, "Kisérletek," 24.

147 Czigány, "A végvári katonaság," 104; KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fol. 171, HKR to Feichtinger (13 April).

148 On the dismissal of Protestant soldiers and officers, see KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fol. 525v; Reg. Prot. 1672, fols. 52v–53, 62, 66, 101. That the privileging of Catholics was counterproductive is indicated by General Spankau's complaint about "the unfair arrangements [*ungleiche dispositionen*] … [made] during the mustering process." But the Aulic War Council responded that it would not be possible to change the outcome, in KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fol. 288v, no. 141 (27 June).

149 Takáts, "Kisérletek," 19, 21, 115, 124. See also KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fol. 109v, no. 71 (8 March): "Von den … Dörffern Huldigung begehrt und schon 3. Mahl gestraifft … doch weder teutsch noch hungarische Soldateska [den Türken] nachgesetzt."

150 Takáts' assumption that 7,000–8,000 of the ca. 11,000 Hungarian border soldiers were dismissed is greatly exaggerated. Cf. Czigány, *Reform vagy kudarc?*, 128–9; Takáts, "Kisérletek," 122.

151 Benczédi, *Rendiség*, 55.

152 Cf. a letter by Zsigmond Pethő, vice-general of Upper Hungary, announcing his resignation when faced with "such great revolutions" (*tantis revolutionibus*). He described himself as a broken man ("Fractae et enervatae vires meae ulterius ad supportanda haec Vice-Generalatus officii onera prorsus impares sint"), in MNL OL, E254, August 1672, no. 61 (28 August), fols. 131r–v. Spankau and other generals (Strassoldo, Péter Esterházy) were overwhelmed as they also made frantic efforts to repair fortresses, close down border crossings, and prevent Ottoman incursions (not to speak of their constant scramble for more money to appease their soldiers). Cf. KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fols. 151v, 158v, 211, 249, 262, 267v, 270; Exp. Prot. 1672, fols. 391v, 436v, 452, 523, 534, 650v; Czigány, *Reform vagy kudarc?*, 130–1.

153 Cf. KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fols. 249v, 251, 443, 454v, 628v; Reg. Prot. 1672, fols. 211, 465r–v, 471.

154 Hungarica 288 F, fols. 15–20v, Memorandum to Emperor Leopold (1670–71, n.d), 15v ("Sicuti quando conjunguntur grana pulveris tormentarii, quibus si accedat minima scintilla, omnia et singula simul et semel in flammam erumpunt"). Szelepcsényi wrote this memo shortly after Plenipotentiary Rottal moved his investigative commission from Leutschau to Poszony in November 1670, see Óváry, nos. 1789, 1796, 1801 (arrival of the commission in Pozsony, 22 November 1670).

155 Gergely 6, no. 85, Spankau to Teleki (17 March 1672), pp. 119–20.

CHAPTER SIX

1 On Ottoman protection of Pál Wesselényi who owned estates near Kecskemét (ca. 30 miles south of Buda), see MNL OL, E254, March 1672, no. 22 (10 March); Szakály, *Magyar adóztatás*, 305–8, 311.

2 Debrecen's town magistrate obeyed orders by the pasha of Varad and the Porte to give refuge to fugitive rebels from Upper Hungary. See, for example, KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fol. 859v, no. 239, Spankau to HKR (14 December) about an exculpatory letter he received from the Debrecen magistrate ("Daß die Türkhen … anbefohlen, denen Rebellen gegen ihr Geld auffenthalt zu geben"). Similarly, ibid., fol. 855 and evidence cited below and in the next chapter. That Debrecen had submitted to the sultan is also suggested by KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fol. 557, no. 85, Report by Spankau (cited by HKR on 17 November) ("Sich ins gehuldigte nach Debreczin begeben"). On the pasha of Varad's takeover of nearby Szoboszlo (less than 15 miles to the southwest), see Turcica 144/1, fols. 47–8, Leopold to Casanova (20 July 1672), esp. 47r ("Daß Szoboszlo noch däto [sic] unter der Türkischen Huldigung gehalten wird, also dardurch der frieden merckhlich laediert verbleibet").

3 See introduction.

4 A place to start would be the registers (*regestra*) compiled by Transylvanian officials. If they have survived, these registers would present an excellent source for studying the numerical and social makeup of the refugees. Shortly after the collapse of the Upper Hungarian uprising, droves of refugees arrived on Teleki's estates. He then gave orders to make lists of refugees, in Gergely 5, no. 150, Teleki to Mihály Katona (22 May 1670), p. 253 ("Regestrum legyen, hogy mind felső, alsó renden levők kik mentenek oda be városban, egyébüvé is oda az [Máramaros] vármegyében hová? … Nekem is páriáját azon regestrumnak küldje meg"); no. 229, Teleki to Katona (23 September 1670), p. 352.

5 See, for example, Gergely 5, no. 172, Ferenc Ispán to Teleki (20 June 1672).

6 Óváry, no. 1802, Joanelli to Lobkowitz (25 November 1670). Balassa arrived in Transylvania on 29 November and proceeded to his estates on Ottoman territory, in Gergely 5, nos. 271, 305, Dénes Bánffy to Teleki (20 December 1670, 24 February 1671), pp. 417, 471n1. On nobles hiding in the castle of Ádám Balassa, Imre Balassa's cousin, and other places, see Hungarica 288 F, fols. 4, Gábor Balassa to Szelepcsényi (13 August 1670); 6, Szelepcsényi to Secretarius Hungaricus Aulicus (18 August 1670).

7 Gergely 5, nos. 265–6, 269–71, 298, 307–8, Correspondence with Teleki (13–20 December 1670; 15 February–1 March 1671); no. 278, Teleki to Rottal (December 1670, n.d.). On Petrőczy's initial visit in Transylvania after his flight from Lower Hungary, see ibid., no. 250, Petrőczy to Teleki (27 October 1670). Petrőczy probably acted in the name of his brother-in-law who was then exploring how to evacuate his son and daughters, ibid., nos. 226, 237, István Thököly to Teleki (30 August, 6 October 1670).

8 According to eyewitness accounts, "the nobles and even the lords [*urak*] were fleeing everywhere" (Gergely 5, no. 159, p. 268). On these refugee nobles, see also MNL OL, E254, January 1672, no. 85; March 1672, no. 33; June 1672, no. 27.

9 MNL OL, E254, July 1670, no. 5, Joannes Fodor to ZK (14 July); August 1670, no.

74, Schöningh to ZK (18 August); OSZK, Manuscript Repository, RMK III. 3030, Novack, *Ungarische Avisen*, p. JIII ("Kein Rath/Schutz und Hülfe war nirgends zu suchen noch zu finden. Die Pfaffen hatten fast aller Orten die Oberhand").

10 By late June 1670 "people were arriving from three directions" (Gergely 5, no. 175, Katona to Teleki [24 June 1670], p. 294). On the growing number of refugees on Transylvanian and Ottoman territories, see Gergely 5, nos. 146, 229, 258 (19 May, 23 September, 12 November 1670); MNL OL, E190, doboz 33, no. 8092, Report about pursuit of rebels hiding on Ottoman territory (n.d.); Deák, *A bujdosók levéltára*, 3–5 (security measures taken by Transylvanian authorities in 1670–1 to prevent Habsburg raids on exile communities).

11 Gergely 5, nos. 231, 258 (26 September, 12 November 1670), 440 (12 November 1671); Gergely 6, no. 43 (7 February 1672).

12 On the flight of pastors to Transylvania, see Gergely 5, no. 155 (before 8 June 1670), János Bethlen urging Calvinist pastors to evacuate their households and flee to save their lives; no. 156 (1670, n.d.), supportive response by Teleki with call for sending an emissary to the Porte; no. 219, Anna Bornemisza to Teleki (19 August 1670).

13 Gergely 5, no. 157 (1 June 1670), p. 266, burghers of Szatmár contemplating flight to Huszt. On the flight of peasants, see MNL OL, E254, February 1672, no. 18, Strassoldo to ZK (8 February); E190, doboz 33, no. 8143, Zsófia Báthori to Spankau (20 February 1672).

14 On the large number of fugitive soldiers among the exiles, see Deák, *A bujdosók levéltára*, VI; MNL OL, E190, doboz 33, no. 8157, fol. 127, Spankau to Zsófia Báthori (2 September 1672).

15 Cf. Turcica I. 142/2, fols. 87–8, Casanova (1 October 1670), esp. 87r–v; I. 142/3, fols. 120–2v, 128r–v, Casanova (15 March 1671), esp. 122r.

16 Turcica I. 142/3, fols. 122r–v; I. 143/2, Relation von Hausch über seine verrichte Rais … an die Ottomanischen Porten (10 October 1671), fol. 73v; Pauler, 2: 190–1.

17 Turcica I. 142/3, Casanova (7 April 1671), fols. 192–3, 197v; I. 143/1, Avvisen waß an der Porten … zuvernehmen gewäst (12, 19 May 1671), fol. 41. By spring 1672 Casanova had become so concerned about Croat-Ottoman contacts that he suspected a Turkish captive liberated by the widow of Miklós Zrínyi of being on a secret rebel mission. Cf. Turcica I. 144/1, Casanova (1 June 1672), fols. 1–2. On Habsburg repression in Croatia, see Pauler, 2: 191–7.

18 Turcica I. 142/3, fol. 122v; I. 143/2, fol. 73v.

19 Ibid., I. 143/3, Casanova (5 April 1672), fol. 44v.

20 MNL OL, E143, doboz 3, fasc. 11, fols. 17–20v, Essorbitanze e violenze commesse dalli Hungari (2 March 1665), esp. 18v ("Tutto il male che si fa in queste parte, si fa per consiglio del facinoroso Balassi [sic]"); Szakály, *Parasztvármegyék*, 60–1. On Balassa's conflict with Wesselényi, see Pauler, 1: 87–8, 94–5.

21 Gergely 3, no. 399, István Naláczy to Teleki (17 January 1666), pp. 546–7; no. 427, Miklós Bethlen to Teleki (4 June 1666), pp. 577–8; Vanyó, no. 14, Papal nuncio on Balassa' negotiations with a "neighbouring pasha" (27 February 1666).

22 On Balassa and the Turks, see Vanyó, nos. 14, 24, 37–8, 40 (27 February, April 10, and 10–24 July 1666). On Vienna's initiative to pardon Balassa, see ibid., nos. 19, 38 (20 March, 17 July 1666). On Eger Turks and Balassa, see Gergely 3, no. 427, p. 577.

23 Szakály, *Magyar adóztatás*, 308–13; idem, "Az 1670-es évek Habsburg-ellenes mozgalmai," 61–2; idem, *Parasztvármegyék*, 60. On Balassa's withdrawal to Ottoman Hungary for self-protection (*selfs protexie*), see Bruyninx, Sect. F, fols. 3–4v (25 December 1670), esp. 3r. On Balassa the "Ottoman" landlord, see his 1679–80 diary in OSZK, Manuscript Repository, Fol. Hung., no. 36 (as cited in Pach and R. Várkonyi, *Magyarország története*, 2: 1811).

24 NRA, fasc. 517, no. 8, fols. 70, Testimony of András Raksányi (11 February 1671); 97, Testimony of János Ghillány (17 February 1671). On Balassa's legal battle with Ambrus Keczer, a leader of the Thököly faction, see ibid., fol. 93; Tasnádi Nagy, "Keczer Ambrus naplója," 350–1.

25 Bethlen, 390, 464; NRA, fasc. 517, no. 8, fol. 97; Hungarica 288 E, fols. 33r–v, Szelepcsényi to Leopold I (August 18, 1670), esp. 33r ("[Emericus Balassa] nunc iam se ad capiendos illos offert"). István Bezegh claimed that servitors of Balassa helped German soldiers to confiscate his properties (NRA, fasc. 517, no. 8, fol. 56). Cf. also fear within the Szepessy faction that Balassa might sabotage their efforts, in Gergely 5, no. 357, Bánffy to Teleki (28 May 1671), p. 543 ("Balassa uram miá vagyok nagy bajban").

26 Óváry, nos. 1802 (25 November 1670), 1817 (1670, n.d.).

27 Turcica I. 144/1, Kindsberg from Timarova, Moldavia (29 July 1672), fols. 34v, 55.

28 Ibid., I. 143/1, Casanova from Turkish Camp (5 July 1671), fol. 107 ("Ein schreiben von 13 Rebellen unterschrieben und verpetschiert, der Balassa ist einer unter den schlimbsten"); Vanyó, no. 96, p. 56n4, Quae audivi in aula Vesirii Budensis (30 August 1671); Gergely 6, no. 140, László Székely to Teleki (28 May 1672); Bruyninx, A2, 21 and 25 August 1672. On Balassa's possible involvement in the planning of the Bocsko insurgency and the 1672 Upper Hungarian revolt, see below.

29 Turcica I. 144/1, Casanova from Timarova (11 July 1672), fol. 36 ("Verspreche seinen bruder zum Pfandt an die Porten zu schicken, könte auch den Krieg von sich selbst anfangen"); Kindsberg from Timarova (8 September 1672), fols. 146r–v; Casanova from Timarova (14 September 1672), fol. 186. According to available genealogical data Imre Balassa did not have a brother. Did he have someone play the part of his brother to please Köprülü? Cf. Nagy, *Magyarország családai*, 1: 124, 126.

30 Turcica I. 144/1, Copia di lettera dell Janaki di Camienec (28 August 1672), fols. 142v–143.

31 Ibid., fol. 171, Balassa to Wallachian Prince (12 September 1672). For more information on Kristóf Balassa and Prince Ghica, see Bethlen, 464, 470; MNL OL, E254, August 1672, no. 22, János Tyukodi to ZK (4 August), fol. 41v.

32 Suspicions fell on Petrőczy already in September 1668 when Casanova was instructed to find out more about Hungarian nobles' ties with the Porte. After Petrőczy's flight from Habsburg Hungary, we occasionally catch glimpses of him or his agents in Buda, Edirne, Wallachia, and Köprülü's camp in Poland. Cf. Pauler, 1: 210–11; Gergely 5, no. 375 (3 July 1671); Gergely 6, no. 45 (10 February 1672); Turcica I. 143/1, fol. 108v (5 July 1671); I. 143/3, fols. 19v (3 February 1672), 97r, 98r (20, 29 September 1672 by Rudolph Dane); I. 145/1, fols. 15–16, 28v (13 April 1673), 186v (7 June 1673). On Petrőczy and the pasha of Varad, see Gergely 6: XVIII.

33 Turcica I. 143/1, fols. 108v (5 July 1671), 124 (24 August 1671) ("Nit zu beschreiben, was für speciose motiven [sic], und unwahrheiten der Scepesi … zu ihrem favor, und daß sie in der Porten schutz mechten genohmen werden, vorgebracht habe, also daß kein dergleichen vermessener leichtförtiger mensch nit bald vorkomen, der neben zimblicher eloquenz den kopf am rechten orth habe, und sein notturff sowohl handlen könne"); Pauler, 2: 427. Cf. Szepessy and the pasha of Uyvar, in Hungarica 322 C, fols. 70–1v, Ad relationem deß Grafen Rottal (30 August 1670), esp. 70r ("[I]nstructio ex Neüsol … ad eum directa fuit, quod rebelles partium Superiorum Regni cum numero quodam Turcarum … civitates montanas ad occupandas eas venire debeant").

34 MNL OL, P507, fasc. 16, no. 543, fols. 11r–v, Ferenc Szennyei to Ferenc Csáky (Kálló, September 1670, n.d.); Hungarica 323 A, Szelepcsényi to Emperor Leopold (10 October 1670), fols. 13r–v.

35 MNL OL, P507, fasc. 16, no. 572, fol. 397, György Kőkényesdy to Rottal (8 November 1670); Gergely 5, no. 259, Ferenc Rhédey to Teleki (13 November 1670), esp. p. 401. See also Gergely 5, no. 261, Dávid Rozsnyai to Teleki (16 November 1670); Trócsányi, *Teleki*, 102.

36 Cf. Gergely 5, nos. 280, 295–6, Rhédey to Teleki (4 January; 8–10 February 1671), esp. p. 429; no. 299, Dénes Bánffy to Teleki (15 February 1671); no. 326, János Daczo to Teleki (6 April 1671); no. 330, Bánffy to Teleki (15 April 1671). The uncertainty culminated in late April and May 1671, in ibid., nos. 337–8, 341–2, 344–5, 349, 352–4, 357 (p. 543 ["Semmi hírem nincsen sohunnan"]). Some feared that the Porte had decided to heed Habsburg demands and expel the exiles, in Gergely 5, no. 345, László Székely to Teleki (10 May 1671), esp. p. 526; no. 346, Apafi to Teleki (10 May 1671).

37 Gergely 5, no. 258, Szepessy to Teleki (12 November 1670), esp. p. 399.

38 Ibid., no. 334, Szepessy to Teleki (23 April 1671), esp. p. 512. On Zólyomi, see chapter 3.

39 *TMAO* 5: 20–1, Apafi to Köprülü (9 April 1671); 21, Apafi to Mufti (10 April 1671).

Cf. On the dispatch of János Daczó to Köprülü (April–May 1671), in *EOE* 14: 18–21.

40 *TMAO* 5: 19–20, Pál Wesselényi to Pál Béldi (6 April 1671). On lobbying efforts from Debrecen, see Gergely 5, nos. 263, 267, 271, 281 (p. 433), 399 (p. 591), 401, 408. On Szepessy and Wesselényi's joint efforts to gain Ottoman support, see Gergely 5, nos. 399 (p. 591), 401 (p. 594).

41 Kücsük Mehmed Pasha was a top military commander during Ahmed Köprülü's 1662 campaign against Transylvania. He became pasha of Varad during the 1663–64 war, served as pasha of Uyvar (1665–66, 1669–70), and returned to Varad no later than June 1671. He was held in high regard at the Porte and was much feared by the Habsburgs, in Turcica I. 143/1, fols. 74, 95, Meninski from Buda (19 June 1671); I. 144/1, fols. 198–9v, Vizier of Buda to General Heister (28 September 1672; received 12 October), esp. 198r–v ("Unus ex praecipuis Vesiriis Portae"); Gergely 4, no. 349, Apafi to Teleki (10 May 1669); Pach and R. Várkonyi, *Magyarország története*, 2: 1091, 1103, 1129, 1722, 1724, 1729.

42 Turcica I. 143/1, Casanova from Macedonian mountains (8 July 1671), fol. 112 ("Sagend, daß in Ober Hungarn über 1000 Mann nicht seindt, und von Hunger sterben, iezt währe die Zeith, selbige anzugreifen"). Cf. ibid., Casanova from Macedonian mountains (28 July 1671), fol. 162. On Kücsük Pasha's machinations along the Hungarian-Transylvanian borders and at the Porte in July–September 1671, see Gergely 5, nos. 377, 379, 381–2, 395; *TMAO* 5: 63–4; Turcica I. 143/2, Casanova from Macedonian mountains (30 August 1671), fols. 34r, 35r. On the pasha's dissemination of false rumours about Apafi's death and the imminent defection of Transylvania to the Habsburg Empire, see Turcica I. 143/1, f ol. 162 (28 July 1671).

43 Turcica I. 143/1, Casanova from the Macedonian mountains (5 July 1672), fol. 107v.

44 Ibid., fols. 107v–108.

45 Bethlen, 408–10, esp. 410. The letter was apparently coauthored with István Petrőczy (ibid., 408).

46 Turcica I. 143/1, fol. 108 ("Der Vesier hatt ihnen kein responsum cathegorice gegeben, sondern nur gute worth, daß er sehen, und betrachten wolle, was zuthun seie").

47 Ibid., fol. 135v, Casanova from Macedonian mountains (20 July 1671). Ibrahim Pasha was a fellow Albanian. He held significant leadership positions in the grand vizier's military campaigns. He distinguished himself both in the siege of Candia (as commander of the Janissaries) and then again in the seizure of Kamianets' Fortress (which, like Candia, was considered unconquerable). During the months that Szepessy spent in Buda from July through November 1671, Pasha Ibrahim kept his troops on a war footing. See ibid., fol. 84 (Meninski); Turcica I. 143/3, fols. 81r, 82v (Gabriel Lenoris); Hammer, *Geschichte*, 6: 272.

48 Bethlen, 411; Hammer, *Geschichte*, 6: 268–9. The letter was wrapped in a silk holster (*selyemtokba tekert levél*).

49 Money and presents played an important role in this lobbying activity, see Turcica I. 143/1, fols. 112, 162 (8, 28 July 1671); TMAO 5: 64–6, Apafi to vizier of Buda (25 September 1671), esp. 65.

50 Szepessy and Petrőczy arrived in Buda in late July 1671 and were still there in November 1671. Cf. Gergely, 5, nos. 384, 399, 401, 405, 437, 441 (21 July, 12 November 1671); TMAO 5: 61–2, 64–5 (11–15 September 1671); Turcica I. 143/2, fol. 26, Vizier Ibrahim Pasha to Montecuccoli (August 1671, n.d.).

51 Hungarica 324 E, fols. 63–4, Report by Pater Lucas Marunchich Guardianus Budensis (25 December 1671), esp. 63; Vanyó, no. 96, p. 56n4, Quae audivi in aula Vesirii Budensis (30 August 1671); Turcica I. 143/2, Hausch von Buda (27 August 1671), fols. 79r–v; Casanova from Edirne (25 September, 10 October 1671), fols. 59, 60v; Relation von Hausch, fols. 77v–78 (14 October 1671); HKR to Ibrahim Pasha (27 October 1671), fol. 89; debriefing of Courier Mihalovic (12 January 1672), fols. 118, 121; I. 144/1, Casanova from Timarova (8 September 1672), fol. 141v ("Mit einem Chiaus von Ofen geschickte Person"); Kindsberg from Jassy (8 November 1672), fols. 112v–113 (couriers from Buda interceding on exiles' behalf).

52 The spies, who tried to intercept such letters, were not successful – with the exception of one documented case. But the spy did not know enough Hungarian to make sense of the dispatch, and apparently did not have time to copy the letter. Cf. Hungarica 324 E, fol. 63 ("Cum litteris male sonantibus ex parte omnium Hungarorum").

53 Bethlen, 413, 458; Gergely 5, no. 441, Bánffy to Teleki (12 November 1671); Gergely 6, nos. 90, 92, 103–4, 106, 111 (22 March–7 April 1672). On the harsh rejection of Hungarian emissaries, see Gergely 6, no. 439, László Székely to Teleki (8 November 1671); Turcica I. 143/2, Casanova (28 October 1671), fol. 93; I. 143/3, Casanova (5 April 1672), fol. 39v ("Währen die rebellen noch daselbst gewesen, nach drey oder vier tagen aber … mit schlimmen worten abgeschafft, nemblich sie wehren schlimme leuth").

54 Cf. Turcica I. 143/3, fols. 18–19v, 24–5v, Casanova (3 February 1672), esp. 19v, 24 ("Der rebell … bey des Groß Vesier Hofmeister an einem Orth audienz gehabt, da der Groß Vesier verborgen selbst mit zuehören können"). Cf. also Köprülü's interrogation of Prince Ghica about the exiles and their supporters in Hungary, in Gergely 6, no. 118, Teleki to Bánffy (15 April 1672), p. 176.

55 Gergely 6, no. 109, Bánffy to Teleki (5 April 1672), p. 153 ("Hátha mi magyarok valamit cselekedhetnénk az német ellen, nem bánná-e hatalmas császár? Amaz felelte: Nem"); Hungarica 293 E, Fassio captivi rebellis Stephani Dayka, fol. 124 refers to a meeting with Köprülü's deputy that had been arranged by the chief mufti; it may have been the same meeting. Dayka's claim that the mufti interceded on behalf of the Hungarian exiles warrants further investigation.

56 *EOE* 15: 36; Bethlen, 463–4, 467–70, esp. 467 ("Az Ottomán Porta egyáltalán nem tiltja meg szándékukat"); *TMAO* 5: 112–14, Apafi to Transylvanian Diet (27 June 1672). Intensifying communications between the Szepessy faction and Prince Ghica in summer 1672 went hand in hand with the apparent demise of the Imre Balassa faction. Grigore Ghica had risen to power under Ahmed Köprülü's father who appointed him voivode of Wallachia (1660–64); as a fellow Albanian he enjoyed a special relationship of trust with the grand vizier who reappointed him voivode in 1672. Cf. Wasiucionek, *Ottomans and Eastern Europe*, 66–7, 144–6.

57 *EOE* 15: 38–9; Trócsányi, *Teleki*, 122–4, 127; Katona, 34: 22–4.

58 Cf. Turcica I. 143/3, Casanova (3 February 1672), fol. 24v ("Diesem Groß Vesier ist, wie schon offt allerunterthänigst geschrieben, auf keine weiss zu trauen undt möcht sein, daß er die Rebellen nur apparenter abgewiesen, undt heimblich vertröstung gegeben habe … Dann sie möchten sich unversehens dorthin [alhero] wendten, in betrachtung, daß der Groß Vesier in seinen vorhaben dergestalt secret ist, daß er es keinem anderen vertrauet"). Cf. similar assessments, in ibid., I. 143/2, fols. 44, 61 (15 September, 10 October 1671); I. 143/3, fol. 35v (26 February 1672); I. 144/1, fols. 36r–v (11 July 1672). The Transylvanian magnate Dénes Bánffy, a Habsburg spy, had similar apprehensions. Cf. Gergely 6, no. 95, Bánffy to Teleki (March 1672, n.d.).

59 On the pasha of Varad's support for the exiles, see Turcica I. 143/2, Casanova from Macedonian mountains (28 July, 30 August 1671), fols. 34v–35, 162 ("Ist dieser Bassa von den rebellen mit geld gewonnen worden"); I. 144/1, Kindsberg from Jassy (8 November 1672), fols 113r–v. For a summary of Transylvanian missions in spring 1672, see *EOE* 15: 32–3.

60 Cf. Gergely 5, no. 437, László Baló to Teleki (3 November 1671), p. 644; Bethlen, 454 ("A budai őrségből egy mágnás"); *EOE* 15: 32; Turcica I. 144/1, fols. 67–76, Meninski from Buda (August 1672, n.d.), esp. 68r–v. Leble was close to the vizier of Buda who sent him on errands to purchase goods in Vienna. Cf. Peez, "Die kleineren Angestellten," 216–17. Cf. also Turcica I. 144/1, fols. 85–6v, Opinio des Hofkriegsrath (August 1672, n.d.).

61 Gergely 6, nos. 91–2, 94, 109, 129 (26 March–1 May 1672). Already in November 1671 Szepessy embarked to Edirne in the firm belief that Köprülü had not abandoned the Hungarian cause. Cf. Bethlen, 413–14; Gergely 5, no. 437, László Baló to Teleki (3 November 1671), p. 644; no. 438, Bánffy to Teleki (6 November 1671), p. 646 ("Szepesi uram igen fennjáró levelet írt Kende és Keczer uraméknak. Úgy is látom vigasságot szerzett az emberekben").

62 According to a high-ranking courtier at the sultan's court the decision to support the exiles was a closely guarded state secret known only to the sultan, the grand vizier, and the chief mufti. Cf. Bethlen, 458–9; Hammer, *Geschichte*, 6: 271. Mihály Teleki, who later joined the exiles' invasion army, expressed a similar view, in Gergely 6, no. 95, Teleki to Dénés Bánffy (March 1672, n.d.), p. 133.

63 Gergely 5, no. 437, p. 644.

64 Turcica I. 143/2, fols. 100–1v, Relatione di alcuni particolari occorsi mentre è stato qui Mustafa Ciaus interprete di Buda (6 November 1671), esp. 101r ("Venne a dire, che presto ci vederemmo a Vienna ma che non verrebbero come fece Sultan Soliman, e che se non havevamo potuto defender Candia, non li impedivessimo d'entrar triomfanti in Vienna"). Mustafa Agha, like Ali Beg, was "a complete renegade who previously had been a Hungarian but now had become a Turk [*ein Unger gewesen, und ein Türk worden*]." In the opinion of the Aulic War Council, Mustafa Agha supported the exiles because he was disgusted (*disgustiert*) with the Habsburg occupation of Hungary (ibid., fol. 101v). On Mustafa Agha's trip to the Porte in August 1671, see ibid., Relation von Hausch, fol. 79v.

65 For a good summary of Apafi's dilemma, see Trócsányi, *Teleki*, 118–20.

66 Turcica I. 144/1, Copia di lettera del Janaki (8 September 1672), fol. 188; Kindsberg from Timarova (14 September 1672), fols. 172v, 173v ("Ain solches spiel, wie es mit Doroszenko [sic] wider Polen hergangen, anzustiften").

67 On the passport regime and other border controls, see Gergely 6, nos. 47–8, 61, 71–2, 85–6 (February–March 1672).

68 NRA, fasc. 517, no. 22, Investigation by Lelesz Cathedral Chapter (Sabbatto proximo ante Dominicam Iubilatem 1672 = 7 May 1672), fols. 4–5, 8–11, Witnesses 2, 11, 14–20 (on the date, see Grotefend, *Taschenbuch*, 45, 140–1). Also ibid., fol. 4 ("Inde vicissim … [factiosas literas] clancularie, sarcinis aut vestibus, utpote rusticorum inclusas … transmitti curaverit"); MNL OL, P507, fasc. 18, no. 667, fol. 10 (10 August 1672); E254, August 1672, no. 22 (4 August). Other letter carriers were drawn from among students of closed Protestant schools and colleges, in Gergely 5, no. 231 (26 September 1671); Gergely 6, nos. 35–6 (1 February and n.d. 1672). It appears that couriers were paid for their services (NRA, fasc. 517, no. 22, fol. 10, Witness 18). On the interception of couriers, see Gergely 6, no. 101, Teleki to Apafi (31 March 1672). A noble living in a tributary village (*geheuldigtes Dorf*) outside Komárom Fortress came under scrutiny for facilitating "secret correspondence with the rebels and Turks," in Hungarica 293 E, fols. 56r–v, HKR to Emperor Leopld I (10 January 1673). The access route to Ónod Fortress led from Debrecen through Heyduck lands and southern Borsod County, both of which were largely under the control of the pashas of Eger and Varad, in Hungarica 291 A, fols. 30r–v.

69 MNL OL, E254, June 1671, no. 65, fol. 130v; August 1671, no. 27, fol. 61; NRA, fasc. 517, no. 22, fols. 6 (letters disappearing without a trace), 10 ("Ut ita insuam easdem vestibus, et custodiam ne intercipiantur, alias caput et omnia bona sua perderet").

70 Hungarica 288 F, fols. 6r–v, Szelepcsényi to Secretarius Hungaricus Aulicus (18 August 1670); 15–20v, Szepelcsenyi memorandum to Leopold I (1670, n.d.), esp.

16; 1–3, Gábor Balassa to Szelepcsényi (13 August 1670); Hungarica 288 E, fols. 30–2, Valentin Balassa to Szelepczenyi (20 August 1670). On the contradictory behaviour of the Balassa clan, see also Szabó, nos. 98, 101.

71 On Habsburg efforts to penetrate the veil of secrecy, see Hungarica 322 C, fols. 3–4, 17–18, 65v, 95r–v, Rottal to Emperor Leopold, Lobkowitz, and Montecuccoli (17–30 August 1670).

72 MNL OL, E254, May 1671, no. 69, fol. 124, Mihály Czeróczy to Matthias Sandel (12 May).

73 Imre Thököly affectionedly called Keczer "my uncle" (*bátyam*), in Gergely 5, no. 350, Imre Thököly to Teleki (16 May 1671). See also ibid., nos. 269, 298, 307, 310, 389.

74 Ibid., no. 383, Petrőczy and Szepessy to Teleki (18 July 1671), p. 575 ("Sietséggel megküldözni méltóztassék és elsőben is Keczer uram ő kegyelme kezéhez"). The letters appear to have been destroyed upon receipt. On Keczer's close ties with Szepessy, Petrőczy, and Transylvanian courtiers, see ibid., nos. 270, 308, 310, 408, 438. Keczer strongly pushed for Ottoman intervention and became impatient with the vizier of Buda in September 1671 (ibid., no. 408). Cf. his despair about earlier rumours that Köprülü had given orders to expel the exiles, in Gergely 5, no. 349, Menyhért Keczer to Teleki (12 May 1671), p. 530 ("Conturbatus vagyok, látván, nem jobbulás, de inkább veszedelem követ, ha az mi Istenünk rajtunk meg nem könyörül").

75 MNL OL, E254, May 1671, no. 60, fol. 123, Matthias Sandel to ZK (13 May).

76 Hungarica 324 A, fols. 26–7v, György Bársony to Rottal (17 May 1671), esp. 26r. The Latin translation of Bársony's letter was transmitted to the Vienna court (ibid., fol. 27v). On the devastations of the Péter Császár revolt, see Gácsová, *Boje slovenského l'udu proti feudálnemu útlaku*, 98–101; eadem, *Dokumenty k protifeudálnym bojom*, 117. The 1631–32 uprising engulfed Slovak-, Hungarian-, and Ukrainian-speaking peasants in Szepes, Sáros, Abaúj, Torna, Gömör, and Zemplén counties. See also Reizner, "A Császár-féle pórlázadás okmanytára."

77 MNL OL, E254, June 1671, nos. 29, 65, Kristóf Horváth to ZK (8, 27 June).

78 Hungarica 324 B, fols. 73v–9v, Examen et fassio Stephani Bozkonis [sic], sociorumque eius, absque tortura (24 July 1671), esp. 73v, 79v ("Actum Eperiensii in praesentia Illmi Comitis Henrici Francisci de Mansfeld, colonelli locumtenentis regiminis Lesliani"); 83–4v, Unmassgebliche Erinnerung, was für Anstalten wegen des besorgenden Türkenkriegs zu machen wären (26 July 1671) in preparation for a meeting of the Secret Conference on July 27 (ibid., fol. 82).

79 MNL OL, E254, May 1671, no. 48 (23 May), fols. 97r–v; June 1671, nos. 21, 29; September 1671, no. 6, fol. 12; no. 56, fol. 110v; no. 62, fol. 117v; December 1671, no. 95, fol. 164, Kristóf Horváth (on Svitanko); NRA, fasc. 517, no. 22, fols. 7–8, Witnesses 10–12 (Csáky clients). On Klara Keczer's arrest, see note 100.

80 Hungarica 324 B, fols. 74r–v, 75v, 76v, 79; MNL OL, E23, July 1671, fol. 55,

Zsigmond Holló to MK (29 July); 56–8, Informatio super fassione famosi latronis Bocskonis; NRA, fasc. 517, no. 22, fols. 4, 6. Quote from Hungarica 324 B, fol. 74v ("Per Deum, Sanctissimam Trinitatem porrectis in altum digitis, fidelitatem ipsi et Juniori Comiti Tokoli, quod nullus alterum prodere, aut arma accipere, sed ipsi in omnibus obsequentes esse, velint, promittentes, sibi obstringant").

81 MNL OL, E254, May 1671, no. 48, fol. 97v ("Az vármegyekben … hogi valahul tudnák Bocskonak tarsait hoznak el"); June 1671, no. 30 (13 June), fol. 62 ("Sok pártfogók vadnak ezen latroknak"); September 1671, no. 56; October 1671, no. 9; December 1671, nos. 85, 95.

82 Hungarica 324 B, fol. 77; MNL OL, E23, July 1671, fol. 56.

83 MNL OL, E254, May 1671, no. 48, fols. 97v, 98v.

84 Ibid., June 1671, no. 14; Hungarica 324 B, fol. 78; Hungarica 324 A, fols. 12r–v, Actiones Bocki quas fecit in bonis Suae Majestatis confiscatis (May 1671, n.d.); 26 ("Praedones isti postas etiam intercipiunt"). The castle (*castellum*) belonged to György Mercz, a loyal collaborator of the Zipser Kammer, in MNL OL, E254, August 1671, no. 68; December 1671, no. 95.

85 Hungarica 324 A, fols. 12r–v. See, for example, the following ritual: "Inter alia venit Thomas Satrapa, quem videntes socii Bocki collocarunt sedile, cui Thomam Satrapam imponentes, detractis pileis suis illudebant illum, quidam vero ex illis dixerunt: coronatus est enim servus Suae Majestatis" (fol. 12r).

86 MNL OL, E254, May 1671, no. 48, fols. 98r (György Baranyay and curia in Vörösalma, Sáros County), 98v (Zsigmond Berzeviczy), 99 ("Pro nocte in castello [Fridman] apud provisorem loci"); no. 60, fol. 124 (Fridman udvarbiró); NRA, fasc. 517, no. 22, fols. 4, 6 (Klara Keczer).

87 Bocsko operated in the vicinity of Schmölnitz (Szomolnok) but was driven away by German troops, see Hungarica 324 B, fol. 74v. Krompach locksmiths (*serarii*) and foundries provided Bocsko with guns, in MNL OL, E254, May 1671, no. 48, fol. 99; June 1671, no. 63, Krompach magistrate to ZK (4 June). The other small towns were Landeck (Lendak, Lándok) and Georgenberg (Szepesszombat) in Szepes County (ibid., September 1671, no. 6; Hungarica 324 B, fol. 75v), Jablonka in Árva County (MNL OL, E254, May 1671, no. 82), and Topschau in Gömör County (see note 90 below).

88 On this and Bocsko's reputation as "a brave man of war" (*ein tapferer Kriegsmann*), see Weber, *Historischer Geschlechtsbericht*, 131. Cf. Pauler, 2: 188 (mentions a servitor named Beczkó who helped Imre Thököly escape). On Bocsko, Bocskai, and recruitments of Sáros County, see MNL OL, E23, July 1671, fol. 57v ("Az Bocskonal talalt Bocskay István Ur fele pecsétyéről, mongya hogy … egy Hajdú legény atta volna nikie"); Hungarica 324 B, fols. 77–8, esp. 78 ("Singulis annis comitatus ille tales satrapas per ipsum suscipere solitus fuerat, adeoque putando, hoc anno idem fieri, illos mature in promptu habere conatur").

89 For example, Ochodnicza (Ösvényes) in Trencsén County was located along the

road that connected Neutra Fortress – an important military outpost against the pasha of Uyvar – with Silesia. The road leading through Jablonka (Árva County) connected Árva Fortress, the heavily garrisoned former fortress of István Thököly, with Galicia. Cf. MNL OL, E254, May 1671, no. 48, fol. 97v; no. 82, fol. 170.

90 Hungarica 324 B, Examen et fassio Stephani Bozkonis, fol. 74v. On Topschau (Dobschau, Dobsina), see Buchholtz, *Historischer Geschlechtsbericht*, 112, 183, 195; Mikulik, *Magyar kisvárosi élet*, 36.

91 On Bocsko's close association with Thököly's court preacher Ádám M. Lazius, see Hungarica 324 B, fol. 77v; MNL OL, E254, July 1671, no. 31, Horváth to ZK (13 July). The pastors of Huntsdorf (Huncovce, Hunfalva) and Szent András were among Bocsko's principal supporters, in E254, June 1671, no. 30; August 1671, no. 27; September 1671, nos. 6, 20. Other clergy supporters remained anonymous ("Ő felsege felről rutt mocskosan szolló … praedicator," E254, August 1671, no. 27, fol. 61). Georg Buchholtz, a prominent Szepes pastor, greatly admired Bocsko for "secretly taking [Imre Thököly] from Likava during the night and for accompanying him to Transylvania with great difficulty and danger" (Weber, *Historischer Geschlechtsbericht*, 131).

92 MNL OL, E254, June 1671, no. 65, Horváth to ZK (27 June), fol. 130v; August 1671, no. 27, Horváth to ZK (21 August), fol. 61. Unfortunately, these letters were destroyed before they could be confiscated; the lone seized letter has apparently not survived in the archives. Bocsko's brothers commanded peasant bands that closed the mountain passes leading to Árva County during the fall 1672 uprising, see "Vypočúvanie svedka o Oravskom povstaní roku 1672," in Gácsová, *Dokumenty k protifeudálnym bojom*, 140–1.

93 Ibid., 140. Arrests of Árva County pastors started in early May 1671, in Szabó, nos. 61–2, 65, 70, 76 (2 May–15 June 1671); Hungarica 289 C, Rottal to Court Chancellor Hocher (9 June 1671), fol. 39 ("Heut ist ein Predicant von Arva … alher gebracht worden").

94 MNL OL, E254, May 1671, no. 48, fols. 98r–v; Hungarica 293 C, fols. 67–8, Extractus inquisitionis per Capitulum Ecclesiae Scepusiensis collectae; Hungarica 324 B, fol. 76v. For nobles speaking derogatorily about the Habsburg emperor and the Zipser Kammer, see MNL OL, E254, August 1671, no. 27, fol. 61; September 1671, no. 6, fol. 12v; no. 57, fol. 112. Bocsko addressed the German officers who interrogated him in Latin, in E23, July 1671, fol. 57.

95 On the Thököly-Keczer nexus and Klara Keczer's prominent role, see, for example, Pauler, 2: 184–7; Tasnádi Nagy, "Keczer Ambrus naplója," index, 619 (Keczer Menyhért), 627 (Szinyei Ferencné Keczer Klára).

96 Hungarica 324 B, fols. 77r–v; 324 D, fols. 1–20v, Judicia super Gylani (5–9 October 1671), esp. 4–5; MNL OL, E23, July 1671, fols. 56r–v; Tasnádi Nagy, "Keczer Ambrus naplója," index, 616 (Ghillányi János).

97 NRA, fasc. 517, no. 22, fols. 5–6, 9–10 (Almássy); 5, 9 (Jelenik); 5 (Zavor); 6, 8, 11 (Rosneroszky); Tasnádi Nagy, "Keczer Ambrus naplója," index, 610 (Almásy [sic] uram), 619 (Jelinek), 630 (Zavor). On Almássy's contact with Menyhért Keczer, see MNL OL, E254, August 1670, no. 78. Zavor traveled back and forth to Transylvania and led peasant detachments to the mountain passes during the fall revolt of 1672, in EKPS, Series Q, no. 148, fols. 379, 499, 511, 516. A short letter by Zavor in Slavic survives from this period, in MNL OL, E254, October 1672, no. 7, fol. 19.

98 MNL OL, E254, September 1671, no. 6, Horváth to ZK (6 September), fol. 12; no. 20, Horváth to ZK (25 September 1671), fol. 39; "Tököli, Žigmund." By contrast, a warrant was issued for the arrest of Ferenc Petrőczy, a close relative of István Petrőczy and István Thököly's in-law, in Hungarica 324 A, Rottal to Emperor Leopold I (1 May 1671), fol. 2. By fall 1672 Almássy had become the *castellanus* of Zsigmond Thököly's castle (EKPS, Series Q, no. 148, fols. 500, 502b; MNL OL, E254, October 1672, no. 10). On Jelenik, EKPS, Series Q, no. 148, fols. 502, 519.

99 The agents who were supposed to confiscate István Thököly's estates complained bitterly about obstruction by Thököly's servitors. Cf. NRA, fasc. 132, no. 14, fol. 176, Praetensiones nonnullorum conventionalistarum apud comitem Stephanum Thököly servientium post occupata per Fiscum Regium bona Thokoliana (1671, n.d.). A letter by the mining inspector Wilhelm von Draheim described his powerlessness against arbitrary acts and threats of local nobles, in MNL OL, E254, January 1672, no. 64, fol. 142 ("Inclyta Camera S. suis fortasse literis ad D. Galambos dirigendis incenserit, majus mihi odium conflabitur").

100 Misogyny is particularly palpable in Bishop Bársony's letter to Rottal, in Hungarica 324 A, fol. 26. On Klara's likely arrest in February 1672, see KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fols. 36v (27 January), HKR to General Spankau; 86, HKR to Leopold (27 February). She was, however, quickly released for reasons that remain unknown, in KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fol. 386, no. 208 (May, n.d.). Meanwhile the investigation continued as indicated by MNL OL, E23, June 1672, fols. 3–4r, Holló to MK (4 June).

101 NRA, fasc. 517, no. 22, fol. 4 and Witnesses 1, 6–8, 12 (fols. 5–8); Hungarica 293 C, fol. 67. On Radics's marriage to Susanna Keczer, see Heckenast, *Ki kicsoda?*, 352; his correspondence with Menyhért Keczer, see Gergely 6, no. 104 (31 March 1672), p. 144; his association with Pál Szepessy, see ibid., no. 129 (1 May 1672), p. 192; on his visits to Buda, see Hungarica 291 A, fol. 25; Gergely 5, nos. 405, 407 (6 September 1671). The Radics family owned estates in Gömör and Heves counties that were then largely Ottoman dominions, in Nagy, *Magyarország családai*, 5: 554–5.

102 NRA, fasc. 517, no. 22, Witnesses 1, 6, 11, 21–2 (fols. 5–6, 8, 11); Hungarica 324 B, fols. 77v–78; MNL OL, E23, July 1671, fols. 56r–v. Some of these letters and other unspecified documents (*Schriften*) were confiscated upon Klara's arrest in Feb-

ruary 1672, but I have not discovered any trace of them in the archives. Cf. KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fols. 36v, 86.

103 NRA, fasc. 517, no. 22, Witnesses 12, 18 (fols. 8–9); MNL OL, E254, May 1671, no. 48, fol. 98; Hungarica 324 B, fols. 76r, 77–8v (György Baranyay); NRA, fasc. 517, no. 22, Witnesses 3–5, 14, 18 (fols. 5–6, 9–10); MNL OL, E254, May 1671, no. 48, fol. 98v; June 1671, no. 30, fol. 62a (Pál, Zsigmond Berzeviczy, and unidentified *domina Berzeviciana*); NRA, fasc. 517, no. 22, Witness 1 (fol. 5); Hungarica 293 C, fol. 67v (Pál Csernel and István Forgács); MNL OL, E254, June 1671, no. 30, fol. 62a; September 1671, no. 6, fol. 13; no. 20, fol. 39v (wife of István Semsei and János Székely). Gábor Péchy, *alispán* of Sáros County (1670–83), very likely supported the Bocsko insurgency (MNL OL, E254, May 1671, no. 48, fol. 99; Hungarica 324 A, fol. 12; 324 B, fol. 78v). See the letter Bocsko addressed to Péchy, ibid., 324 A, fol. 13, Datum in montibus altis (3 May 1671); Gáspár Péchy, a cousin of Gábor's and also *alispán* (1676), met with Grand Vizier Köprülü on 23 May 1673 (Turcica I. 145/2, fols. 4v, 13v). On these scions of the Péchy clan, see Tóth, *Sáros vármegye monografiája*, 1: 399; Nagy, *Magyarország családai*, 5: 178–81, 185. Gáspár and Gábor Péchy played prominent roles in the 1672 revolt – see EKPES, Series Q, no. 148, fols. 395–8, 403, 413, 418, 436, 469, 522; chapter 7, note 153.

104 NRA, fasc. 517, no. 22, Witnesses 1, 14 (fols. 5, 9); Hungarica 293 C, fol. 67v; 324 B, fol. 77 (Szinnyei estate and Ferenc Szinnyei); MNL OL, E23, June 1672, fol. 3 and NRA, fasc. 517, no. 22, fol. 11, Witness 23 (on the widows of Kristóf and Miklós Szinnyei); Hungarica 291 A, fol. 13 and KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fol. 36v (on Klara's stays in Eperjes where Elizabeth Mariássy lived); MNL OL, E254, July 1670, no. 2 (Zsófia Mariássy intervening for her daughter Elizabeth); August 1670, no. 66 (László Mariássy and Mihály Vér); no. 78 (Zsófia Mariássy and Menyhért Keczer). On Pazdics, see NRA, fasc. 517, no. 22, Witnesses 21–2 (fol. 11); fasc. 1744, no. 63, fol. 8; Némethy, "Szirmay Endrének önéletrajza," 404. Evidence implicating the Keczer's other relatives (including Horváth Stansith de Gradecz and Görgey de Toporcz) survives abundantly from the 1672 revolt. It is likely that Anna Szirmay was arrested with Klara, in KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fol. 36v.

105 Menyhért Keczer traveled in the area at least once, but other evidence suggests additional visits, in Gergely 5, no. 355, Menyhért Keczer to Teleki (Cracow, 25 May 1671), pp. 538–9; MNL OL, E254, June 1671, no. 30, Horváth to ZK (13 June), fol. 62v. Cf. Szabó, no. 144, Hungarian Chancellor Tamás Pálffy to HKR (February 1672, n.d.), p. 137 ("Der rebellische Melchior Ketzer vagiere ganz frey herum"); no. 145, HKR to Spankau (5 February 1672); MNL OL, E254, August 1672, no. 1, Zsófia Báthori to ZK (22 August), fol. 2v ("Ez az alkalmatlan ember").

106 NRA, fasc. 517, no. 22, fols. 5 ("[Literae] saepissime allatae"); 8 ("Subditos et servitores eiusdem Dominae saepissime in Kesmark cum literis"); 9 ("Saepissime allatae fuerant literae"); 10 ("Saepissime fuerant mihi allatae literae ex Szinei"); 11 ("Saepissime [literae] … adferuntur"). On intensifying cross-border contacts

and correspondence in 1672, see MNL OL, P507, fasc. 18, no. 667, Kálmánczay to Rottal (10, 16 March 1672), fols. 5–6; KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fols. 132v, 221–2, 270v; Exp. Prot., fols. 432v, 448; Gergely 6, nos. 58, 85–6, 101.

107 Cf. the letters of Kristóf Horváth to his superiors, in MNL OL, E254, October 1671, no. 9 (12 October), fol. 19; December 1671, no. 85 (10 December), fol. 164; no. 95 (6 December), fol. 187. Further research can perhaps uncover what happened to Bocsko. His absence from the 1672 revolt is noteworthy but another Thököly client, Gáspár Pika, closely followed his example.

108 Hungarica 179 D, fols. 2–5v, Puncten von einer gewissen Persohn in Ober Hungarn ausgesagt worden (July 1671, n.d.), esp. 2r–v; 6–8v, Continuatio der von einer gewissen Persohn in Oberhungarn ausgesagten puncten, esp. 6. The belief that the Hungarian rebels had fifth columnists inside the Habsburg government was first expressed by Archbishop Szelepcsényi, in Hungarica 288 E, fols. 33r–v, Szelepcsényi to Emperor Leopold I (18 August 1670). On the Bocskai network, see also Hungarica 324 E, fols. 26v, 32v (November 1671 investigation); 56r–v, HKR to Leopold (18 December 1671).

109 Hungarica 179 D, fols. 6 ("Seye also wohl zu beobachten, und für keine Narrerey zu halten, was sie schreibe"); 9r–v, HKR to Emperor Leopold I (6 July 1671).

110 Cf. an imperial decree addressed to the Upper Hungarian nobility (30 January 1672), in MNL OL, E254, March 1672, no. 19, fol. 41 ("Si quos ex praedictis [profugis] rebellibus in territoriis, tenutisque vestris latitare aut palam vel manifeste morari, transire, seu oberrare cognoveritis, extunc eosdem per omnia opportune remedia captivare ac manibus officialium nostrorum Germanorum tradere debeatis. … Executuri in eo seriam voluntatem nostram"). See also E254, January 1672, nos. 77, 85, 88; E23, July 1671, fols. 30r–v, Holló to MK (22 July), esp. 30r ("Mittimus hisce annexas literas … ex quibus intellecturae sunt [Dominationes Vestrae] qualiter e Regno fugitivi notorii subdole in hanc Patriam subinde subrepant latitentque").

111 On Anna Lónyay's visits to Transylvania, see Gergely 5, nos. 305 (24 February 1671), 354 (23 May 1671). Cf. the case of Márton Kende, who joined his brother Gábor in Debrecen with "good soldiers of noble descent and good *szabad legények*" (Gergely 5, no. 359, Ferenc Ispán to Teleki [30 May 1671], p. 544). On Gábor Kende's brother Ádám and his father András, see Gergely 5, nos. 195, 262, 294, 299. On Kata Török, wife of István Bocskai, see Hungarica 291 A, fols. 11–15, HKR to Leopold I (21 January 1671); Gergely 5, nos. 436, 438 (3, 6 November 1671).

112 Gergely 5, no. 322, Strassoldo to Teleki (29 March 1671), p. 494 ("De rapinis, excursionibus, spoliis, caedis nostrorum militum, ac illatis injuriis … ratio reddenda superest"); Gergely 5, no. 203, General Heister to Teleki (12 July 1671); Gergely 6, nos. 23–4, 50–1, 53, 60, 64 (February–March 1672); nos. 141, 145, 154 (May–June 1672); MNL OL, E254, August 1671, no. 76, Ferenc Lasztóczy to ZK (30 August); September 1671, no. 56, Horváth to ZK (15 September) (attack on

Rozsnyó); March 1672, nos. 19–20, 39 (6, 10 March); August 1672, no. 4 (4 August).

113 Gergely 5, no. 365, Mátyás Szuhay to Teleki (15 June 1671), p. 551; nos. 377, 382, Bánffy to Teleki (8, 16 July 1671); nos. 418–19, Correspondence between Naláczy and Teleki (22 September 1671); MNL OL, E254, September 1671, no. 56, fol. 110; KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fols. 247v (2 June), 405v (23 August).

114 KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fol. 166v, no. 65, Wegen des arrestierten Pap Israel (13 April); Hungarica 291 A, fols. 22r–v, HKR to Leopold (13 April 1672).

115 Hungarica 291 A, fols. 29v–30; Gergely 6, nos. 95, 98, 100 (March 1672, n.d.), 112 (7 April 1672). Pap's capture occurred at a time when Habsburg reconnaissance was warning of an imminent exile invasion involving Transylvanian as well as possibly Wallachian and Moldavian troops, in KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fols. 205v, 211, 277 (March–April); Reg. Prot. 1672, fol. 182 (25 April).

116 Hungarica 291 A, fols. 24, 27v, HKR to Leopold I (25 April 1672); 25–6v, Examen Israeli Pap (April 1672, n.d.). The actual investigation was conducted in Hungarian by Iudex Bellicus Joannes Forgács. The Latin translation was then forwarded to Vienna by General Spankau and discussed in Laxenburg Palace on 17 May 1672 (ibid., fol. 2). On the "Land of the Heyducks," see chapter 1, note 95.

117 Ibid., fols. 28, HKR to Leopold I (29 April 1672); 29–31, Abermahlige Aussagen des Israel Pap (13 April 1672).

118 Ibid., fols. 29r–v.

119 Ibid., fol. 30r; Gergely 6, no. 98, Teleki to Israel Pap (1672, n.d.), p. 136.

120 Other operatives included Mihály Vér, the former commander of Kálló; the officer brothers András and István Zákány (operating in Ónod and Szendrő fortresses); István Dayka, another fugitive officer; a servitor of István Petrőczy's named Boldizsár Mikolay; the Calvinist noble Pál Balkó; and the Szatmár resident Daniel Pap who may have been a relative of Israel Pap. Vér appears to have taken over from the arrested Israel Pap with help from Pál Balkó. Daniel Pap traveled with Bocsko's armed band, visited the strategic border town of Nagybánya in the company of a Transylvanian fortress commander, and played a key role in procuring funds for the rebel army. On Zákány and Dayka, see Pauler, 2: 369; MNL OL, E254, August 1670, no. 74, Schöningh to ZK, fol. 543v; Hungarica 291 A, fol. 30; 293 E, fols. 121–2v, Fassio Stephani Zakani Onodiensis; MNL OL, P507, fasc. 18, no. 667, fol. 6 (Zákány's threats against Habsburg officials); NRA, fasc. 1431, no. 2, fols. 9–10 (Debrecen *mustra* by Dayka in July 1672). On Vér and Balkó, see KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fols. 132v, 406; Gergely 6, nos. 95, 99; MNL OL, P507, fasc. 18, no. 667, fol. 5 (Vér's intercepted letters to his wife Mária Soós). On Daniel Pap, see Pauler, 2: 312; Hungarica 291 A, fols. 5–8, HKR to Emperor Leopold I (28 September, 5 October 1671); 324 A, fol. 12. On Mikolay, see Hungarica 291 A, fols. 5–8; Gergely 6, nos. 95, 101; KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fol. 153; Tasnádi Nagy, "Keczer Ambrus naplója," 295.

121 MNL OL, P507, fasc. 18, no. 667, Kálmánczay to Rottal (March 1671–September 1672), fols. 5–8v, Letters from Kassa (10, 16 and 23 March 1672). Kálmánczay represented Plenipotentiary Rottal's eyes and ears in Upper Hungary and also acted as a spy for General Strassoldo, the commander of Szatmár Fortress. He was best informed about the sentiments of local Catholics; he also had remarkable access to supporters of the exiles, possibly due to his ties with Transylvanian magnates (including the Calvinist Mihály Teleki) who hosted him repeatedly at their courts. Cf. Szabó, no. 34, Rottal to HKR (30 January 1671); Gergely 5, nos. 319, 329, 331, 336–7, pp. 490, 505, 508, 515–16; MNL OL, E23, August 1672, fol. 128; P507, fasc. 18, no. 660, Bishop Ferenc Szegedi of Eger to Rottal (1670–71), fols. 411v, 415.

122 MNL OL, E254, March 1672, no. 40, László Székely to ZK (5 March), fol. 85; no. 48, Michael Streczenyi to ZK (16 March), fol. 100.

123 Óváry, no. 1987, Report of Parmese resident Chiaromanni (26 March 1672).

124 Bruyninx, Sect. Z, fols. 2v–4v (31 March 1672), esp. 3r ("Geruchte … dat by die nieuwe ende ongewoone Turckse wervinghem meest frans gelt gespeurt wort … dat die wervinghe ex pacto tussen Vrankryck ende de Turcken gesciet"); Gergely 6, no. 166, Teleki to László Székely (22 April 1671), p. 172; no. 138, Mihály Katona to Teleki (22 May 1672), p. 205.

125 Turcica I. 144/1, fols. 5–8v, Casanova (4 June 1672), quotation 6v.

126 Gergely 6, no. 138, p. 205 ("Nagy hire Magyarországban … az híre nagyobb az mivoltánál").

127 Shibutani, *Improvised News*, 14; Bloch, *Historian's Craft*, 106; idem, "Reflections," esp. 3–4, 9–10; Lefebvre, *Great Fear of 1789*, esp. xiii–xiv, 59–66, 210–11.

128 MNL OL, G13/2, fols. 1r–v, Leopold I to Tamás Pálffy (5 January 1672); Turcica I. 143/2, fols. 71–81, Relation von Hausch (14 October 1671), esp. 81 (entry made while passing through the village of Prukh in the Somorjai district on his return to Vienna). The mandate survives in draft form with corrections in a different hand. One of these corrections emandated the phrase "nisi casu quo Thököly tentatam obtinuisset reportassetque victoriam" with the awkward Latin "si casu quo."

129 KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fols. 132v–133, no. 158, HKR to Spankau (24 March), esp. 133 ("Geschähe wohl wann des Bassa zu Erlau ausgeschickte Kundschafter und Pribeken erdapt werden"). On Turkish leaflets, see ibid., fol. 366v, no. 1, HKR to Spankau (1 August 1672) and Exp. Prot. 1672, fols. 595r–v, no. 34, Spankau to HKR (23, 25 July).

130 Turcica I. 143/1, fols. 161–2v, Casanova from Turkish Camp (28 July 1671), esp. 162r; Gergely 5, no. 348, Bánffy to Teleki (12 May 1671), p. 528 ("Mely istentelen hazug fiak ezek az váradiak. Isten verje meg az ebeket"). Cf. rumours of imminent war, the gathering of a strong German armada, and Habsburg plans to invade Transylvania, in Gergely 5, no. 320 (29 March 1671), nos. 337 (April 1671,

n.d.), 341 (5 May 1671). On persistent rumours that Prince Apafi was to be replaced by the pretender Zólyomi, see Gergely 5, nos. 230, 232, 251, 280, 334 (23 April 1672).

131 Hungarica 288 F, fols. 30r–v, Croat original of leaflet (received in Vienna 14 June 1670); 31r–v, Translatum eines Türkischen Schreibens an die Hungarn wider den Ban Zrin und die Teutsche (n.d.). The leaflet accused Zrínyi of duplicity and treason.

132 Dowd, *Groundless*, 6–7.

133 Gergely 5, no. 258, Szepessy to Teleki (12 November 1670), p. 400; no. 262, András Keresztes to Teleki (13 November 1670), p. 406; MNL OL, P507, fasc. 16, no. 572, György Kökényesdi to Rottal (November 1670–May 1671), fol. 397 (8 November).

134 Ibid., fols. 400r–v (3 January 1671); 402r–v (17 February 1671). It is impossible to say what generated the February rumour. Was it concocted by the exiles? Or was it based on an actual plan hatched by Pál Béldi? Béldi prided himself on having well-placed confidants in the Ottoman, Wallachian, and Moldavian army camps; the magnate Bánffy accused him of hatching dangerous schemes with the Turks, in Gergely 5, nos. 232, 357–8, esp. p. 542 ("Török nevével írni keresztyénnek … az olyan ember").

135 Gergely 5, no. 319, Teleki to Apafi (29 March 1671); no. 320, Teleki to Máté Balogh (29 March 1671). This rumour may have been planted by local Habsburg commanders who were then disseminating fake news that the Ottomans had agreed to renew the Vasvár Peace Treaty for another twenty years. Cf. Gergely 5, no. 321, László Gyulaffy to Teleki (29 March 1671), p. 492.

136 MNL OL, P507, fasc. 18, no. 667, fols. 1–2, Kálmánczay to Rottal (16 March 1671); Bruyninx, Sect. I, fols. 5v–6v (26 March 1671).

137 Gergely 5, no. 342, Bánffy to Teleki (5 May 1671), p. 523; no. 349, Menyhért Keczer to Teleki (12 May 1671), p. 530 ("Az köznép is közönségesen beszéli"). Cf. ibid., nos. 345, 347.

138 Gergely 5, no. 337, Teleki to Strassoldo (25 April 1672), p. 336 ("De bellico Turcico apparatu rumor apud nos etiam valde increbrescit in dies"); no. 341, Teleki to László Székely (5 May 1671), p. 521; no. 342, Bánffy to Teleki (5 May 1671), p. 523 ("Azt beszélik, az vezér Budához jű és hogy Rákóczi Ferenchez is elküldtek biztatni").

139 MNL OL, P507, fasc. 16, no. 572, fols. 406 r–v (10 May 1671). On rumours about Turks, Transylvanians, and Hungarian exiles, see also MNL OL, E254, May 1671, nos. 24–5, 27, 30 (24–7 May).

140 Gergely 5, no. 362, Nagybánya magistrate to Teleki (7 June 1671), p. 548.

141 Both residents had in mind the drastic suffering imposed by the *repartitio*. Cf. Bruyninx, Sect. I, fol. 7v and Sect. K, fol. 1 (2 April 1671); Rački, no. 641 (20 June 1671); no. 647 (1 August 1671), p. 593 ("Difficilmente sortirà l'imperatore con

l'intento d'essigerle [contributioni] senza rumore di Turchi et agitatione de sudditi stessi").

142 Bruyninx, Sect. N, fols. 2v–4v (23, 30 July 1671); Sect. O, fols. 3r–v (10 September 1671); Gergely 5, nos. 365–9, 374 (15 June–1 July 1671); Óváry, nos. 1863–4, 1867, 1870–1 (4 July–1 August 1671); 1878, 1880, 1882, 1886–7 (29 August–3 October 1671). Some of these rumours may have migrated from Buda. For "common talk" (*gemeine Redth*) in Buda, see Turcica I. 143/1, fol. 130, Bericht des Dolmetsch Wogin (August 1671, n.d.) discussed by the Aulic War Council on 24 August 1671 (ibid., fol. 129). On rumours allegedly fabricated by the exiles, see ibid., fols. 155–6v, Montecuccoli to vizier of Buda (24 July 1671), esp. 156 ("Falsissimis delationibus commovere student").

143 Gergely 5, no. 391, László Gyulaffy to Teleki (4 August 1671).

144 Ibid., p. 583; no. 392, Miklós Forgách to Teleki (5 August 1671), p. 584.

145 Ibid., no. 390, Pál Csernel (2 August 1671), p. 581 ("Mondják … publice, hallatik, hogy mondta volna ő felsége, meg kell halni egynehányának még").

146 On the tribulations of György Chernel, see Pauler, 2: 161, 271, 318–19; NRA, fasc. 518, no. 1, fol. 509; MNL OL, E23, February 1672, fols. 5–6v, Chernel's wife to ZK (6 February). For a description of Drábik's execution on 16 July 1671, see Pauler, 2: 384–8. On the later execution of the Calvinist pastor János Száki in July 1672, see chapter 5.

147 Pauler, 2: 238–40, 320–5, 329–51, 362, 369–70, 377 (numerous death sentences that were not carried out); Kubinyi, *Árva vára*, 123–5; Gergely 5, no. 334, Szepessy to Teleki (23 April 1671); Bruckner, *Reformáció és ellenreformáció*, 265–9, 306–7.

148 See, for example, Gergely 5, nos. 309 (1 March 1671), 332 (15 April 1671), 335 (24 April 1671), 387 (26 July 1671), 399 (16 August 1671), 403 (4 September 1671), 445 (November 1671, n.d.); Gergely 6, nos. 35, 37, 42–3, 50–1 (February 1672). Cf. the story of Ferenc Bónis's execution and his final heroic speech, in Bruyninx, Sect. L, fols. 1v–2r (7 May 1671); Rački, no. 637 (9 May 1671). The collective trauma was captured in sermons by persecuted pastors such as Andreas Guenther, János Técsi, Pál Görgei, Daniel and Christoph Klesch, in OSZK, Manuscript Repository, RMK I. 1164, *Szomoru halotti pompa*, esp. pp. A2–C3; RMK III. 2745, *Christianus persecutionem patiens*, esp. pp. 1–36; RMK III. 3170, *Baculus Exilii*, esp. p. 9 ("Dergleichen Trübsalen von der Welt anbegin nicht gewesen, auch forthin nicht mehr seyn werden"); RMK III. 2902, Klesch, *Dornburg*.

149 Bruyninx, Sect. R, fols. 5r–6v (7 January 1672), quotation 6r–v ("De Turcken bieden denaest gelegenen van dese luÿden de handt, ende lathen haer aenseggen, Godtsmannen (: soo noemen sy de Praedicanten:) soude tot haer komen, sÿ sullen sy huÿsvesten [sic], verpleghen, beschermen; aldus beschaemen de Turcken die gheene, die onder de Christenen de eerste plaets hebben, ende het meeste gesien, ende de Christelÿckste geacht syn willen. Ick

wil hoope dat haer Hoogh Mog. haer ingewanden niet minder tot medogentheÿt tegens dese Luÿden sullen lathen beweghen als de Onchristenen Turcken, die het te vreesen is, dat Godt noch t'eenighen tijt sal gebruÿcken om dese Onchristelÿcke procedure der Naem Christenen te straffen, ende haeren onverstandighen ieveren ende ongerechtigheÿt te schande ende openbaren te maecken"). The Swedish emissary learned about Ottoman benevolence towards Protestants from an unnamed Hungarian pastor, in Pufendorf, "Tagebuch," 589. See also KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fol. 188, General Spankau to HKR (17 February) ("Liegt bey Avvisen von Türkhen Zusammenziehung, und die Calvinisten bey ihnen begehrten Schutz").

150 Bruyninx, Sect. S, fols. 1r–v (10 January 1672), esp. 1v.

151 Ibid., Sect. T, fol. 1v (11 February 1672). Cf. the following excerpt: "De Ungaren door dese ontijdighe reformatie seer syn ende worden gedegousteert, ende de hooffden naer den Turck (: alwaer de meeste verdrevenen Praedicanten, dat rechte Ungaren syn, niet anders kunnende haeren wijck nemen; ende wel ontfanghen worden:) lathen hanghen, siende naer menschelijckeren schijn gheen andere verlossinghe te gemoet, als door den ongelovighen."

152 Ibid., Sect. Z, fols. 2v–3v (31 March 1672). Bruyninx attached a copy of the expulsion order that generated Ottoman intervention, ibid., 3v–4r, Copia literarum Ioannis Maholanii Praefecti Archiepiscopi Strigoniensis ad iudices et eorum iuratos sub ditione Turcarum degentes datarum (25 February 1672).

153 Béla Mihalik observed – without much evidence – that active Ottoman intervention on behalf of persecuted Protestants "was not an isolated phenomenon." Cf. Mihalik, "Turkismus und Gegenreformation," 335. Cf. the Porte's great wariness (*gran sospetto*) about attempts to expand religious persecution to "imperial subjects of Turkey [*imperiali sudditi della Turchia*]," in Turcica I. 143/1, fol. 103, Copia della lettera del Panaiotti (24 June 1671).

154 Cf. Szabó, nos. 159, 319; KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fol. 205, no. 156 ("Wegen der Praedicanten, so sich bey dem Türkischen abgeordneten eingefunden"). For a critical survey of the evidence, see Bruyninx, *Onschuld de Evangelise Leeraaren*, 368–70, 376–8; "Voorreeden tot den Leser. Verhaal van de Hungarische Vervolginge," in van Poot, *Naawkeurig Verhaal*, 1–97, esp. 87–90. Cf. the fascinating story of Pastor Sebastian Fabritius in chapter 2, note 100. See also Lampe, *Historia Ecclesiae Reformatae*, 753 ("Multi tamen ministrorum, in deditiis Turcae locis existentes ad ista iudicia venire prohibiti sunt") with reference to the 1674 tribunal against the Protestant clergy.

155 It is very likely that the continuing mass flight of Hungarians into Ottoman territory was largely inspired by religious despair (see chapter 5). On Protestants and the Turks, see also Obál, *Religionspolitik*, 24–6, 33, 226, 228.

156 Szabó, nos. 151, 153 (9, 17 February 1672); Bruyninx, Sect. Z, fol. 3v (on the market town of Mocsa not far from Szőny in the Gesztes district).

157 S. Varga, *Az 1674-es gályarabper jegyzőkönyve*, 83.

158 Turcica I. 143/3, fols. 81–5v, Gabriel Lenoris to HKR (4 May 1672), esp. 81 ("Nel esser a Buda son stato chiamato dal Chehai del passato Ibrahim Bassa e mi domandò circa le reformationi delli Calvini e Lutherani, i quali non dano pace al Bassa giornalmente cercando protette [sic]: non volendo li Todeschi lasciarli nella loro fede, finalmente è venuto uno con moglie e figlioli a Strigonio facendosi Turco"). The related incident occurred in the second week of February 1672. Lenoris' report was discussed with Emperor Leopold in Laxenburg Palace on 18 May 1672 (ibid., 85v).

159 Szabó, no. 176n234 (listing the emperor's *Benignae resolutiones*); Szabó, nos. 168 (25 April), 169 (25 April), p. 144 (quote); 176 (27 May); KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fols. 181–2, nos. 124, 128 (25 April); Exp. Prot. 1672, fol. 284, no. 111 (April, n.d.); MNL OL, E190, doboz 33, no. 8091, Decree by General Spankau (12 May 1672), fol. 583 ("Aliqui praedicantes, zelo minime Christiano ducti, publicas pro hostilium ac nomini Christiano infestissimorum armorum succesu preces facere"); MNL OL, E254, May 1672, no. 39, Bishop Ferenc Szegedi of Eger to ZK (26 May); Szabó, no. 167, Hungarian chancellor Tamás Pálffy to HKR (April 1672, n.d.).

160 The authorities' repeated assertions that Protestant pastors prayed for the Turks very likely referred to actual incidents that were nonetheless perhaps blown out of proportion. Similarly, Ukrainian Orthodox priests prayed for the sultan in their churches and Calvinist preachers in Transylvania prayed for Turkish victory, in Doroshenko and Rypka, "Hejtman Petr Doroshenko," 23; MNL OL, P507, fasc. 18, no. 667, Kálmánczay to Rottal (10 August 1672), fol. 11v.

161 The case was closely watched by Emperor Leopold I, in Pauler, 2: 386.

162 Hungarica 294 B, fols. 41–51v, Examen Nicolai Drabitii Praedicantis Ledniczensis (24 June 1671); Szabó, nos. 48, 51, 53, 56–7, 67; Kvačala, "Egy álpróféta," esp. 748, 750–1. On the circulation of *Lux in Tenebris* (1657, 1665), see Apponyi, *Hungarica*, 3: 109 (confiscation of 200–300 copies in 1683); Kvačala, *Dejiny reformacie na Slovensku*, 226–7 (Drábik's associate Jakob Redlinger's visits to Eperjes, Szatmár and Tokaj). A Turkish print version of Drábik's treatise – originally written in West Slavic and then translated into Latin – was sent to the sultan and the vizier of Buda (Hungarica 294 B, fols. 43, 44r–v). On a likely Hungarian translation, see Szimonidesz, "Drábik Miklós próféciái," esp. 180.

163 Hungarica 324 A, fol. 96, Translatio literarum e comitatu Sarosiensi (18 June 1671); Szabó, no. 79 (18 June 1671). The letter is found next to correspondence conveying officials' relief about the death of Pastor István Czeglédy who, as discussed above, had given sermons celebrating the Ottoman victory in Candia. Cf. Hungarica 324 A, fols. 95r–v, HKR to Rottal (17 June 1671), esp. 95v ("Und weillen es Gott also beliebt, als hat es auch darbei sein bestenden").

164 NRA, fasc. 1744, no. 57, fols. 1–22, Lelesz Chapter Investigation (9–13 May 1672) with focus on the small market towns of Lasztóc and Nagy-Kázmer as well as

nearby villages, all located near the town of Sátoraljaújhely that had revolted in fall 1671. Cf. esp. fols. 11–13, 17, 19.

165 MNL OL, P507, fasc. 18, no. 667, fols. 5–7, Kálmánczay to Rottal (10, 16 March 1672), esp. 5v–6r.

166 KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fol. 123, no. 122, HKR to Spankau (21 March).

167 Hungarica 293 E, fols. 31–4, Interrogation of Johannes Kobinsky (13 May 1672), esp. 31v–32r, 33r.

168 Gergely 6, no. 138, Mihály Katona to Teleki (22 May 1672), esp. pp. 204–5.

169 MNL OL, E254, August 1672, no. 22, fols. 41r–v, Tyukodi to ZK (4 August); P507, fasc. 18, no. 667, fols. 10–11, 16r–v, Kálmánczay to Rottal (10, 13 August 1672). In reality, the Ottoman invasion army comprised only 80,000–100,000 soldiers including ca. 35,000 "slaves of the Porte" (*kapıkulu askerleri*), 10,000 Crimean Tatars, 7,000 Wallachians, and 2,000 Moldavians. Cf. the critical source analysis of Inbaşı, *Ukrayna'da Osmanlılar*, 117, 120–1, and a short summary in Şakul, "Siege Warfare," 212.

170 MNL OL, P507, fasc. 18, no. 667, fols. 10–11.

171 MNL OL, E254, August 1672, no. 72, István Jeney to ZK (Károly, 24 August), esp. fol. 153v; no. 63, László Székely to ZK (Szatmár, 27 August), esp. fol. 135 (on a joint Transylvanian-Ottoman invasion force). Cf. E23, August 1672, fol. 155 (27 August). Cf. rumours that decisive Turkish victories in Poland (including the seizure of Kamianets') would redirect the Ottoman army towards Hungary, in Gergely 6, no. 185, Teleki to Anna Bornemisza (30 August 1672), p. 269; Turcica I. 144/1, Copia di lettera del Janaki (Kamianets', 8 September 1672), fols. 187–8v ("Li Turchi doppo il ritorno di Leopoli [Lemberg, L'viv] vogliono dar aiuto … et far qualch' assalto in Ungaria").

172 MNL OL, P507, fasc. 18, no. 667, fol. 11.

173 Ibid., fols. 14r–v, Kálmánczay to Rottal (20 August 1672); MNL OL, E254, August 1672, no. 1, Zsófia Báthori to ZK (Munkács, 22 August), esp. fol. 2; no. 83, Letter from Szatmár (18 August), fols. 178–80v; E23, August 1672, János Tyukodi to ZK (25 August), fol. 154 ("Az Szattmáry hégyrűl mind el mentek az szőlő pasztorok az talpasok kőze"); KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fol. 681, no. 150, Spankau to HKR (1 September). About the attack on the Nagy-Szőllős monastery, see also MNL OL, E244, August 1672, fols. 64, 88, 156; Szabó, nos. 213–4, 216; and KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fols. 668, 681, 683v; Reg. Prot., fol. 436; Maurer, *Kollonitsch*, 68.

174 "Sziveket az Törökhöz kötik legh fökeppen Nemes Uraim igen el biztak eö magokat tudvan azt, hogi ennek utan jobban leszen dologok" (MNL OL, E254, August 1672, no. 72, fol. 153v). Nobles refused to pay the *dezsma* tax and "more than one asserted that they rather give it to the pagan Turk" (E254, August 1672, no. 42, fol. 86; no. 51, fol. 107). Cf. Zsófia Báthori's anger about county nobles' indifference to peasant violence, in ibid., no. 1, fol. 2 ("No one … lifts even a finger to curb such nefarious acts in this region").

175 We see them, for example, contributing decisively to popular rage in revolutionary France and Russia. Cf. Lefebvre, *Great Fear of 1789*, 202–9; Wade, *Russian Revolution*, 21–2, 183–4, 229–30.

176 Gergely 6, no. 175, Gábor Kende and Pál Szepessy to Teleki (17 August 1672); no. 178, Miklós Forgács to Teleki (23 August 1672), p. 259; MNL OL, E254, August 1672, no. 72, fol. 153 ("Innen titkon mind jőnek s mennek"); Pach and R. Várkonyi, *Magyarország története*, 2: 1200. See specifically KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fol. 406, no. 145 (August, n.d.) and MNL OL, E250, fasc. 44, no. 30 (5 September 1672) about the Zemplén noble Pál Balkó who was constantly corresponding and traveling back and forth.

177 A Transylvanian emissary to the Porte and the magnate Mihály Teleki observed a mass flight into Ottoman territory already in 1671, in Turcica I. 142/3, Casanova (27 January 1671), fols. 37r–v ("Der Ambassador hatt … gesagt, daß die Ungarn von Teutschen dergestalt geplagt werden, daß wann solches khein end nehme, alle in Türkhey lauffen würden"); *TMAO* 5: 24–5, Teleki to Apafi (April 28 1671), esp. 25 ("His Majesty's campaign against the Hungarians is the reason why they are fleeing to the Porte" [*causálja portához való confugiálásokat*]). On peasant flight to Ottoman territory and refusal of *gehuldigte Bauern* to pay the *repartitio* tax, see chapter 5. Note also the dramatic expansion of Ottoman power south of Kassa, the readiness of Heves County's population to go over to the Ottomans, and unprecedented *Türkenhuldigung* in Szatmár County, in MNL OL, E254, March 1672, no. 39, Abaúj County to ZK (6 March), fol. 83; August 1672, no. 75, Ferenc Török to ZK (22 August), esp. fol. 160; KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fol. 612v, no. 219 (10 August). On peasants enlisting Ottoman help, see KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fol. 274, no. 21 (22 March); MNL OL, E254, July 1672, no. 104, András Kövy to ZK (23 July), fols. 197r–v. On townsmen, see the mass flight from Heyduck towns and the departure of an entire market town (Nyirbátor) in Szatmár County after the seizure of their churches in February 1672 (Gergely 6, no. 37, p. 54). Cf. Jolsva and the pasha of Eger, Neusohl offering Huldigung, and the pro-Turkish speech by a Kassa Calvinist, in MNL OL, E254, August 1672, no. 36, fols. 72r–v (9 August); Szabó, no. 112 (6–10 November 1671); MNL OL, E210, cs. 45, t. 9, no. 40 (23 December 1671). On soldiers, see Turcica I. 142/3, fol. 6 (7 January 1671) (runaway soldiers from Fülek and Trencsén Fortresses enlisting as Janissaries in Edirne); Gergely 6, no. 37, Teleki to Miklós Bethlen (2 February 1672) (flight of Légrád soldiers and officers [*elei*] to Kanizsa); KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fol. 376v, no. 171 (May, n.d.), Herberstein to HKR ("Bericht wegen der zum Türken übergehenden Mußketier").

178 An envoy from Buda bragged that if the Porte turned over all the letters received from Hungary and the Vienna court executed all the letter writers, "the country would find itself depopulated" (Bogišić, *Acta*, 198 [30 April 1671]).

179 Turcica I. 142/2, fol. 125v–126 (10 November 1670); I. 142/3, fols. 192, 197v (7 April

1671); I. 143/1, fols. 122r–v (14 July 1671), esp. 122v ("Daß bey jetzigen coniuncturn vüll deren gleichen briefen ankomben würden aber niemandt aldort seie so der Ungarischen Sprach erfahren, darumben man sich nothwendig der Sübenbürgern, welchen nit zu trauen gebrauchen müss"); I. 143/3, fols. 1r–v (24 January 1672), esp. 1r ("Daß die Ungarn sowohl niedere alss hohe mit denen Türkhischen commendanten an Gränizen forthin noch correspondieren und sich erklären, daß sie denen Teutschen auf keine weiss unterworffen sein und derselben joch tragen wollen"); KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fols. 112r–v, no. 80 (10 March), HKR to Casanova, esp. 112v ("Solle penetrieren und die Nahmen einschicken, was für Hungarn mit den Gräniztürken correspondieren und hilff begehren").

180 Hungarica 179 D, Puncten von einer gewissen Person in Ober Hungarn (July 1671, n.d.), fols. 6r, 8r (copy of same letter in different hand) ("Nie größer gefahr gewesen, als ietzt, … man warte nur auf den Apaffi [sic] und die Türkhen, wann sie auf sein, gehe alles über und über, wären also dorth keine stundt sicher … es seÿe nit zu feÿren, man solte mit ehestem thun, was seÿe gerathen, sonst seÿe alles hin, was man bißhero erhalten. So baldt der Apaffi in Veldt und über die Teiss gehe, oder daß der Türkh gegen Neuheusl ziehet, so werde alles auf sein, und die Ständt alle auf ein neues rebellisch warden, die Teutschen in Stätten todtschlagen sobaldt nun der Teufel dorthin angehe"). Transylvanian observers and the exile László Gyulaffy also believed that Upper Hungary was turning into a powder keg, in Gergely 5, nos. 403, 405, 413 (4, 6 and 14 September 1671).

181 See, for example, MNL OL, E23, August 1672, fols. 153, ZK to MK (31 August) ("Rumores contemnendi non sunt et quorum malevolum conamen divina voluntas in nihilum benigne redigere velit"); 154, Tyukodi to ZK (25 August) on escape from Nagybánya and three ambushes while traveling under military guard; 155, László Székely to ZK (27 August) ("Isten ne segésse őket"). On efforts to secure the Upper Hungarian borders, see, for example, KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fols. 589 ("Anstalten wider den Türken"), 611r, 611v (quote), 612v, 619v; Reg. Prot. 1672, fols. 405r–v, no. 144 (10, 13 and 23 August). Similar efforts were under way in Lower Hungary. See, for example, Exp. Prot. 1672, fol. 679v (August 1672, n.d.) ("Pass bey Trentschin … nach Mähren und Schleisen verhauet werden sollte").

182 Gergely 6, no. 177, Menyhért Keczer to Teleki (23 August 1672), p. 256 ("Csak legyünk egyesek és ne késnénk, az Isten meg segít. Végben kell ugyan menni, az mit az Isten akar … Vigilate et orate, Isten szava"). Cf. similarly ibid., no. 179, Mátyás Szuhay to Teleki (26 August 1672); no. 181, Menyhért Keczer to Teleki (30 August 1672).

183 Gergely 6, no. 178, Miklós Forgács to Teleki (23 August 1672), p. 259.

CHAPTER SEVEN

1 Parker, *Dutch Revolt*, 70–82, 127, 132, 149; Crew, *Calvinist Preaching and Iconoclasm*, esp. chapter 2.

2 Vanyó, no. 112 (9 October 1672) (20,000); NA, Staten-Generaal, IIA 8a, Bestanddeel 6129 (no pagination), 15 September 1672 (several thousands); Bruyninx, Part A2 (no pagination), 22 September 1672, fol. 1v (20,000); Óváry, nos. 2019–20 (18, 25 September 1672) (8,000 and 16,000); EKPS, Series Q, no. 186, fol. 715 ("Audivit ex ore Pauli Szepessy et Stephani Petroczy se fore ad 25 millia"); NRA, fasc. 1744, no. 61, fol. 32 ("Ex ore Matthiae Gottman civis Leucsoviensis gloriantis de rebellibus quod circiter 40,000 essent … loricis ferreis induti"). These estimates refer to the main rebel army positioned around Kassa. An idea of the large size of the rebel forces is suggested by the formation of a second army with 6,000–10,000 soldiers under István Petrőczy who left the Kassa area to take Leutschau. Cf. MNL OL, E244, October 1672, fols. 4r–v (11 October); OSZK, Manuscript Repository, Quart. Germ., no. 94, Chronicon Eperiesiense, fol. 2. At least one additional army led by Pál Wesselényi, Ferenc Ispán, and Mihály Vér invaded from Transylvania in late September 1672 but operated independently of the main army in the eastern Calvinist counties. Cf. Gergely 6, nos. 202, 224, 239–40, 249–50, 252 (13 September–18 October 1672). Pauler's estimate of 15,000 is almost certainly too small, in Pauler, "A bujdosók," 15, 94.

3 On pastors, see EKPS, Series Q, no. 186, fol. 700 ("Olim praedicans possessionis Almas Stephanus Telki Banyay cum rebellibus redux … ecclesiam intrando cum rusticis loci eiusdem altare totaliter confringi curavit"); Szabó, no. 216, p. 157 ("Die Calvinische Praedicanten thetten die Kirchen … mit blosen Säbeln wider einnehmen"); Pauler, "A bujdosók," 14.

4 Cf. Tóth, "Old and New Faith in Hungary," esp. 210–12.

5 Holt, *French Wars of Religion*, esp. 62–97.

6 The importance of this revolt was recognized by nineteenth-century historians Gyula Pauler and Ignác Acsády, in Pauler, "A bujdosók," passim; Acsády, *A Magyarország története*, 314–37. But later historians did not continue these pioneering studies. Cf. Benczédi, *Rendiség*, 63n 42–3 (relying on Pauler) and Dangl, *Slovensko vo víre stavovských povstaní*, 142–5 (a brief synopsis); Kónya, "Prešov," 172. The revolt is not included in discussions of the so-called anti-Habsburg revolts, as demonstrated by Suchý, "Úlohy."

7 Cf. Te Brake, *Religious War and Religious Peace*, 280–316, 351–64.

8 On Razin, see note 85 below. On Khmel'nyts'kyi, see Davies, *Warfare*, 102–16, 121–7.

9 On the original size of the invasion army, see EKPS, Series Q, no. 186, fols. 681, 703. This lack of recruitment success was probably due to General Spankau's discovery of the exiles' plot to enlist Hungarian border garrisons, the tightening of border controls after this discovery, and the refusal of the Transylvanian

prince to send any troops (see previous chapter). Despite this grim outlook Menyhért Keczer tried to impress his Transylvanian contacts with purported recruitment successes, in Gergely 6, no. 177, Menyhért Keczer to Teleki (23 August 1672).

10 Hungarica 293 E, fols. 124–8, Fassio captivi rebellis Stephani Dayka, esp. 127v; Turcica I. 144/1, fol. 129r, undated HKR report (based on communications by commanders Löwen and Spankau of 31 August and 4 September 1672); Gergely 6, no. 188, Mátyás Szuhay to Teleki (31 August 1672); EKPS, Series Q, no. 186, Eger Chapter Investigation (18 February 1673), fols. 681, 702; no. 189, fol. 753; Pauler, "A bujdosók," 9, 12 (assuming wrongly that most Heyducks, whom he described as disgruntled Protestants, joined voluntarily). According to a Transylvanian source and intelligence received by General Spankau the number of Turkish troops may have been considerably higher, in Gergely 6, no. 198, Apafi to Teleki (8 September 1672), p. 289, and Katona, 34: 27 (500 troops); Turcica I. 144, Konv. 1, fol. 129r (five cavalry and four infantry companies). My numerical estimates are drawn from testimonies by commanders of the invasion army.

11 MNL OL, E190, doboz 33, no. 8158, Spankau to Báthori (2 September 1672); Turcica I. 144/1, fols. 128r–129v, undated HKR report (summary of Spankau letters dated 1 and 4 September 1672). On Spankau's intercepted mail, see Gergely 6, no. 196, Mátyás Szuhay to Teleki (5 September 1672), p. 284. Cf. Katona, 34: 37–8 (mentioning a thwarted attempt by Spankau to come to the rescue of Kálló Fortress). On the size of Spankau's regiment, see Pauler, "A bujdosók," 12.

12 The German garrison of Béltek fled, and troops led by pro-Habsburg magnate Ferenc Barkóczy also dispersed when confronted by armed crowds. Shortly afterwards Barkóczy's manor went up in flames. Cf. Katona, 34: 37; Bethlen, 482; Turcica I. 144/1, fol. 130 (citing Spankau report of 4 September); NRA, Fasc. 1744, no. 73, Investigation of Szabolcs uprising (starting 9 June 1673), fol. 4.

13 On supplies, see KA Reg. Prop. 1672, fol. 619; Exp. Prot. 1672, fol. 405, Correspondence Spankau and HKR (3–10 August). On the siege, see Turcica I. 144/1, fols. 131r–v, Commissar Ohlnhausen to Obercommissar Dÿmbruckh (3 September 1672); MNL OL, E244, September 1672, fols. 10, ZK to MK (4 September) (garrison is defending itself and has so far suffered only light casualties); 26, ZK to MK (3 September 1672); E254, September 1672, no. 10, István Bánóczy to ZK (7 September) (news about the massacre).

14 On the Hungarian garrison, see Gergely 6, no. 194, Szuhay to Teleki (3 September 1672), p. 282 (escape of Kálló Hungarian commander); no. 196, Szuhay to Teleki (5 September 1672), p. 285 (oath of loyalty by Kálló garrison). On Kálló's surrender, see Gergely 6, no. 239, Pál Wesselényi to Teleki (12 October 1672); no. 240, Mihály Vér to Teleki (13 October 1672). On the fate of Kálló's German soldiers, see Hungarica 293 E, fols. 122, 128r–v, 132; KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fol. 549v, no. 51, HKR to Cobb (7 November) (on capture of German soldiers

from Kálló who had joined the rebels); Exp. Prot. 1672, fols. 850, no. 224, Cobb to HKR (5 December); 856v, no. 229, Cobb to HKR (14, 16 and 21 December) ("Von der zu Kallo gelegene guarnison seindt 30. Türkhen geworden"); Gergely 6, no. 250, p. 373 (Kálló *praesidium* joins rebel forces).

15 On the massacre, see Hungarica 180 D, no. 1, Zsigmond Pethő to Szelepcsényi (5 November 1672), fol. 6; Gergely 6, no. 264, Szepessy to Teleki (5 November 1672), p. 397; EKPS, Series Q, no. 186, fols. 693–4 (oath of allegiance by Kisvárda Hungarians); Györgyéni, "Kis-Várda," 355 (Catholic fortress commander vs Calvinist town). On the timing of the surrender, see Gergely 6, nos. 249–50, Wesselényi and Vér to Teleki (16 October 1672). On Ibrány, see Gergely 6, no. 250, p. 373; MNL OL, E254, October 1672, no. 15 (massacre of German soldiers who escaped the fortress).

16 NRA, fasc. 1744, no. 73, Investigation in Szabolcs County (9–10 June 1673), 1st pagination, fols. 1–4, esp. 1, 4 (Calvinist minister); 2nd pagination, fols. 1–17, esp. 3 (Countess Homonnai), 5 (murder of Zsigmond Horváth and son), 6–10 (testimonies of peasant headmen and small-town mayors), 13 (István Csáky), 15 (István Erdődy; Miklós Kállay), 17 (István Perényi); fasc. 1744, no. 75, Testimony to ZK (21 April 1674), fol. 1 (István Csáky); MNL OL, E244, September 1672, fol. 26 (abduction of a priest and a cannon); Turcica I. 144, Konv. 1, fols. 130–1 (churches and confiscated estates); Szabó, no. 216 (churches).

17 Gergely 6, no. 196, p. 285. On the growth of the rebel army, see ibid.; Turcica I. 144/1, fols. 129v–130; EKPS, Series Q, no. 186, fols. 681, 693. On the systematic swearing in of peasants, townsmen, and nobles, see MNL OL, E244, September 1672, fol. 26; Gergely 6, no. 196, p. 285.

18 Cf. MNL OL, E23, September 1672, fols. 2r–v, Appeal to Szabolcs County (1 September); Gergely 6, nos. 177, 179, 181, 183, 188 (correspondence with Teleki, 23–31 August 1672).

19 Ibid., no. 205, Szepessy to Teleki (15 September 1672), pp. 300–1. See also ibid., nos. 194–7, Szuhay, Miklós Forgács, and Menyhért Keczer to Teleki (3–5 September 1672), esp. pp. 282–3, 286–7.

20 On the rapid spread to Szatmár, Bereg, Borsod, Abaúj, and Torna counties, see MNL OL, E254, September 1672, nos. 4, 8–9, 12, 23 (4–8, 23 September); E23, September 1672, fols. 14–19; E244, September 1672, fols. 8–9, Holló to MK (14, 30 September). On the helplessness of Habsburg troops and their withdrawal to Kassa and Szatmár Fortress, see Turcica I. 144/1, fol. 132v, Opinio des Hofkriegsrats (September 1672, n.d.).

21 Ibid., fols. 130r–v, undated HKR report (summary of Spankau letter of September 5); HFU, Karton 240 (Rote Nummer), Konv. 1672, September, fols. 236–8v, Two letters from Tokaj (5 September 1672), esp. 236 ("Der Rebellenhauff sich täglich vermehret"). On the abandonment of Tokaj Fortress, see MNL OL, E254, December 1672, no. 34, György Szenczy (14 December), fol. 173. On the precar-

ious situation of the Habsburg army, see also KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fols. 677r–v, no. 125, Spankau to HKR (9–10, 12 September); Reg. Prot. 1672, fols. 447v, no. 87, HKR to Spankau (10 September 1672); 448, no. 88, HKR to Montecuccoli (11 September 1672); 465, no. 145, HKR to Montecuccoli (18 September 1672).

22 Gergely 6, no. 200, Gábor Kende to Teleki (11 September 1672), pp. 291–3; Pauler, "A bujdosók," 13. On the mood in Kassa and desperate attempts to enlist military help, see MNL OL, E244, September 1672, fols. 20, 26, 36r–v, 56–7, 59, 66, 68, 72, 82–3, ZK to MK, Spankau, Upper Hungarian counties, Captain Gábor Bossány of Szendrő Fortress and various local mobilization orders (3–9 September 1672); KA AFA 1672, fasc. 13, no. 1, fols. 4–6, Spankau to HKR (28 September) on the desperate military situation and social revolt engulfing the estates of ecclesiastical and secular elites who fled to Kassa.

23 See references to *flos militiae Germaniae* and *robor militiae Germaniae*, in Gergely 6, nos. 205–6, Pál Szepessy to Teleki (15, 18 September 1672), pp. 301–2.

24 I draw here on an account composed under the immediate impression of events: see MNL OL, E244, September 1672, fols. 27r–v, ZK to MK (16 September). Cf. Katona, 34: 44–7; Pauler, "A bujdosók," 15–16; Bethlen, 503–4. Casualty reports that reached Vienna about ten days later indicated 800 killed imperial soldiers, in Bruyninx, A 2, 25 September 1672, fol. 1; NA, Staten-Generaal, IIA 8a, Bestanddeel 6129, 25 September 1672. Another source reported 300 German and 300 Hungarian casualties, in Hungarica 325 B, fols. 126r–v, András Horváth to Ádám Forgács (21 September 1672).

25 Hungarica 293 E, fols. 128v–129; MNL OL, E244, September 1672, fols. 7, 105 (24, 28 September); Bruyninx, A 2, 29 September 1672, fol. 1; Gergely 6, no. 220 (25 September 1672), p. 325; KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fols. 724 (Szabolcs), 728v (Szepes vs other counties), 859; Reg. Prot. 1672, fols. 467, 472 (efforts to replace missing county troops with the private armies of Catholic magnates and bishops); MNL OL, E244, September 1672, fols. 20, 77, 82–3, 98r–v, Appeals by ZK to Bereg, Szatmár, Szabolcs, and Ugocsa counties (1, 3 September) and Thirteen Counties (4 September). The *banderium* of Abaúj County had already gathered on 10 September near the battlefield where General Spankau was defeated on 14 September, in E244, September 1672, fol. 85, ZK to György Rokuszy (10 September).

26 On Munkács, see Gergely 6, no. 239, p. 354; nos. 249–50, pp. 371–2; no. 252, p. 377; no. 254, p. 381. On Ungvár, see ibid., no. 249, p. 371; Katona, 34: 38; Pauler, "A bujdosók," 88–9. On Regéc, see Hungarica 180 D, no. 9, Translatio fassionis Martini Ibranii alias Kis, fol. 26; Katona, 34: 37; Bethlen, 481.

27 Gergely, no. 206, Szepessy to Teleki (18 September 1672), p. 303.

28 EKPS, Series Q, no. 186, fols. 689, 692, 694 ("Iuramentum exigiebant pro Regno et cuius erit Regnum"), 699, 707, 715, 717; no. 148, fols. 405 ("In posteriori fidelitatem eidem praestabis cuius erit Regnum"), 406 ("Pro fidelitatem futuri alicuius Principis anonymii"), 411, 416, 419, 421–2, 433, 440, 452, 458, 483, 487, 498,

501, 506, 509, 517 ("Ad fidelitatem Regni et novi principis, quem non nominarunt"), 518.

29 On Prince Apafi, see EKPS, Series Q, no. 148, fols. 448, 450, 452, 508, 522; no. 186, fol. 710. On Imre Thököly, see ibid., no. 186, fol. 722; NRA, fasc. 1744, no. 61, fol. 20. On Petrőczy, see Hungarica 325 B, fol. 181v ("Novisolii occupatis civitatibus montanis … ponet Turca principem Petroczy"); Turcica I. 144/2, fol. 75 ("A Turcico Imperatore designari novum Regem Superioris Hungariae vel Petrucium vel Balassium"). The understanding was that these princes would be appointed by the sultan. On the sultan taking over directly, see Miklós Szirmay in EKPS, Series Q, no. 186, fol. 720 ("Si vultis scire quisnam Rex vester futurus est erit Imperator Turcarum"). On the rejection of Leopold I as future king, see ibid., fols. 694, 715; no. 148, fol. 417 ("Numquam amplius Rex modernus regnabit in Hungaria"); no. 189, fol. 755.

30 Hungarica 293 E, fols. 52–3v, Paria literarum Principi Rakozio … ex castris Hungarorum (14 September 1672), quotation 52v; "Ex castris Hungaricis ad Buzinkam positis die 23. m. Septembris, anno 1672," in Katona, 34: 28–30, esp. 29 ("In recuperatione … per extraneos totaliter oppressae et conculcatae aureae libertatis suae, arreptis contra communem inimicum armis").

31 "Ex castris Hungaricis," in Katona, 34: 29; OSZK, Manuscript Repository, Fol. Lat., no. 2309, vol. 3, fols. 108–9, Copia litterarum rebellantium ad civitatem Leuchoviam (2 October 1672), esp. 108v ("Sic nos Deus in anima nostra adjuvet, quod si autem aliquis fuerit, qui nobiscum tenere nolit, ignem et ferrum expectet").

32 EKPS, Series Q, no. 189, fols. 754–5, Testimony of Gabriel Erős, esp. 755 ("Iudex nobilium ex mandato Matthiae Szuhay scripserit nobilibus Olsvaniensibus [Olsva, Olšava in northern Zemplén County] et etiam huic fatenti, ut insurgant, quia si non insurrexerint, impalationem ipsis promisit et minatus est"). Erős claimed that he refused to obey and fled to Kassa (ibid.).

33 Hungarica 293 E, fol. 52 ("Etiam nunc difficulter possumus cohibere penes nos habitos exercitus, omnimode exacerbatos"). On Rákóczi's declaration of neutrality, see Gergely 6, no. 206, p. 305. The destruction of the Rákóczi estates is amply demonstrated in MNL OL, E 190, doboz 33, levelek 1665–80, nos. 8161, 8163 (25 September, 25 November 1672).

34 Prominent Catholic commanders, officials, magnates, and nobles swore the oath of allegiance including Ferenc Barkóczy, Dávid Bellaváry, Gábor Kapy, László and István Melczer, István Palocsay, Zsigmond Pethő, and Ferenc Perényi, in EKPS, Series Q, no. 148, fols. 383, 385, 393, 395, 400–3, 497, 522; no. 186, fols. 686, 691; NRA, fasc. 1462, no. 38, fol. 33; Gergely 6, nos. 197, 249, 259. Cf. letters by Vice-General Pethő and chamber official Bellaváry attempting to justify their behavior, in MNL OL, E254, August 1672, no. 61; October 1672, no. 8; E23, November 1672, fols. 11–12. On Ferenc Perényi, see E23, September 1673, fols. 37–40v, 50–2v.

35 On Czeróczy and Horváth, see Hungarica 293 E, fol. 54v; EKPS, Series Q, no. 148, fols. 479, 503; no. 186, fol. 686. Religion may explain why some Habsburg soldiers were massacred whereas others were not. Cf. the cases of Kisvárda (all killed), Ibrány (all integrated into the rebel army, see Gergely 6, no. 250, p. 373), and Kálló (where some German soldiers joined voluntarily, in KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fol. 549v, no. 51 [7 November]). On the defection of the German garrison in Nagysáros, see MNL OL, E244, September 1672, fol. 6v ("Germani in [Arce ipsa Saros] collocati pro parte rebellium iuramento adiuncti sunt").

36 OSZK, Manuscript Repository, Fol. Lat., no. 2309, vol. 3, fol. 108v; Hungarica 325 B, fol. 115 ("Catholici … in libero exercitio religionis relinquentur").

37 Cf. Hungarica 293 E, fols. 54r–v.

38 On the placement of *salvae guardiae* in a few towns and villages, see EKPS, Series Q, no. 148, fols. 484, 497–9, 510, 519. In Késmárk Catholic church services continued and the Catholic commander of the *salva guardia* prayed for "the happy success of the Hungarians" during Mass, ibid., fols. 502b, 508. For a similar situation in Metzenseifen (Abaúj County), see OSZK, Manuscript Repository, RMK III. 3030, Novack, *Ungarische Avisen*, pp. KIII 1–2.

39 Gergely 6, no. 196 (5 September 1672), p. 286 ("Most of the soldiers in the Hegyalja region are already with us and we are increasing daily in numbers"); no. 200 (11 September 1672), p. 293 ("If only we could bring these unruly troops under control … we are multiplying daily [in numbers]"). Even well-paid Hungarian soldiers (such as the hussars of Ecsed Fortress) defected to the rebel army, in MNL OL, E244, September 1672, fols. 6v, 12r–v, ZK to MK (24, 28 September), esp. 12v. They were joined by soldiers from border castles and smaller castles farther inland. Cf. EKPS, Series Q, no. 148, fol. 414 (Tokaj); no. 186, fols. 682 (Szerencs), 688 ("confiniarii milites"), 697 (Putnok), 698–9 (Torna), 699 (Putnok), 701 (Szendrő), 702 (Diósgyőr), 703 (Szerencs), 706 (Terebes), 711–12 (Szerencs), 712 (Ónod, Szendrő); no. 189, fols. 758 (Putnok), 760–1 (Ónod); Gergely 6, no. 200, Gábor Kende to Teleki (Szerencs, 11 September 1672), p. 292 (on the dispatch of money and letters to Diósgyőr, Szendrő, Putnok, and Fülek); Hungarica 293 E, fol. 127v ("Confinarii Hungari Hussarones divagantes").

40 On Putnok, see Gergely 6, no. 226, Gábor Kende to Teleki (29 September 1672), p. 336; KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fols. 723v–724v, no. 85, Spankau to HKR (11, 13 October), esp. 723v. On Szendrő, see ibid., fol. 724; Hungarica 180 D, no. 6, fol. 22 (children not spared); Katona, 34: 70; Pauler, "A bujdosók," 90–1. In Diósgyőr the German garrison apparently was given safe conduct to Transylvania (Gergely 6, no. 226, p. 335), but the Hungarian soldiers killed their captain before joining the rebels (MNL OL, E244, September 1672, fol. 6v; Hungarica 180 D, no. 6, fols. 22r–v). We do not know what happened in Tokaj Fortress after Spankau abandoned it around 10 September 1672, see MNL OL, E254, December 1672, no. 34, fol. 173. On fortresses still holding out, see Gergely 6, no. 226, p. 335; no. 232, p. 345.

41 MNL OL, E250, fasc. 44, no. 34, fols. 1–2v, MK to ZK (15 September 1672), esp. 1; EKPS, Series Q, no. 186, fols. 711–12; E23, September 1672, fols. 4–5, ZK to MK (10 September). There is evidence that parts of the German garrison of Ónod still held out in early October – see Gergely 6, no. 226, p. 335; no. 232, p. 345; KA Exp. Prot. 1672, no. 85, fol. 724v.

42 MNL OL, E244, September 1672, fols. 27–8v, ZK to MK (16 September), esp. 27v.

43 Gergely 6, no. 206, p. 303. Szuhay referred specifically to the random plunder of Catholic properties and lamented that there was "no leader whom one could recognize with reverence and fear" (ibid.).

44 On the execution of unruly soldiers, see Gergely 6, no. 206, Szepessy to Teleki (18 September 1672), p. 303. There is ample evidence that Imre Thököly's uncle Zsigmond and his clients took charge, in NRA, fasc. 1744, no. 61, Investigation by Szepes Cathedral Chapter (19 November 1673); MNL OL, E23, October 1672, fols. 18–22 (31 October); November 1672, fols. 17–20v (20 November); "Tököli, Žigmund." Their later denials are hardly convincing, in Katona, 34: 68–9. On alleged proclamations by the young Imre Thököly, see ibid., 53–4.

45 Hungarica 293 E, fols. 126–7 (occupation of fiscal, noble, and ecclesiastical estates); EKPES, Series AH, no. 10, Relatio attestationis pro parte Collegii Societatis Jesu Cassoviencis (22 April 1673); no. 17, Attestatio pro parte Fisci Regii (11 June 1673); MNL OL, E244, September 1672, fol. 12v ("Proventus sed et tricesimae majori ex parte prae manibus hostium sunt"); October 1672, fol. 2 (on seizure of vineyards); E23, November 1672, fols. 21–6v (on seized properties and assets). On *tricesimatores* who joined the rebel side, see EKPS, Series Q, no. 148, fols. 380, 383, 385, 389, 400, 406, 469, 500, 503. On the rebels' use of the imperial mint in Nagybánya, see Hungarica 293 E, fol. 132, no. 22; KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fol. 432v, Spankau to HKR (15 June) ("Wie dass die Rebellen ihr Silber in Nagy Bania vermünzen lassen").

46 EKPS, Series Q, no. 148, fols. 434 ("Certa pecuniaria pecunia"), 474–5, 484 (200,000 forint!), 501 ("A singulis oppidis centum et centum floreni"), 504, 517 (1,000 forint), 522 (800 forint); no. 186, fols. 692, 696, 706, 713 (2,500 forint), 715 ("A huge sum"), 717 (50,000 forint), 719; no. 189, fol. 745; Hungarica 293 E, fols. 61, 126. Other contributions included food, fodder, and accommodations (EKPS, Series Q, no. 148, fols. 387, 406, 422–3, 427, 442, 445, 450, 455); ammunition and gunpowder (ibid., 471–3, 478); medical assistance (472, 474); and the purchase/sale of stolen cattle and other booty (450, 473, 475, 498a).

47 KA AFA 1672, fasc. 13, no. 1, fols. 4–6, Spankau to HKR (28 September), esp. 5 ("Die umb Caschau stehenden Rebellen weren seiner hebenden reüthereÿ weit überlegen, seine nach Zattmar geschickte brief weren aufgefangen, und die Botten gespist worden"). Ibid., fols. 5–6 on the peasant masses who no longer obeyed Habsburg authority (*ihre Obrigkeit*) but had thrown their lot with the rebels.

48 Gergely 6, no. 267, Apafi to Teleki (21 November 1672), p. 402 ("Chaos"); Tóth, *Relationes missionariorum*, 189 ("Ultima revolutio"); Hain, 406 ("Unruhige, gefährliche, und sehr schwere Zeiten"); MNL OL, E254, September 1672, no. 19, Ferenc Katay to ZK (14 September), fol. 35v ("Fellobant tűz"); no. 23, István Pethő to ZK (19 September 1672), fol. 43 ("Chaos"); Gergely 6, no. 232, p. 346 ("Nagy involutiókban forgó"); Hungarica 325 B, fol. 123v ("Irruptio magna"); MNL OL, E244, September 1672, fols. 10, 36, 77, ZK to MK, General Spankau, and Upper Hungarian counties (3–4 September) ("Eruptio, incendium").

49 MNL OL, E254, September 1672, no. 8, Gábor Lónyay to ZK (6 September), esp. fol. 16.

50 Hungarica 325 B, fols. 122–4v, Pethő to Ádám Forgács (21 September 1672); E244, September 1672, fol. 109, ZK to Pethő (24 September).

51 MNL OL, E210, cs. 45, t. 9, no. 44, fols. 158–63, Investigation by Zemplén County (13 February 1673). The clerk who compiled the protocol falsely counted forty-four witnesses. The monastery had been endowed by a Catholic magnate clan, the Meliths, and had been in existence since 1637. Its location had been precarious from the very beginning as it was located in an entirely Calvinist district. In fact, in 1639 one of the friars was murdered. In Galla, *Ferences misszionáriusok Magyarországon*, 63, 112–13, 397; Borovszky, *Zemplén vármegye*, 101.

52 On the location of the rebel army during this week, see Gergely 6, no. 200, p. 201; Hungarica 293 E, fols. 52, 128v.

53 MNL OL, E210, cs. 45, t. 9, no. 44, fols. 160–1v, Witnesses 16, 22, 26.

54 Twenty-one witnesses openly admitted their participation, and two implicated their wives and children (ibid., fols. 159v, 161, Witnesses 4, 23). Cf. fol. 162v, Witness 37 ("Totus pagus praedatus sit monasterium"). See also fols. 159v–160, Witness 3 ("Destruxit et asportavit totus pagus"), Witness 5 ("Totus pagus combussit asportando"), Witness 14 ("Totus pagus asportavit").

55 On the specific items taken from the monastery, see ibid., fols. 159v, 160v–161, 162v–163, Witnesses 3, 5, 14, 22, 24–5, 36, 39, 44 [sic].

56 Ibid., fol. 159, De eo utrum, Punctum 1. The only Calvinist to break the wall of silence was the wife of the *Bilderstürmer* György Pásztor (see next note) who noted that three young women – the daughters of prominent plunderers – demolished the church pulpit (fol. 162v, Witness 40).

57 Ibid., fol. 162v, Witness 38 (Elisabeth Turi) ("Aspicite. Diaboli servata imago, quomodo distorto ore, et dentibus ementibus … vicsorgattya fogát ream").

58 Ibid., fol. 162, Witness 30 (István Nagy). See also ibid., Witnesses 31–3.

59 Ibid., fols. 159, 161r–v, 163, Witnesses 3, 26, 44 [sic]. On the wife of village headman Andreas Czinegir, see the testimony of Witness 17 (Stephanus Jesztrebi), fol. 160v ("Audivit etiam consortem praefati Judicis dicentem: 'Tantum seces, non est parcendum domibus et plateis, Papistás lelkű kurafinak [sic], tamen non sunt patrimonia, a parentibus nostris devoluta'"). On the friars' tribulations,

see EKPS, Series Q, no. 186, fols. 696, 704 (two witnesses relating what they had heard but assuming that the friars survived the violence); Galla, *Ferences missziónáriusok Magyarországon*, 114 (undated reference to acts of murder and torture which could have occurred in later years).

60 Elisabeth Turi's husband admitted to participating in the plunder of the monastery, that is, this Catholic woman benefited from the rampage but failed to report it (ibid., fol. 161v, Witness 27). It is also noteworthy that the villagers repeatedly mentioned the widow Forgács: she was not involved in the riot but she clearly profited by having a servitor occupy the garden of the monastery. Forgács thus effectively expropriated the Melith clan which had donated the garden to the monks (ibid., fols. 160, 161v–162v, Witnesses 11, 26, 29, 34–5, 42). This widow was likely related to the Calvinist branch of the Forgács clan. The exile Miklós Forgács played a leading role in the rebel army, in EKPS, Series Q, no. 186, fols. 693, 705–7, 709–10, 714; on Zsigmond Forgács, see Hungarica 293 E, fol. 126v. She may have been the widow of István Forgács, who corresponded with rebel leaders (ibid., fol. 696). She was very likely the mother of András Forgács, who owned much of Rad in 1684 when he was indicted for supporting Imre Thököly (Borovszky, *Zemplén vármegye*, 101).

61 MNL OL, G10, fols. 34–40, Report by *iudex bellicus* Johannes Fodor (1 July 1673), esp. 36–7; NRA, fasc. 1744, no. 54, Investigation by Szepes Cathedral Chapter (26 November 1673), fols. 60–71, esp. 61–4, Witnesses 107, 110, 116–17 (on the defection of the German garrison to the rebel side).

62 The investigation differentiated between the castle church (*templum castelli*) and the regular parish church (*templum Sarosiense* or simply *templum*), in NRA, fasc. 1744, no. 54, fols. 61–3, 69. The church of a nearby hamlet called Herknecht was also sacked, ibid., fols. 61, 68. I have been unable to establish the Hungarian or Slovak equivalent of this place name.

63 Ibid., fols. 61–2, 65–71, Witnesses 107, 112, 122, 127, 129, 131–2, 135–6, 140–2; G10, fols. 34r–v, 39v; Varga, *Úriszék*, no. 541, p. 939 ("Magához hasonlo más lator talpas társayval edgjűt az sáárosj templomra reá menven, onnét holmj egj hazj ezkőzőkőt, nevezet szerint keljheket s egjeb aparamentumokot ell vitt, az templomnak ékességet őszve rontot").

64 NRA, fasc. 1744, no. 54, fols. 62–7, 69–70, Witnesses 111, 115–18, 124, 126–30, 138–9, 141–2. On Kapy and the Sáros County Diet that met in Nagysáros after the town's surrender, see Pauler, "A bujdosók," 93.

65 NRA, fasc. 1744, no. 54, fols. 66, 68–70, Witnesses 127, 132–3, 135, 139, 142; fasc. 1724, no. 49, Informatio de rebellione per Dominum Hollo Seniorem facta et perscripta, fols. 8–9; G10, fols. 38–9.

66 NRA, fasc. 1744, no. 54, fol. 68 ("Unam albam cum omnibus ad missam celebrandum apparatibus induerit, obambulando in domo inverterit se dicens

'Dominus vobiscum. Oremus'"). Ibid., fols. 67–9, 71, Witnesses 132, 138, 142. According to Witness 132 the vestments were from the nearby village church.

67 EKPS, Series Q, no. 148, passim with specific places mentioned by name near Gölnitz: Jekelfalu (fol. 485); near Késmárk: Kakaslomnic (fols. 501–2, 508), Landok (fols. 498a, 500, 510, 518–19; MNL OL, E254, November 1672, no. 95); near Eperjes: Eperjesenyiczke (fol. 390); near Kisszeben: Jernye (fols. 390, 392–3, 398–400, 421), Nyársadó (fols. 401, 411–12), Pécsújfalu (fols. 400, 438–9), Sankt György (fols. 399, 410); and near Bártfa: Kluso (fols. 446–7, 454), Lófalu (fols. 446, 455–7), Oszikó (fols. 444–5, 452, 459–62; NRA, fasc. 1724, no. 49, fol. 9), Richvald (fols. 446–7, 455–6); Svirso (fol. 467), Tarno (fol. 467), Saarpatak (fol. 467).

68 Gölnitz (ibid., fols. 487–8, 521–6); Welbach (fols. 473, 476, 185; MNL OL, E254, March 1673, no. 63); Krompach (EKPS, Series Q, no. 148, fols. 486–500; MNL OL, E23, October 1672, fols. 11–12v; NRA, fasc. 1724, no. 49, fol. 5; MNL OL, E244, October 1672, fol. 2; December 1672, fol. 125); Schmölnitz (EKPS, Series Q, no. 148, fols. 381, 383, 417, 450, 487, 504, 521; Hungarica 180 D, no. 9, fol. 26; MNL OL, E23, October 1672, fol. 12v).

69 Teplicz (Szepesszombat district); Szent András (Szepesszombat district); Hadusfalva (Igló district); and Létánfalva (Igló district) (EKPS, Series Q, no. 148, fols. 380, 513–4); possessio Krompach (Dunajec district, ibid., fols. 508, 510–13); Palocsa (Héthárs district, fols. 467–70).

70 On Csütörtökhely, see EKPS, Series Q, no. 148, fols. 498a, 503; MNL OL, E23, November 1672, fols. 18r–v, Kristóf Horváth to ZK (23 November); NRA, fasc. 1724, no. 49, fol. 6. On Sebes and Eperjes, see NRA, fasc. 1744, no. 54, fols. 8, 13, 24, 31, 40–1, 52; MNL OL, E254, January 1673, no. 97, Gábor Kapy to ZK (6 January); Katona, 34: 71–3. On Késmárk, see EKPS, Series Q, no. 148, fols. 501–2, 502a–b, 503–4, Testimonies of Pauline Fathers Dominicus Kosz and Andreas Sesztak.

71 On Sátoraljaújhely, see EKPS, Series Q, no. 148, fols. 385–6; no. 186, fol. 704; no. 189, fols. 757–8 (alleged murder of several monks); EKPES, Series AH, no. 44, Inquisitionis relatio pro parte Fisci Regii (24 March 1674), fol. 119; MNL OL, E23, April 1673, fols. 88–90v (22 April); May 1673, fols. 57–9v (4 May). On Homonna, see EKPS, Series Q, no. 186, fols. 683, 692, 694; Katona, 34: 73–4. On Sztropkó, see EKPES, Series AH, no. 44, fols. 114v–116v, Testimony by Father Tiburtius Hermanenz, Ordinis S. P. Francisci Praesidens Sztropkoviensis (24 March 1674). The Franciscans of Varannó likely were targeted as well, in EKPES, Series AH, no. 44, fol. 113; Tóth, *Relationes missionariorum*, 189, 195.

72 The full extent of this trauma needs to be reconstructed. For evidence, see MNL OL Filmtár, X7027 (E21), doboz 15898, cim 658, September 1672, fols. 103–8, Copia memoralis religiosorum partum Franciscanorum Nagy-Szőlősiensium (10 September); MNL OL, E23, September 1672, fol. 15 (14 September); E254,

December 1672, no. 34, Catholic clergy and nobles (Füzér, 14 December), fol. 71 ("Nullus enim etiam patrum in parochiis permanere potest, nam nocturna domesticorum persecutio non saltem parochos, imo omnes Catholicos vita pereclitari fecit"); January 1673, no. 93, Chaplain Nicolaus Kruczay (Szerdahely, 1 January 1672), fol. 190v ("Rebellium tempore maximam passum persecutionem ordinem ecclesiasticum ex quorum numero ego etiam sum; ideoque maxime afflictus sum injuria omnibus rebus domesticis, et divino cultis [sic] dicatis exspoliatus, adeo ut etiam sacrum celebrare non possim ob defectum apparamentorum"). Cf. E254, November 1672, nos. 14, 95 (Királyhelmec, Landok); December 1672, nos. 38, 47–8 (Füzér, Lelesz, and Parnó); January 1673, no. 93 (Szerdahely); February 1673, nos. 57, 69 (Szatmár, Nagyida); March 1673, nos. 31, 63 (Regéc, Welbach); E23, December 1672, fols. 32–5v (Sáros County); January 1673, fols. 84–7v (appeal by bishop of Eger); NRA, fasc. 1744, no. 75 (Welbach). On abductions, see EPKS, Series Q, no. 137, Recognitio Reverendi Patris Valenti Balogh (12 February 1673); no. 186, fols. 692, 698, 701; KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fol. 855 (14 December); Tóth, *Relationes missionariorum*, 195, 198; Mihalik, "A Szepesi Kamara," 273n75 (report by the parish priest of Torna); MNL OL, E254, October 1672, no. 9; E23, January 1673, fols. 19–20v, 65–6v; May 1673, fols. 80–3v. On near lynchings, threats of being skinned alive, castration, and murders, see EKPS, Series Q, no. 186, fols. 700, 707, 713; EKPES, Series AH, no. 44, fols. 113, 116–18; NRA, fasc. 1724, no. 49, fols. 9, 11–13; fasc. 1744, no. 52, fol. 45; Kisbán, *A Magyar Pálosrend története*, 1: 247–9; MNL OL, E244, November 1672, fol. 12; E254, September 1672, no. 23 (murder of officials); October 1672, no. 24 (fear of capture and murder); November 1672, no. 117; E23, October 1672, fols. 11r–v; November 1672, fols. 1–2 (murder of officials); March 1673, fols. 7–8v (murder); 44–5v (appeal by widow of murdered official); June 1673, fols. 46–9v (similar appeal); OSZK, Manuscript Repository, Fol. Lat., no. 2309, vol. 3, fol. 124v (impalements). On the lynching of Kristóf Czeróczy, the crown's top fiscal officer, see MNL OL, E254, October 1672, no. 8; November 1672, no. 11; NRA, fasc. 1462, no. 38, fols. 23–4, 29; Pauler, "A bujdosók," 97.

73 On Liszka, EKPS, Series Q, no. 186, fols. 696, 698, 702, 704; no. 189, fol. 753; Šimončič, "Správa," 393. On Hécze, see EKPS, Series Q, no. 186, fols. 684, 689, 692; NRA, fasc. 1431, fol. 12; Hungarica 180 D, no. 5; Pauler, "A bujdosók," 14. On havoc created by peasant bands near Tokaj, see KA AFA 1672, fasc. 13, no. 1, fol. 2, Spankau to HKR (24 September).

74 Cf. Tóth, *Relationes missionarum*, 202–8, esp. 205; Pauler, "A bujdosók," 14; OSZK, Manuscript Repository, Fol. Lat., no. 2309, vol. 3, fol. 146. On anti-Catholic violence in and around Füzér, see MNL OL, E254, October 1672, no. 18; December 1672, nos. 34, 48; EKPS, Series P, no. 167, fol. 598 (estate of the executed Ferenc Bónis); Series Q, no. 148, fol. 482 (anti-Catholic thug).

75 For orderly transitions in Sáros and Szepes counties, see EKPS, Series Q, no. 148,

fols. 401 (Hethárs [Siebenlinden, Livany]), 411 (Orkuta), 444 (Bártfa), 447 (Hervartó), 454–6 (Klussó, Lófalva, Richvald, Sárpatak), 459, 461–2 (Raszlavicze), 502 (Hunfalva). Cf. Zoványi, *Magyarországi protestáns egyháztörténeti lexikon*, 568 (Beregszász, Bereg County); OSZK, Manuscript Repository, RMK III. 3030, Novack, *Ungarische Avisen*, p. K III 1–3 (Metzenseifen, Abaúj County).

76 It is noteworthy that the town's returning pastor Jacobus Avirini showed no interest in anti-Catholic excesses. But whether he could have stopped them even if he had tried is very uncertain. Cf. NRA, fasc. 1744, no. 54, fols. 62, Witnesses 110, 113.

77 NRA, fasc. 1744, no. 64, fols. 43–51, Eger Cathedral Chapter Investigation in Nagysáros and the adjacent village Kissáros (26 May 1672), esp. 49–51, Witnesses 48–51, 56 (Márton Hedgyéssi); Hörk, *A Sáros-Zempleni ev. esperesség története*, 82, 88, 220. Hedgyéssi not only expelled Lutheran clergy from their churches but also played a role in the confiscation of nearby noble estates, in MNL OL, E254, August 1671, no. 68, Georg Mercz to ZK (28 August); E23, September 1671, fols. 11–12v, ZK to MK (9 September). On the explosion and an investigation conducted by General Spankau, see also KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fols. 378, 446, Spankau to HKR (27 April, 8 June).

78 EKPS, Series Q, no. 148, fols. 394, 398–9, 402, 404, 410, 414, 418, 421, 423, 427–8, 431–2, 434–5, 438; Hungarica 293 E, fols. 54–5, Facta relatio nonnullorum excessuum per rebelles contra Catholicos et Suae Majestatis fideles patratorum (4 October 1672), esp. 54r; Galla, *Ferences misszionáriusok Magyarországon*, 28–9. On Judith Kapy's heroic intervention, see Hungarica 293 E, fol. 54. Her husband and other males of the Usz clan joined the revolt, in Pauler, "A bujdosók," 3; EKPS, Series Q, no. 148, fols. 382, 393, 395, 411, 497.

79 EKPS, Series Q, no. 148, fols. 398, 410–11, 413, 415, 423, 425; NRA, fasc. 1462, no. 38, fol. 32.

80 NRA, fasc. 1462, no. 38, fols. 26, 29, 31; fasc. 1744, no. 52, fols. 48, 60; no. 54, fols. 16, 23–4, 28; EKPES, Series AH, no. 6, Relatio inquisitionis pro parte Fisci peractae (20 March 1673), fols. 36v–37, 40; Fabiny, "Religio és rebellió," 149; Pauler, "A bujdosók," 94, 96–7. On "the black community," see Kónya, "A felsőmagyarországi városok társadalma," 37.

81 EKPS, Series Q, no. 148, fols. 412–39; Michels, "Az 1674. évi Pozsonyi prédikátorper történetéhez," 66–7 (on Galli). I may be giving too little credit to Galli's own testimony in which he claimed that he was forced to administer the Last Rite to Father Ciprianus (EKPS, Series Q, no. 148, fol. 432).

82 On these excesses, see Pauler, "A bujdosók," 95–7; NRA, fasc. 1462, no. 38, fols. 27, 30; fasc. 1744, no. 54, fols. 23, 29, 33, 52; EKPS, Series Q, no. 186, fol. 687. For Eperjes and Kisszeben pastors' apparent neutrality, see ibid., no. 148, fols. 424 (Sartorius), 430–1 (Johannes Regius); Pauler, "A bujdosók," 96 (Petenáda). I found no evidence to confirm the assertion of the Catholic magnate Gábor Kapy (in bad

Latin), in MNL OL, E254, January 1673, no. 97 (7 January), fol. 197 ("[Statuae] S. Regis Stephani et Ladislai credo decapitatae a praedicantibus").

83 Among these castles were Szerencs (EKPS, Series Q, no. 186, fol. 711; Hungarica 180 D, nos. 6, 9; Gergely 6, no. 200); Szádvár (EKPS, Series Q, no. 186, fol. 700); Terebes (MNL OL E254, October 1672, nos. 9, 13; EKPES, Series AH, no. 17, fols. 60r–v; no. 44, fol. 117v); Tiszaszentmárton (NRA, fasc. 1744, no. 73, 2nd pagination, fol. 3); Battyan (MNL OL, E254, November 1672, nos. 14, 44; EKPS, Series Q, no. 186, fol. 707); Boldogkő (see notes 94, 96); Cseke (MNL OL, E254, November 1672, no. 136); Csorva and Szaláncz (Gergely 6, no. 226, p. 336; MNL OL, E245, 27. k., no. 2049); Torna (see notes 93, 96) and Füzér (NRA, fasc. 1744, no. 72, Investigation [27 January–27 April 1673], esp. fols. 1–3).

84 The defection of German soldiers needs further attention. Their numbers were so significant that rebel commanders needed interpreters to communicate with them. Sometimes an offer of good pay was sufficient to draw them over. Cf. Gergely 6, no. 250, Vér to Teleki (16 October 1672), p. 373 ("Feladták s fizetésre közűlök ide jűnek"). On German interpreters, see ibid.

85 Man'kov, "Krest'ianskaia voina," 117–60; Shvetsova, *Krest'ianskaia voina*, vol. 2, pt. 1, nos. 12, 60, 85, 299. Cf. Michels, "Rituals of Violence."

86 These soldiers included an infantry regiment of 1,300 men who got stranded in the city on 23 September 1672 and did not dare leave afterwards. They found themselves surrounded by thousands of rebels (Hain, 407; Bethlen, 505). On skirmishes (*scharmützel*) with rebel troops, see Hain, 410.

87 Hain, 408–10, 412–13; MNL OL, E190, doboz 33, no. 8163, Memoriale pro parte Principissae Rakoczianae cum filio (25 November 1672), fols. 133–4v.

88 The plight of the Bodgánys was not exceptional as indicated by the economic ruin of other petty nobles in the overwhelmingly Calvinist county of Szabolcs. Cf. NRA, fasc. 1744, no. 73, 1st pagination, fol. 2; 2nd pagination, fols. 4–5, 15 (Mihály and György Apagyi, István Petri, László and István Kamocsay, Péter Tolvaj, and Mihály Szentiványi).

89 MNL OL, E254, December 1672, no. 39, István Szalánczy to ZK (15 December), fol. 83v ("Ezen felföldnek pusztulással csak pennamra sem merem venni, annak elégségre ki irássara elégtelen is volna csekély elmem"). Much of the devastation likely resulted from a rebel offensive targeting Bereg, Ung, Ugocsa, and Szatmár counties from Szabolcs County in mid-October 1672, see Gergely 6, nos. 239–40, 249–50, Wesselényi and Vér to Teleki (12–16 October).

90 MNL OL, E254, January 1673, no. 92, Viczmándy family to ZK (31 January), fol. 188 (quote).

91 The Calvinist commander Nagy acted at the instigation of the executed Ferenc Bónis's widow who wanted to take revenge for the Viczmándys' role in her husband's arrest. Ibid.; E254, August 1670, no. 77, General Spork to ZK (12 August) on Bónis's arrest.

92 MNL OL, E23, October 1672, fols. 10r–v, Holló and András Hartyányi to MK (14 October); 11r–v, Mihály György to ZK (3 October); 12–13, Kristóf Horváth to ZK (3 October). György estimated the rebel band to comprise 300 *talpasones* and 400 hussars; Kristóf Horváth reported only 100 *talpasones* and 300 hussars (ibid., 11v–12). On Rudini, see EKPS, Series Q, no. 148, fol. 467; NRA, fasc. 1737, no. 8, fol. 131.

93 MNL OL, E254, January 1673, no. 40, Nicolaus Keglevics to ZK (16 January); EKPS, Series Q, no. 186, fols. 698–9.

94 MNL OL, E254, December 1672, no. 35, György Szenczy to ZK (14 December), fol. 173 ("Circum circa ex omnibus pagis tam rustici quam etiam nobiles, signanter, Ker, Szantó, Tallia, Vilman, Visol, Göncz Ruszka, Göncz, Heycse, Korlat, Alsó Felső Czecze et aliis hinc inde locis ad expugnandam arcem concurrebant"). Szenczy lost everything as a result of this mobilization. Cf. KA AFA 1672, fasc. 13, no. 1, fol. 2, Spankau on peasants laying siege to Boldogkő Fortress (24 September).

95 MNL OL, E254, January 1673, no. 72, fols. 144, Szelepcsényi to ZK (26 January); 145r–v, János Terjek to Szelepcsényi (31 December 1672). Student radicals are often mentioned in the sources; see, for example, NRA, fasc. 1431, no. 2, fol. 12; fasc. 1462, no. 38, fols. 26, 30–1; fasc. 1744, no. 52, fols. 24, 29, 43, 59; EKPS, Series Q, no. 186, fols. 682–4, 687, 700–1, 708.

96 On Boldogkő, see MNL OL, E244, October 1672, fol. 37 (28 October); E23, October 1672, fol. 10; E254, November 1672, no. 117; Hungarica 180 D, no. 1, fol. 3v. On Torna, see MNL OL, E254, September 1672, nos. 9, 18; E23, October 1672, fol. 10 (14 October); EKPS, Series Q, no. 186, fol. 699. On the massacre of the garrison defending Jászó (Joss, Jasov) Castle that belonged to the bishop of Eger, see Katona, 34: 70; EKPS, Series Q, no. 186, fol. 698; MNL OL, E244, September 1672, fol. 9; October 1672, fol. 37.

97 Gergely 6, no. 226, Gábor Kende to Teleki (29 September 1672), esp. pp. 335–6; no. 232, Gábor Kende and Mátyás Szuhay to Teleki (4 October 1672), esp. p. 345. On rebel commanders' limited ability to control their own soldiers, see also ibid., no. 266, Mihály Vér to Teleki (13 November 1672), p. 400 ("Látván azoknak cselekedeteket sír az keresztyén lélek").

98 Gergely 6, no. 226, esp. p. 337 ("Az emberek … azt mondják, minden táborunkat megverik is, mégis holtig ki nem állanak ez dologbúl. Tagadatlan, az törököt, erdélyi hadat kivánnák, keveset is stb."); no. 232, esp. p. 346 ("Csak volna az, ki ez mi általunk fellázzasztott sok ezer ártatlan lelkeket szánná, holott mindennap írjuk, periculum in mora").

99 Hungarica 325 B, fols. 114–15v, Confoederatio Rebellium inter se facta in Transylvania (28 August 1672). A second version with several variants and dated 20 August 1672 was found in the Hungarian National Museum during the 1880s and published as "Jelentés az 1672-iki mozgalmakról." I have been unable to establish the current location of this version.

100 Hungarica 325 B, fol. 114r; "Jelentés az 1672-iki mozgalmakról," 46–7.

101 Hungarica 325 B, fols. 114v–115r; "Jelentés az 1672-iki mozgalmakról," 48.

102 Ibid., 47–8.

103 The writer is identified only as *fidus* or *fidus homo* in Hungarica 325 B, fol. 115r; "Jelentés az 1672-iki mozgalmakról," 48. A curious circumstance strongly suggests Bánffy's authorship: the spy report was filed in the Habsburg court archive with a letter by Rottal's assistant Kálmánczay, who was forwarding Bánffy's secret correspondence to Vienna via express courier on 24 August 1672. Kálmánczay did not mention the spy report but he called Bánffy an extremely valuable asset who should be reporting directly to General Spankau. If the spy report was indeed dated 20 August – as recorded on one of its two surviving manuscript copies – it was probably part of the correspondence dispatched by Kálmánczay, in Hungarica 325 B, fols. 110–12v. For the variant dating, see "Jelentés az 1672-iki mozgalmakról," 46.

104 Bánffy boasted that he had been initiated into the rebels' plans from the very beginning, in Hungarica 325 B, fols. 101–2v, Bánffy to Kálmánczay (16 August 1672), esp. 101 ("Ego enim in radice sum et ex fundamento rem scio"). On his intimate associations with the exiles and the magnate Mihály Teleki, who was their fervent advocate, see Gergely 6, nos. 144–5, 147, 151–2, 175, 223, 254, 270, 272, 274, 283, 400; Óváry, no. 1548, Zsigmond Pethő to Lobkowitz (23 April 1668).

105 Hungarica 325 B, fols. 97–8v, 100r, Two letters by Bánffy to Rottal (16 August 1672), esp. 98r ("Write to me in cipher"). A courier from Szatmár Fortress carried Bánffy's letters back and forth; they were then delivered to Kassa and forwarded to Vienna (ibid., fols. 98r, 101, 110).

106 Ibid., fols. 97–107v, 110. These letters, addressed to Rottal and his assistant István Kálmánczay, were part of a secret correspondence initiated by Prince Rottal on 16 and 26 July (ibid., fols. 97, 103). They were decoded, translated into Latin, and dispatched to Vienna on 24 August 1672.

107 Ibid., fols. 97v–98, 103v.

108 Ibid., fol. 115; "Jelentés az 1672-iki mozgalmakról," 48.

109 Turcica I. 144/1, fols. 67–76, Meninski relationiert über seine verrichtete Raiß nach Ofen (August 1672, n.d.; in Italian); 77–84, German translation discussed by HKR (n.d.); 85–6, Opinion of HKR (n.d.). Meninski arrived in Győr on his return from Buda on 29 August 1672 (ibid., fol. 75v) and wrote his report after arriving in Vienna on 30 or 31 August. It was then translated, summarized for the Aulic War Council, and likely discussed in the first days of September. The report has been falsely dated 7 August 1672, which was the date on which Meninski left Vienna for Buda (ibid., fol. 86v).

110 Ibid., fol. 67.

111 Ibid., fols. 68v–69. On Ottoman plans to seize Cracow, see Wagner, *Wojna polsko-turecka*, 1: 319; 2: 219.

112 Turcica I. 144/1, fols. 132–6, Relatum in Eberstorf (11 September 1672), esp. 134, 136.

113 Ibid., fols. 128, 132v–133; KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fol. 446, no. 83 (9 September); Exp. Prot. 1672, fol. 670v, no. 67 (September, n.d.).

114 KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fol. 434, no. 34 (4 September); KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fols. 639v–40 (4 September); 668, nos. 38–9 (1–2 September); 675, no. 108 (September, n.d.); 736, no. 166 (6 October).

115 Turcica I. 144/1, fols. 134, 136; KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fols. 447v–448, nos. 88–9, HKR to Spankau and Montecuccoli (10–11 September); Exp. Prot. 1672, fol. 682, no. 156 (17, 23 September), Obrister Schmidt … avisiert seinen Marsch gegen Ober Hungarn. On empire-wide recruitment and the resulting costs, see HKR to Apafi (12 November 1672), in Bethlen, 499–500; Katona, 34: 57–8 ("Praelibata Majestas denuo fuerit coacta militem, per regna et provincias suas dispersum colligere, exercitum constare … magnosque impendere sumptus"); MNL OL, E250, fasc. 44, no. 33 (13 September 1672) (three cavalry regiments); no. 39 (23 September 1672) (six legions); no. 40 (30 September 1672) (six additional legions from Bavaria and Salzburg).

116 Turcica I. 144/1, fols. 132r, 133r, 134v, 135v–136; KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fols. 650v (14 September); 665r–v, no. 19 (September, n.d.) (Bergstätter Granitz); Reg. Prot. 1672, fols. 474v–475v, 500 (Leopoldstadt). On Komárom and Neutra, see note 180 below.

117 Turcica I. 144/1, fols. 164r–v, Leopold to Kindsberg (11 September 1672); 166, Leopold to Sultan Mehmed IV (11 September 1672); 167r–v, Leopold to Köprülü (11 September 1672); KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fols. 449–50, nos. 93–6 (11 September). Cf. Turcica I. 144/1, fols. 173–4v, Kindsberg to Leopold (14 September 1672), esp. 174 ("Ich aber bethaure, die bißhero in diesem von Camenez weitentlegenen orth, verlohrene Zeit, welche [ich] aldorten viel fruchtbarlicher hette zuebringen, und [mich] bey der armee von vielen erhöblichkeiten zu Euer Khaysl. Maj. diensten, informieren können").

118 Turcica I. 144/1, fols. 192–4v, Leopold to Casanova (Ebersdorf, 17 September 1672); 195–6v, Considerationi e motivi di S. M. Cesa[re] sopra la mediatione di pace fra la Polonia e la Porte (Vienna, 17 September 1672). On the fall of Kamianets', see KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fol. 465, no. 145, HKR to Montecuccoli (18 September). The Kamianets' garrison surrendered to the Ottomans on 30 August 1672 but news of the stunning victory appears to have traveled very slowly – probably because it was not immediately believed. See Şakul, "Siege Warfare," 233–4 (citing *London Gazette* of 26 September: "We seem as yet unwilling to give any credit to the report of the taking of *Caminiec* [sic], it being a place of the greatest strength in all these parts"). It is unclear when exactly the Vienna court received confirmation of the fortress's surrender. Leopold's sister, Archduchess Eleonora Maria, was the wife of the Polish king, see Davies, *God's Playground*, 1: 470–1.

119 MNL OL, E244, September 1672, fols. 26, ZK to MK (3 September); 12r–v, ZK to MK (24 September); 27–8v, ZK to MK (16 September), esp. 27v, 28v; 42, ZK to Lobkowitz, Kollonitsch, Schwarzenberg and Rottal (24 September); 121, ZK to István Koháry (20 September); 130, ZK to MK (14 September); October 1672, fols. 1r–v, ZK to MK (4 October) (copy in E23, October 1672, fols. 1–2).

120 MNL OL, E244, September 1672, fols. 105–6v, ZK to Leopold (24 September), esp. 106v.

121 KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fols. 684v, no. 169, Szelepcsényi to HKR (24 September); 711v–712, no. 3, Bársony and Bishop Ferenc Szegedi of Eger to HKR (16 September) (added to report by Spankau); 738, no. 187, Bársony to HKR (October, n.d.); HFU, Karton 240 (rote Nummer), Konv. October 1672, fols. 61r–v, Letter to István Csáky (forwarded to Vienna court) (n.d.). On the Thirteen Pawned Towns under Polish jurisdiction in Szepes County, see chapter 5, note 85.

122 Hungarica 325 B, fols. 119–20, 121v, István Koháry to Vice-General Miklós Bercsényi (20 September 1672) (Hungarian original and Latin translation). For the intercepted letters, see ibid., fols. 116–18v. On the spread of the revolt in Gömör County (including Rozsnyó), see Chalupecký, "Politický vývoj Gemera," 225. On celebrations of the Kamianets' victory in Istanbul and elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire, see Şakul, "Siege Warfare," 233.

123 Hungarica 325 B, fols. 125v–127v, András Horváth to Ádám Forgács (21 September 1672) (Hungarian and Latin). Horváth was the commander of Gács (Halič) Fortress.

124 Ibid., fols. 122–3v, 125v, Zsigmond Pethő to Ádám Forgács (21 September 1672); KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fol. 712v, no. 4, Spankau to HKR (24 September) ("Der Bassa zu Wardein und Wezir zu Ofen hetten gegen Geschenke denen rebellen assistiert"). On 20 September 1672 the Ottoman army closed in on L'viv (Lwów, Lemberg), the capital of Galicia, a province of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth adjacent to Upper Hungary and Máramaros County in Transylvania. On the siege of L'viv, see Doroshenko, *Het'man Doroshenko*, 427–9.

125 Turcica I. 144/2, fol. 74, Hofkirchen to HKR (20 September 1672); KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fol. 478v, no. 216, HKR to Hofkirchen (25 September). Cf. also KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fol. 720v, Hofkirchen to HKR (6 October) ("Avvisen … von den Türken eingelaufen").

126 Hungarica 325 B, fols. 142, 143v, Cobb to Hocher (n.d.).

127 KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fols. 682v, no. 159, Pál Esterházy to HKR (29 September); 713v, no. 5, Strassoldo to HKR (24, 29 September). On Neusohl, see also Szabó, no. 112, Heister to HKR (6, 10 November 1671) (appeals to Ottomans for "Huldigung undt assistenz" to safeguard the town's Protestant churches).

128 Turcica I. 144/2, fols. 73r–v, 78v, Relatum Suae Majestati Caesareanae (Ebersdorf, 1 October 1672). The document has been falsely dated 23 October 1672. Bruyninx reported that Petrőczy was indeed in Uyvar, in Bruyninx, A 2, 9 October 1672, fol. 1.

129 KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fol. 714v, no. 18, Cobb to HKR (3 October) ("Es liegt bei der Rebellen Schreiben an die Gespanschaft [Zólyom]"); Reg. Prot. 1672, fol. 509, no. 254, HKR to de Suys (15 October) ("Wegen der Rebellen an die Gespanschaft Trentschin gethanes Schreiben").

130 KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fol. 716, no. 29, Hofkammer to HKR (24 September). On measures taken by the Aulic War Council, see KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fols. 467v, no. 155 (19 September); 469–70, nos. 168–72 (20 September); 471, no. 173–7 (21 September).

131 On Poland, see Woliński, "Wojna polsko-turecka," 326–35.

132 The Secret Conference was concerned about the lack of knowledge about Ottoman troop concentrations near Belgrade. Cf. Turcica I. 144/1, fol. 134v, barely readable pencil marginalia in HKR report of 11 September 1672.

133 Gergely 6, no. 207, Teleki to Szatmár County (18 September 1672); Hungarica 325 B, fol. 118, Teleki to Thirteen Counties (18 September 1672).

134 Köprülü's warnings not to get involved are reported in Gergely 6, no. 192, Naláczy to Teleki (3 September 1672); on Apafi and other Transylvanian courtiers, see Bethlen, 475–81. On the Köprülü-Szepessy meeting in early 1673, see ibid., 524–5.

135 On the military disaster, see Trócsányi, *Teleki*, 126–7; KA AFA 1672, fasc. 10, no. 2a, Alexander Palugiay to István Barkóczy (6 October). The German commanders of Szatmár may have negotiated a fake surrender before attacking, see Hungarica 293 E, fol. 132 (question 23).

136 It is stunning how little attention this victory received in Vienna, since fear of losing Szatmár Fortress did not diminish, in KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fols. 685v, no. 175, [Obrist] Löwen relation aus Zathmar (21 September) "about putting down the [town's] burghers and the rebels" (*über die Niederlassung deren Bürgern und Rebellen*); 772v, no. 78 (21 September); 859, no. 236 (21 December); Reg. Prot. 1672, fol. 591v, no. 31, HKR to Meninski (8 December 1672). The court later expressed gratitude that Löwen had beaten back the Transylvanian invasion (KA Reg. Pro. 1672, fol. 530, no. 345, Dankhschreiben [27 October]).

137 Turcica I. 144/2, fols. 37–40v, Leopold to Kindsberg (Ebersdorf, 13 October 1672), esp. 38–9.

138 Gergely 6, no. 264, Pál Szepessy to Teleki (5 November 1672), p. 394.

139 Ibid., no. 220, Petrőczy to Teleki (25 September 1672), p. 325; no. 221, Petrőczy to Teleki (27 September 1672), pp. 327–8.

140 Ibid., no. 231, László Székely to Teleki (4 October 1672), pp. 343–4.

141 Ibid., nos. 139, 174, 190, 205 (letters by Teleki); nos. 140, 143, 243, 245, 254, 258, 270, 272 (letters by László Székely, István Naláczy, Dénes Bánffy, and Anna Bornemisza).

142 *TMAO* 5, no. XCVIII, pp. 147–9. Apafi to László Baló (19 September 1672), quotation 148; Gergely 6, nos. 227, 261, Apafi to Teleki (30 September, 4 November 1672).

143 Bethlen, 487–9.

144 Gergely 6, no. 205, Szepessy to Teleki (15 September 1672), p. 302.

145 Ibid., no. 200, Kende to Teleki (11 September 1672), p. 293.

146 On contacts with the pasha of Varad, see ibid., nos. 177, 195, Menyhért Keczer to Teleki (23 August, 4 September 1672); no. 188, Mátyás Szuhay to Teleki (31 August 1672); no. 227, Apafi to Teleki (30 September 1672); no. 232, Szuhay and Kende to Teleki (4 October 1672); no. 243, Bánffy to Teleki (13 October 1672); no. 249, Wesselényi to Teleki (16 October 1672); no. 255, Kende and Szepessy (27 October 1672). On Agha Huszein, see ibid., no. 196, Szuhay to Teleki (5 September 1672), pp. 285–6; no. 200, p. 293 ("Megesküdt, hogy utánnunk jő"). See also KA AFA 1672, fasc. 13, no. 1, fol. 3, Spankau to HKR (24 September) citing German prisoner released by pasha of Eger with the message that not he but the pasha of Varad was the main culprit, acting in unison with the vizier of Buda. I found two reports that Kücsük Mehmed Pasha was replaced with Sahazi Mehmed Pasha, a favourite of the sultan, in April 1672. But it appears that these reports were wrong because he was still in his position in March 1673. Cf. Turcica I. 143/3, fols. 30, 83v; Gergely 6, no. 297, p. 445.

147 The Hungarian historian Gyula Pauler found a few of these proclamations in the Budapest archives during the 1860s and left us a short description (but no archival reference), in Pauler, "A bujdosók," 13. My own searches have remained without success, but the wide circulation of these texts is confirmed in Turcica I. 144/2, fols. 59–61, HKR to Vizier Huszein Pasha of Buda (18 October 1672), esp. 59; 129–30, Meninski to Kindsberg (20 December 1672), esp. 129 (on the vizier's apparent outrage about the proclamations' assertions); KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fol. 736v, no. 170 (October, n.d.) ("Rebellpatente"); 737v (16 October); Katona, 34: 59–62, Szelepcsényi, Tamás Pálffy, Rottal, and Ádám Forgács to Apafi (November 1672 n.d.), esp. 60; Bethlen, 501, 503.

148 EKPS, Series Q, no. 148, fols. 449, 458, 498. Gáspár Pika announced in public speeches that 40,000 Turks stood ready to help the rebels, in Frenyó, *Pomarius Sámuel naplója*, 29.

149 EKPS, Series Q, no. 186, fol. 715; no. 189, fol. 755; NRA, fasc. 1462, no. 38, fol. 17. On Szuhay's speech outside Kassa, see NRA, fasc. 1744, no. 65, fol. 8 ("In castris ad Buzinkam audivit Szuhayum nobiles taliter allocutum esse, quid vos cogitatis, putatisne? Regnum hoc amplius mansurum in potestate S. M. neutiquam; ecce Turca volebat exire [et] occupare hoc Regnum, nihilominus nos in tantum supplicavimus apud Turcam, ut porro nobis relictum sit").

150 EKPS, Series Q, no. 148, fols. 381–4, Witness 3 (Gábor Kapy); no. 186, fols. 695–6, Witness 15 (Balthasar Konach); NRA, fasc. 1462, no. 38, fol. 31, Witness 23 (Georgius Turcsany). Kapy greatly exaggerated when he insisted that "none of the Catholics … joined the rebels spontaneously" (EKPS, Series Q, no. 148, fol. 383).

On Kapy's confrontation with Menyhért Keczer about the Ottomans, see Pauler, "A bujdosók," 93; Konach likely was a Catholic, as he denounced the attack on the Francisan monastery of Rad in his testimony.

151 EKPS, Series Q, no. 148, fols. 413, 423, 434, 479; no. 186, fols. 705–6; NRA, fasc. 1462, no. 38, fol. 21 (Elector of Brandenburg). Some Lutheran town magistrates expressed preference for the Transylvanian prince over the sultan (EKPS, Series Q, no. 148, fol. 445).

152 Ibid., no. 148, fol. 498 ("Compare toti Christianitati, si aliter non poterit fieri, nunciabo Turcae"); no. 189, fols. 754, 758; Pauler, "A bujdosók," 92.

153 Other pragmatists included Gáspár Péchy, the Sáros County strongman, who argued that it did not make sense to oppose 40,000 Turks (sic), and Count Johannes Olmuczer, administrator of the Thirteen Pawned Towns under Polish jurisdiction. Both were Lutherans who denounced the expulsion of pastors and the confiscation of churches. Cf. EKPS, Series Q, no. 148, fols. 379–80, 418–19, 469. On Olmuczer's ambivalent role after 1672, see *Historia Ecclesiae Evangelicae*, 160; Bruckner, *Reformáció és ellenreformáció*, 361; MNL OL, E210, cs. 45, t. 9, no. 49, fol. 204 (obstructing Habsburg investigators); Hain, 443, 445 (converting to the Catholic faith in 1675).

154 NRA, fasc. 1744, no. 61, fol. 22, Witness 20 (András Szerdahely).

155 Ibid., fol. 13, Witness 10 (Stephanus Herant).

156 Other fervent advocates included Gáspár Pika, Benedek Serédy, Miklós Szirmay, István Király, Gábor Dobai, Tamás Apagyi, Ferenc Baranyay, and István Monoky. Like Ferenc Szinnyei they promoted the restoration of the Protestant faith; Pika stirred up a religious war in Árva County (Kubinyi, *Árva vára*, 127–9; Holotík, *Dejiny Slovenska*, 1: 332); Monoky had accepted the sultan's authority as a *nobilis tributarius* (EKPES, Series AG, no. 234, fol. 262v; Gergely 6, no. 290, p. 435); the Szabolcs Calvinist Apagyi was a close associate of Mátyás Szuhay. Cf. EKPS, Series Q, no. 148, fols. 394, 426, 430, 487, 516; no. 186, fols. 686, 694, 697, 720, 722; EKPES, Series AH, no. 6, fol. 34; NRA, fasc. 1462, no. 30, fol. 10.

157 EKPS, Series Q, no. 148, fol. 389; NRA, fasc. 1744, no. 54, fol. 35 (Andreas Turczany [sic] and his wife); Gergely 6, no. 269, Menyhért Keczer to Teleki (November 29, 1672); NRA, fasc. 1744, no. 64, fols. 54–55, Witness 12 (Elizabetha Sovari). Ferenc Szinnyei broke into confiscated churches and reintroduced Lutheran clergy who had previously been expelled, in EKPS, Series Q, no. 148, fols. 418–19, 423.

158 On the brothers János and Péter Raszlaviczy, see EKPS, Series Q, no. 148, fols. 459–67, Eger Chapter Investigation in Bártfa (24 February 1673), esp. 459–60, Witnesses 2–3, 9, 11–12 (János Csuklay, András Botko, Gáspár Dara, Mátyás Babak, Péter Tomori). Cf. also ibid., no. 189, fols. 760–1 ("Audivit a rebellibus invicem iurejurando dicentibus quod Cassoviam capient et locum Viennam

etiam et ibi hybernabunt"); NRA, fasc. 1744, no. 53, fol. 3 ("[Hungari] usque Viennam trucidabunt Germanos"); no. 75, fol. 1 ("Brevi per pedes Caesarem extrahemus Viennae").

159 There was also disagreement on the participation of Wallachian and Moldavian troops. However, there appears to have been agreement that Transylvanian troops would definitely join the Turks. Cf. EKPS, Series Q, no. 148, fols. 389, 393, 399, 413, 416, 430, 483, 487, 507; no. 186, fols. 686, 703, 706; NRA, fasc. 1462, no. 38, fol. 24; MNL OL, E244, September 1672, fols. 27–8v, ZK to MK (16 September), esp. 27v ("Hodierna die rumor ortus est, ut Transylvaniae Vayvodam Joannem Georgium Gyka cum sedecim millibus Tibiscum transire coepisse"). There was some talk about the arrival of Tatar and Bulgarian (!) troops (EKPS, Series Q, no. 186, fol. 699; Hungarica 325 B, fol. 95).

160 EKPS, Series Q, no. 148, fols. 383, 386–7, 399, 406–7 (60,000), 427, 446, 457, 470, 501, 508, 510, 517; no. 186, fols. 696, 700–1, 707, 710, 713, 717, 720 (4,000), 722 (60,000); no. 189, fols. 753, 755–60; EKPES, Series AH, no. 6, fols. 28v (4,000), 33 (40,000); NRA, fasc. 1462, no. 38, fols. 9 (4,000), 10, 12, 15, 19 (40,000), 31 (multitude); Frenyó, *Pomarius Sámuel naplója*, 29 (40,000).

161 Turcica I. 144/2, fols. 75r–v, Interpretatio literarum Budae per correspondentiam transmissarum idiomate Sclavonico scriptarum (16 September 1672). The letter was the last in a series of three letters addressed to Habsburg resident Meninski; the other two have apparently not survived. The surviving letter reached the Aulic War Council via Komárom Fortress two weeks later. On 1 October 1672 the council discussed rumours that Balassa was in Budapest and Petrőczy in Uyvar (ibid., fol. 73r–v). The informant was a Slavic speaker, likely a Catholic, who wrote from an undisclosed location inside Upper Hungary or one of the Ottoman border fortresses. He relied on an Armenian merchant to relay his intelligence.

162 A November 1672 appeal by Szelepcsényi, Tamás Pálffy, Rottal, and Ádám Forgács, in Katona, 34: 59–62, esp. 60 ("Fictas in Hungariam evulgantes litteras"). See also Bethlen, 501, 503 ("Csábítottak sok ezer magyart, hogy csatlakozott a háborúhoz és azokat is nyilvánvaló pusztulásba sodorták").

163 Gergely 6, no. 266, Vér to Teleki (13 November 1672). Cf. the testimony of a resident of Medgyes (where Vér assembled troops), in EKPS, Series Q, no. 186, fol. 713 ("Audivit passim a militibus gregariis habuisse illos fiduciam in Turcis"). Mihály Vér, the former vice-captain of Kálló Fortress, played a prominent role in the revolt, see Gergely 6, nos. 195, 217, 226, 240, 250, 259.

164 "De gemoederen daermede ingenomen syn, dat het Turkse jock lighter te draghen als de woedende raserije van vervolginghe der Roomse geestelickheit" (Bruyninx, A2, 28 October 1672, fol. 1v). On pastors seeking the protection of Ottoman strongmen, see ibid., 25 September 1672, fol. 1v.

165 "Totam illam planitiem circa Enyiczke sitam phalanges eorum compleverant,

horribilis eorum erat unanimis exclamatio cum in nostros irruerent, multis eorum perhibentur Turcicum Alla exclamasse" (MNL OL, E244, September 1672, fol. 27v).

166 Hungarica 180 D, no. 4, fols. 11–14, István Barkóczy to Szelepcsényi (28 November 1672), esp. 11 ("Onodienses rebelles confiniarii, hinc inde congregati, … imprimis Vigiliam Onodiensem decolarunt, postmodum descendentes ex equis, pedites in oppidum intrarunt, ibique Turcice Allam clamantes, quod fideles Catholicos trucidare velint, aliquos S. M. praesidarios, qui ibi condescenderant decolarunt, plures vulnerarunt") and 12 ("Bementenek es nagi Alla kiáltassal fel kiáltvan az Papistakat vagiuk"). Barkóczy wrote this under the immediate impression of events. Cf. MNL OL, E254, November 1672, no. 124, István Pethő to ZK (26 November). For Ottoman soldiers' invocation of Allah during battle, see Rylands Library, Special Collections, R166595, Guillet de Saint-Georges, *Account of Late Voyage*, 389 ("At those times the word Alla is always in their mouths").

167 NRA, fasc. 1744, no. 65, fols. 2–11, Fassiones captivorum (27 December 1672), esp. 7, 10, Testimonies of Pál Illyési from Nagykinizs (Gönc district, Abaúj County) and Samuel Székely from Kassamindszent (Kassa district).

168 EKPS, Serie Q, no. 148, fol. 394, Witness 9 (Ferenc Usz). Other testimonies confirmed the observations of the Catholic noble Usz, ibid., fols. 392, 472 ("Nonnulli habito Turcico larvato induti fideles Suae Majestatis ubique persequebantur"); no. 186, fol. 708 ("More Turcico sindones pileos obduxerunt et in capite portarunt"); EKPES, Series AH, no. 6, fol. 34v; NRA, fasc. 1462, no. 38, fol. 21; Hungarica 293 E, fols. 123r–v, 132r–v, Puncta examinis captivorum rebellium Hungarorum Stephani Dayka Uyheliensis et alterius Sakany Onodiensis (n.d.), esp. 132 ("Ob quem finem faciunt sibi Turcicas comas rebelles?"); 124–9v, Fassio captivi rebellis Stephani Dayka (n.d.), esp. 128.

169 NRA, fasc. 1744, no. 64, fols. 46–8 (Nagysáros); NRA, fasc. 1744, no. 63, Investigation by Lelesz Convent (June–July 1672; processed by ZK on 9 December 1673), fols. 5–27 (Zemplén and Ung counties); EKPS, Series Q, no. 186, fols. 681–722 (Abaúj, Zemplén, Szatmár, and Szepes counties).

170 NRA, fasc. 1744, no. 54, fol. 15 ("Communiter dicentes … communitatis homines rebelles esse cum multis millibus Turcarum adeo potentes"); EKPES, Series AH, no. 44, fols. 116v–117 (including Nodifer's prominent role in the plunder of churches and attacks on Franciscan friars); NRA, fasc. 1462, no. 38, fol. 28 (here identified as Nodifey and as an associate of the Slavic pastor's son). On rumours that 6,000 Transylvanian troops were approaching, see NRA, fasc. 1462, no. 38, fol. 9.

171 NRA, fasc. 1744, no. 64, fols. 52–3, 56, 65–7.

172 Hungarica 325 B, fols. 122–3v, Pethő to Forgács (21 September 1672); EKPES, Series AH, no. 6, Relatio inquisitionis pro parte Fisci peractae (20 March 1673),

fol. 28v; NRA, fasc. 1462, no. 38, fols. 9–12, 21, 27, 32; fasc. 1744, no. 54, fols. 7, 11, 17–19, esp. 19 ("Leopoldus kurva légyen az annya az Eördögh lelkünek mint Spankoval edgyüt") (with some confusion whether Pika's first name was Sebastian or Gáspár); KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fol. 736v (October, n.d.) ("Des Pika Schreiben an Eperies"); Frenyó, *Pomarius Sámuel naplója*, 29; ÖNB, Codex 12069, Literae Annuae 1672, fols. 17–18 (Pika as a student of the Kassa Jesuit College). On Pika's female relatives, see NRA, fasc. 1462, no. 38, fol. 18 (Zuzanna and Margaretha Pika).

173 See, for example, NRA, fasc. 1744, no. 64, fols. 8, 56, 64. Cf. the alleged correspondence of the pastor of Leutschau with Prince Ghica of Wallachia, in KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fol. 478v, no. 220, HKR to István Csáky (25 September).

174 Pauler, "A bujdosók," 13–14; EKPS, Series Q, no. 148, fol. 392; no. 186, fols. 704, 708, 713, 755; Hungarica 180 D, fol. 11v ("Isti rebelles … in partibus Turcicis manent et illinc cum praedicantibus et studiosis Calvinisticis excurrent"); 12 (participation in battle) (based on reconnaissance gathered by István Barkóczy).

175 On pastors Georgius Dulovics (Tótfalu) and Agoston Serpilius (Késmárk Fortress), see MNL OL, E210, cs. 45, t. 9, no. 49, fols. 197–204, Investigation of Szepes Cathedral Chapter (early 1674), esp. 201, 202v; S.Varga, *Az 1674-es gályarabper jegyzőkönyve*, 159. On Blasius, see ibid., fols. 201v, 202v; EKPS, Series Q, no. 148, fols. 499, 502, 507, 518 (calling for return of Imre Thököly).

176 On the singing of Luther's cantata "Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort" (BWV 126), in NRA, fasc. 1744, no. 64, fols. 8, 10–11, 20, 25, 27–8. Cf. Bruyninx, A 2, 25 September 1672, fol. 1v; OSZK, Manuscript Repository, RMK III. 2745, Guenther, *Christianus persecutionem patiens*, p. 16 (on Devil and archenemy of Christendom); RMK III. 2902, Klesch, *Dornburg*, pp. A4, C4; RMK III. 2954, Pilárik, *Currus Jehovae*, p. B II–IV v (on Ottoman plunder and pillage); Pilárik, "Turcico-Tartarica crudelitas."

177 MNL OL, G10, fols. 124–5v, Attestatoriarum Venerabilis Capituli Veszpremiensis ad instantiam Fisci Regii … collectarum … genuinae continentiae (n.d.) (hereafter Veszprém); 125v–128v, Literarum attestatoriarum venerabilis conventus Csornensis … summariae continentiae (n d.) (hereafter Pápa). The investigations included more than 300 witnesses (at least 182 in Veszprém and 157 in Pápa). The original testimonies have apparently not survived. The "attestations" assembled by church officials are very selective and clearly focus on popular attitudes towards Ottomans and Upper Hungarian rebels. But they still represent a wide spectrum of eyewitnesses, including women, artisans, and garrison soldiers. The "attestations" were then further edited to indict the Protestant clergy during the 1674 Pozsony Tribunal (see next chapter). The tribunal version was blatantly manipulated as it placed heavy emphasis on the Protestant clergy's presumed Turcophilia and attributed the agency of ordinary men and women entirely to the clergy's leadership. Cf. EPL AEV, Sect. 1/7, fasc. 149,

no. 1790/4, fols. 41–216, Processus Szelepcsenyianus contra praedicantes in facto rebellionis (1674–75, n.d.), esp. 140–72. The text was published in S. Varga, *Az 1674-es gályarabper jegyzőkönyve*, 147–228, esp. 196–210. A critical edition based on a comparison with other known manuscript copies (ibid., 17–21) is still missing. The original investigations in Veszprém and Pápa were conducted in 1673 as indicated in EPL AEV, ibid., fol. 149 and S. Varga, ibid., 200 (Witness 49).

178 Gergely 6, no. 264, Szepessy to Teleki (5 November 1672), p. 396. See also ibid., no. 252, Wesselényi to Teleki (18 October 1672) (about contacts with Lower Hungarian counties and rumours that Croats would join as well); Hungarica 293 E, fol. 127 (István Dayka testimony); also Gergely 6, nos. 220, 226, 250. On rumours of rebel troops advancing into Lower Hungary, see KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fols. 714v, 741v, 765 (reports by Cobb, Schultz, and Strassoldo dated 1, 20 October and November, n.d.).

179 KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fols. 213, 678, 678v, 682 (Tyrnau), 682 (Pozsony); 716, 724, 741v (Neusohl), 723, 732v (Breznóbánya); Reg. Prot. 1672, fols. 474v–475v (Tyrnau). On the circulation of rebel letters in Sopron County, see Pápa, Witness 144; S. Varga, *Az 1674-es gályarabper jegyzőkönyve*, 204–5.

180 KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fols. 650v, 655r–v, 661, 665, 668, 685v, 698, 765, 840v (Bergstätter Granitz); 654 (Győr); 654r–v, 659, 665, 708v, 720v (Komárom); 665 (Neutra); 854 (Korpona); Reg. Prot. 1672, fols. 459, no. 134, de Suys to HKR (15 September) (rebel correspondences with Ilowa [Illove], Lietava, Likava, and Árva fortresses); 493v, 497, nos. 77–9 (Neutra); 496v, 522 (Bergstätter Granitz); 611 ("Über gestilten Tumult zu Kärpfen [Korpona]").

181 KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fol. 653v, Pál Esterházy to HKR (16 September) ("Die Huszaren [der Bergstätter Granitz] sich zu denen Rebellen geschlagen"); on defectors from the Jung Holstein regiment, see ibid., fol. 724v (13 October 1672) ("Daß etliche Reutter von Jung Holsteinischen Regiment zu denen Rebellen übergegangen"). They apparently had not been paid (KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fols. 514, no. 273; 539v, no. 2). On soldiers from Győr in the rebel army, see Gergely 6, no. 264, p. 397.

182 KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fols. 728v, 730v, 731, 735v–36, nos. 108, 125, 129, 165, de Suys to HKR (7–18 October). Also ibid., fols. 766, 773v, 819v–20; Reg. Prot. 1672, fols. 473, nos. 187–90 (22 September); 476v, 493v, 498, nos. 86–7; 505, 509, 512v, nos. 266–7 (17 October); 524, 525, nos. 331–2 ("Daß die Rebellen aus Ober Hungarn auch die Gespannschaft Trinchin feindlich anzugreifen und die Teutschen Soldaten zu verfolgen suchen"), 526v–527, 569. On the dispatch of rebel recruiters to Trencsén County, see MNL OL, E244, October 1672, fol. 26, ZK to Sivchics [sic] (31 October).

183 KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fol. 495, no. 62, HKR to Hofkirchen (6 October); Szabó, nos. 231, 253, 256, 265. On the purge, see KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fols. 496, no. 56; 499v, no. 96.

184 Veszprém, Witnesses 17, 56, 88, 123, 179; Pápa, Witnesses 3, 6, 36, 40, 42, 58, 74, 76, 80, 110, 155. On the dispatch of money to Upper Hungarian rebels, see Veszprém, Witness 1; Pápa, Witnesses 72, 78, 105.

185 Pápa, Witnesses 6 (women), 19 (children), 26, 33–5, 39, 53, 55, 90, 138–9, 142; Veszprém, Witnesses 4 ("Örömest is hirdettek, hogy levágtak az Csaszár népét"), 18, 32, 52 ("Audivit communiter a plebe expectare rebelles"), 56, 99, 123.

186 Pápa, Witnesses 6 (women and students), 76, 80 (students); Veszprém, Witnesses 1, 6, 19, 71, 83 (guilds), 130; S. Varga, *Az 1674-es gályarabper jegyzőkönyve*, 202. Soldiers apparently also drank to the health and success of the rebels, see S. Varga, ibid., 208–9 (Witness 80). On Kassa, see MNL OL, P507, fasc. 18, no. 667, fols. 18r–v, István Kálmánczay to Rottal (6 September 1672), fol. 18 ("Hanem a kompanok hoszu köntöst veselvén Janczar forman vannak szekereken vontattjak magokat es ugi a köszéget rémétik").

187 Pápa, Witness 110; Veszprém, Witnesses 1, 96, 119; S. Varga, *Az 1674-es gályarabper jegyzőkönyve*, 202–3. Soldiers from Veszprém apparently also helped evaculate the pastor of Kőszeg (Vas County) onto Ottoman territory (Pápa, Witness 16). Cf. the later flight of two Veszprém soldiers to a nearby Ottoman fortress, in ÖNB, Codex 12073, Literae Annuae 1676, fols. 52–3.

188 Pápa, Witnesses 4, 11–12, 156 (strong belief in arrival of Transylvanian troops). A pastor led community prayers asking "that God bring the rebels soon" before it was too late (ibid., Witnesses 21–3).

189 Pápa, Witnesses 42, 56, 106 ("Hozd el Isten az Törököt"); Veszprém, Witnesses 1, 88, 90, 96, 105, 119. Investigators tried to pin locals' willingness "to become Turkish" to sermons of the Calvinist clergy (Veszprém, Witnesses, 88, 105; S. Varga, *Az 1674-es gályarabper jegyzőkönyve*, 209 [Witness 89]).

190 Veszprém, Witnesses 5, 16 (Turkish letters promising protection of pastors); Pápa, Witness 72 (sermon by pastor of Takácsi near Pápa). Pastors who had been expelled from their churches in Veszprém and nearby villages lived in the homes of Veszprém townsmen, see Veszprém, Witnesses 1, 3.

191 Pápa, Witness 3 (twelve pastors visit pasha of Kanizsa, one of them converted to Islam); Witness 55 (eighteen pastors to Buda); Witness 56 (unspecified delegation to Ottoman territory); Veszprém, Witnesses 1, 90 (rumours of 500 [!] fugitive pastors gathering on Ottoman territory in the village of Moha "to implore the Turks for help"). On Jesuit and other reports about refugee pastors' appeals for help to the Turkish authorities, see Molnár, *A katolikus egyház a hódolt Dunántúlon*, 154–5; Bruyninx, A2, 25 September 1672, fol. 1v; S.Varga, *Az 1674-es gályarabper jegyzőkönyve*, 54 (letter by Szelepcsényi to Mehmed Aga of Esztergom dated 20 January 1673); Szabó, no. 159 (pastors meeting with Turkish emissary); no. 319 (pastor returning to Veszprém from Ottoman territory). Cf. similar accusations against pastors from the fortress town of Komárom, in S. Varga, ibid., 81. On Bruyninx's observations about Ottoman protection of persecuted pastors, see chapter 6, notes 149–52.

192 S. Varga, *Az 1674-es gályarabper jegyzőkönyve*, 205; Veszprém, Witnesses 120, 157; Pápa, Witnesses 26, 37, 45, 104.

193 Pápa, Witnesses 49, 147, 152; Veszprém, Witnesses 1, 176.

194 MNL OL, E244, October 1672, fols. 36–7v, ZK to MK (28 October); E23, October 1672, fols. 15–16, Holló and Hartyányi to MK (28 October); Bruyninx, A2, 6 November 1672. General Strassoldo later reported that a large number of pastors was killed in the battle, see "Strasoldo levele," 451; Katona, 34: 242. The number of rebel casualties is based on official numbers ("1,000 et ultra," "1,300 et ultra," and 1,500) reported to Kassa and Vienna. The number cited here is probably not exaggerated: more than 500 peasants, students, and other ordinary men were systematically butchered outside Szatmár Fortress in a much smaller battle after Mihály Teleki and his cavalry had abandoned them, in MNL OL, E190, doboz 33, no. 8160, Löwen to Báthori (21 September 1672), fol. 131.

195 On the collapse of the uprising, see Pauler, "A bujdosók," 172–4; Turcica I. 144, fols. 102–5v, Leopold to Kindsberg and Cobb (4, 8 November 1672); Gergely 6, nos. 256, 279–80; Bethlen, 507–9. On impalements, see Plath, *Kaschauer Chronik*, 153; OSZK, Manuscript Repository, Quart. Germ., no. 94, Chronicon Eperjesiense, fols. 3, 5. Cf. Krones, "Zur Geschichte Ungarns," 455 (Kassa, 1 May 1675).

196 KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fols. 548v, no. 48, HKR to Sporck (8 November) ("Arvische Rebellen"); 556–8, nos. 85–6, HKR to Cobb and Sporck (17 November 1672) (Kálló, Medgyes, Nagybánya, Árva County); Exp. Prot. 1672, fols. 763, 769v–71, nos. 16, 66, 71, Esterházy, Spankau, and Cobb to HKR (5–6 November 1672) (Medgyes, Nagybánya, Eperjes). On the little-known Ruthenian revolt, see MNL OL, E245, 27. k., no. 2033 (7 November 1672); E254, November 1672, nos. 23–5, 36–7, 107; January 1673, nos. 13, 17; E244, December 1672, fols. 79, 156.

197 Turcica I. 144/2, fol. 89v ("Denen residenten auch von denen glücklichen successibus in Hungarn part zu geben") (Residentia Caesareana Viennae, 8 November 1672). On the shift from optimism to pessimism, see Bruyninx, A2, 6, 20, and 24 November 1672; Bijlaghen 2 (no pagination), 17 November 1672 vs A2, 15 and 25 December 1672; Bestanddeel 6 (no pagination), 25 December 1672; Óváry, nos. 2025–6, 2028, Chiaromanni (29 October, 6 and 12 November 1672) vs nos. 2034, 2039–40, 2051, 2053, 2055, 2060, Chiaromanni (27 November 1672–11 February 1673).

198 Cf. correspondence of HKR and General Heister with vizier of Buda, in Turcica I. 144/2, fols. 85–9 (6, 8 November 1672); 106–8v, Leopold to General Cobb (8 November 1672); Vanyó, no. 113 (13 November 1672).

199 Gergely 6, no. 258, Anna Bornemisza to Teleki (1 November 1672); no. 259, Vér to Teleki (2 November 1672); nos. 262–3, Baló and Dávid Rozsnyai to Teleki (5 November 1672); no. 269, Menyhért Keczer to Teleki (29 November 1672); Turcica I. 144/2, fols. 85–7, HKR to vizier of Buda; KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fols. 628r–v, no. 182, HKR to Kindsberg (30 December); Vanyó, no. 115 (4 December 1672).

200 Turcica I. 144/3, Kindsberg to Leopold I (12 January 1673), fol. 34r ("Mit

sechzehn Pottschaft … gefertigte creditivum schreiben"), 34v, 38–9v; Turkish-language memorandum (*memoriale*) handed to Köprülü by Szepessy and likely leaked to Resident Kindsberg by Habsburg spy Panaiotti, in Papp, "Petition," 456–7. The *memoriale* disguises the pashas' involvement ("We do not get any help from them"), which suggests the possibility that Hungary's Ottoman power brokers acted without Köprülü's support. I find this unlikely in light of the evidence cited in this study. Cf. Bartal, *Glossarium*, 182 ("Creditivum"); Weber, *Deutsch-Lateinisches Universal Wörterbuch*, 193 ("Creditivschreiben," "Credentzschreiben"); Jacobson, *Technologisches Wörterbuch*, 7: 348–9 ("das Pettschaft" ["Pottschaft"] derived from Slavic **pechat'* designating a stamp – usually with a family's coat of arms – used to seal important correspondence; not to be confused with the feminine "die Pottschaft" ["Botschaft"] which can mean "diplomatic legation").

201 Vanyó, no. 116 (8, 28 January 1673); Turcica I. 144/3, fol. 99v, Kindberg (20 February 1673); I. 145/1, fols. 12, 20v, Kindsberg (13 April 1673). The court quickly learned about the role of Ottoman soldiers, in MNL OL Filmtár, X7027 (E21), September 1672, fol. 15 (12 September 1672).

202 Hungarica 293 E, fol. 128, no. 20 (Boelor = Boehler).

203 Turcica I. 144/1, fol. 130v, General Spankau to HKR (5 September 1672); KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fols. 575r–v, no. 161, HKR to Cobb and Spankau (26 November); I. 144/2, fol. 119 ("Etliche untermischte Tirkhen [sic]"); Hungarica 180 D, no. 4, fols. 11–14, István Barkóczy to Szelepcsényi (28 November 1672), esp. 11v (*pribek* named Bodor); Óváry, nos. 2053, 2067, Chiaromanni (8 January, 5 March 1673).

204 Cf. Gergely 6, no. 270, Bánffy to Teleki (1 December 1672) (Temesvár); Turcica I. 142/3, fol. 96v; I. 143/2, fol. 101; I. 144/2, fol. 75; I. 145/1, fol. 170v (Kanizsa); Turcica I. 144/2, fols. 73v–74, 124, 128v; Bruyninx, A2, 9 October 1672; MNL OL, E254, December 1672, no. 57 (Uyvar).

205 Cf. correspondence between vizier of Buda and HKR, in Turcica I. 144/1, fols. 198–9v (28 September 1672), esp. 198r–v; I. 144/2, fols. 59 (18 October 1672), 70 (23 October 1672).

206 Gergely 6, no. 255, Kende and Szepessy to Teleki (27 October 1672), p. 382; Hungarica 325 B, fol. 131, Franciscan Ambrosius Ivankovich to his superior (25 November 1672) (Szepessy in Eger).

207 Óváry, nos. 2034, 2036, 2039, Chiaromani (27 November, 4 and 18 December 1672); MNL OL, E254, November 1672, nos. 124, 130 (26, 30 November).

208 Turcica I. 143/3, fols. 95–9v, Rudolph Dane Relation über seine … biß auf Timarova verrichten Raiß (4 October 1672), esp. 97v (entries dated 23–4 September 1672 from Belgrade and another nearby town); I. 144/3, fols. 8r–v, 21–7, Meninski to HKR (late December 1672, n.d.), esp. 8v, 21v (Buda); Gergely 6, no. 270, Bánffy to Teleki (1 December 1672), p. 407. Ottoman soldiers in border fortresses and Buda talked about the coming war, see Hungarica 325 B, fols. 131r–v

(25 November 1672). Cf. also the curiosity of Turkish border commanders about whether Habsburg forces dispatched to the Reich were still at peace with France, in KA AFA 1673, fasc. 1, no. 1, Bishop György Szécsényi to Montecuccoli (Győr, 2 January), fol. 1.

209 KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fol. 591v, no. 31, HKR to Meninski (9 December); Turcica I. 145/1, fol. 125, HKR to Meninski (8 December 1672) ("Ihr feindliches attentatum auff die in dem jüngsten frieden expresse vorbehaltene orth und Spanschaften gerichtet ist").

210 Cf. Turcica I. 144/3, fols. 46–50, HKR to Kindsberg (12 January 1673); 102–3, Szuhay to pasha of Varad (25 January 1673), esp. 102v. Szuhay wore this charter around his neck on a silken cord while other similar "Turkish patents" circulated among rank-and-file soldiers and animated them (*mit Türkischen Patenten animiert*) to continue the fight even after Györke (ibid., fols. 49–50).

211 Cf. Ottoman land grab in Lower Hungary, in KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fols. 773v, 779–80, nos. 87–8, 139, 145–7 (November); 826, 849, nos. 15, 217 (December) near Trencsén, Leopoldstadt, Schemnitz, and Bergstädte.

212 On Emperor Leopold's concerns, see chapter 4, note 44 and chapter 8, notes 33, 36.

213 Turcica I. 144/1, fols. 106–18, Kindsberg to HKR (8 November 1672), esp. 112v–113v, 115r–v. Panaiotti added that "these evil people … must be exterminated by the sword without mercy" before it was too late (ibid., fol. 115r). Cf. Turcica I. 144/2, fols. 41–2v, 51–2v, Kindsberg to HKR (14 October 1672), esp. 42, 52; 133–8, Leopold to Kindsberg (30 December 1672), esp. 133, 135v; KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fol. 628, no. 182, HKR to Kindsberg (30 December).

214 In the memo handed to Köprülü Upper Hungarian rebel leaders expressed confusion that the Ottomans did not intervene, in Papp, "Petition," 456.

215 Undated warning to Prince Apafi of Transylvania by Rottal, Szelepcsényi, Pálffy, and Forgács (November 1672, n.d.), in Bethlen, 500–2; Katona, 34: 59–62.

216 Turcica I. 144/1, fol. 107, Kindsberg (8 November 1672); I. 144/2, fols. 5, 42, Kindsberg (2, 14 October 1672); 52, Casanova (15 October 1672); Woliński, "Wojna polsko-turecka," 333–5; Óváry, no. 2051, Chiaromanni (1 January 1673). The most stunning denial came in early April 1673. Köprülü cited a report by his plenipotentiary who had been charged with investigating and punishing border soldiers: "So hat er viel mehrers des Capiggi Passi überbrachten falschen lamentationen, als meinen Klagen, glauben beÿgemessen, mit vermelden, es seÿe unmüglich, daß die Türken mit denen rebellen, zu wider seinen Verordnungen, sich etlich mall conjungiert, und E.K.M. landt, und Gränitzen überfallen, zumallen er sie abgeschafft, und sich ihrer nicht annembe" (Turcica I. 145/1, fol. 1v, Kindsberg [6 April 1673]). Cf. also ibid., fols. 21r–v, 22v, 28, 32v, Kindsberg (13 April 1672).

217 Turcica I. 144/2, fols. 119–20, Kindsberg to HKR (29 November 1672), esp. 120

("Mir solche mit einem Schreiben an den Groß Vesier … hereinzuschicken, damit ich auf gebierende bestrafung … mit solcher lebendigen zeügnis, umb soviel nachsetzlicher insistieren khünne").

218 Turcica I. 144/3, fol. 38v, Kindsberg (12 January 1673). Cf. Turcica I. 144/1, fol. 146, Kindsberg (8 September 1672); Gergely 6, nos. 245, 262, 284, Baló to Teleki (16 October, 5 November 1672; 1 February 1673); nos. 247, 251, Bánffy to Teleki (18 October 1672) (summarizing letters from Baló about his meetings with the sultan and Köprülü).

219 On Köprülü's top-secret meeting with Szepessy after the official 4 January 1673 reception, see Bethlen, 522–5, quotation 523. I disagree with Sándor Papp, who discounts the importance of this meeting and states categorically that "the attitude of the Porte was completely dismissive" (Papp, "Petition," 442, 451). On rebel emissaries' conscious avoidance of Habsburg spies, see Deak, *A bujdosók levéltára*, 228; Turcica I. 140/1, fols. 217v–18, Panaiotti to Casanova (22 March 1668); I. 142/1, fols. 63, Casanova to HKR (3 March 1670); 64r–v (2nd pagination), Panaiotti to Casanova (14 January 1670); I. 145/1, fol. 139r–v, Kindsberg to Leopold (1 May 1673) on Apafi communicating directly with Köprülü in Turkish so that Panaiotti would not be involved.

220 Turcica I. 144/3, fol. 82v, Kindsberg (26 January 1673). Szepessy returned in late April 1673 with fifteen others, in Turcica I. 145/1, fols. 147r–v, Kindsberg (1 May 1673). See also Turcica I. 144/3, fols. 112r–v, Kindsberg to Dorsch (20 February 1673) on a plot proposed by Panaiotti to "avoid a major war and bloodshed" by murdering Szepessy and four other rebel leaders "who were constantly overrunning [*überlaufen ohne Unterlaß*] the Ottoman Porte" (ibid., 112r).

221 Turcica I. 144/3, fols. 82–90v, Kindsberg to HKR (26 January 1673), esp. 82r–v; 99–103v, Kindsberg to HKR (20 February 1673), esp. 99r–v; 116, 118–19v, Leopold to Kindsberg (28 February 1673), esp. 118 ("Gleichwohl in dessen gegenwarth undt ansehen die Rebellen anjetzo widerumben ihr refugium in das Türkische genomben, dem letzteren einfall auch sie Türkhen abermahlen selbsten beygewohnet").

222 For a good glimpse of Casanova's impossible quest to uncover "the Hungarian Secret," see chapter 3, note 7.

223 Other puzzling questions arose from Köprülü's questioning of Kindsberg about the location of the Habsburg army in the Reich, his repeated urging that Emperor Leopold go to war against the French, and his insistence that the emperor need not worry about the Ottoman army at the Hungarian borders. To these one can add emerging evidence of French-Ottoman collusion that raised the specter of a war on two fronts. This was a potential outcome that Köprülü very much downplayed even though he allowed French residents of Galata to conduct boisterous celebrations of French victories in the Netherlands, in Turcica I. 144/2, fols. 1v, Casanova (1 October 1672); 5, Kindsberg (2 October 1672); 123v,

Leopold to Kindsberg (2 December 1672 ("Nachdenkliche reden des Groß Vesiers"); I. 144/3, fols. 35v, 84, Kindsberg (12, 26 January 1673); Bruyninx, A2, 6 November, 26 December 1672 (on a French undercover agent killed in Upper Hungary and the rebels' alleged incitement by the French Crown); NA, Algemeen Rijksarchief, Eerste Afdeling, Legatie Turkije, Bestandeel 1, fols. 97–101 (dispatches dated 14 January, 10 March, 10 April, and 19 June 1673).

224 Turcica I. 144/1, fols. 111r–v, Kindsberg (8 November 1672); Woliński, "Wojna polsko-turecka," 335. Rumours of troubles in Persia, Arabia, and Iraq turned out to be unfounded, in ibid., I. 145/1, fols. 31v–32, Kindsberg (13 April 1673).

225 Turcica I. 143/3, Dane Relation (4 October 1672), fol. 97v citing an alleged statement by Köprülü that he wanted to take Vienna ("Mein mitgehabter Tschauss, so zwey monath im lager und auch nach eroberung in Cameniz gewesen, hatt mir gesagt, daß der Groß Vesir einen Gränizer, so offt Wien gesehen, zu sich rüeffen [sic] lassen und ihm befohlen Cameniz zu besichtigen, ihne befragend welches vester seÿe Cameniz oder Wien, er antworttete, Cameniz, worauff der Vesir sagte, daß er sich auch an Wienen rechnen [sic] wollte").

226 Turcica I. 144/3, fols. 114v, Excerpts from an undated report to Emperor Leopold (21 March 1673) ("Legit et approbavit Sua Majestas in Schönbrunn"); 124–5v, Leopold to Kindsberg (22 March 1673); I. 145/1, fol. 13, Kindsberg (13 April 1673).

227 Óváry, no. 2053, Chiaromanni (8 January 1673), p. 338; Hungarica 180 D, no. 6, Ádám Czobor to Szelepcsényi (19 December 1672), esp. fol. 22.

228 Makkai, *A felsőtiszavidéki parasztfelkelés*; Reizner, "A Császár-féle felső-magyarországi pórlázadás okmanytára."

229 Michels, "Rituals of violence"; Zagorin, *Provincial Rebellion*, esp. 51–86, 130–86.

230 This certainly was Count Rottal's fear, in Katona, 34: 62 ("Viennam confestim obsidione cingere, eaque expugnata, novam illic constituere imperii sedem"). Cf. Born and Jagodzinski, *Türkenkriege und Adelskultur*, 224 (Gulyás Borbála citing rhetoric commonly used to mobilize European Christians against the Ottomans ["Gegen den bluedthunden und Erbfeindt der Christenheit"]).

231 Hungarica 180 D, no. 2, fols. 5–8v, Hartyányi to Szelepcsényi (23 November 1672); no. 3, fols. 9–10v, Márton Kászonyi to Szelepcsényi (24 November 1672); Turcica I. 144/1, fols. 200r–v, HKR (30 December 1672); Óváry, no. 2044, Anonymous Italian tract on how to avert disaster in Hungary (1672, n.d.); no. 2047, Proposal on military preparations for war against the Turks (1672, n.d.); KA AFA 1673, fasc. 1, no. 1, Szécsényi to Montecuccoli (2 January), fol. 1 ("Turcae saltem occulte [rebellibus] favebunt. Hinc postea orietur apertum bellum").

232 "Hab ich von vielen gehört, daß man auf künfftigen frühling auf Danzig und Wien loßgehen werde, nach welchen letzen sie ohne einen ihmerwehrenden durst tragen, Gott verleÿhe einigkeit der Christenheit … Sie machen große praeparatorien für den frühling" (Turcica I. 143/3, Dane Relation, fol. 98v). Cf.

Turcica I. 144/1, fols. 95 ("Ein solches frohlocken, daß sie vermainen, die ganze Christenheit fürchte sich vor ihnen"); 141 ("[Dem Sultan] hochmütige Gedankhen weiter einzugreiffen eingeblasen haben"); Woliński, "Wojna polsko turecka," 327 ("Non scriver la superbia, che hanno li Turchi"), 328, 330–1; Gergely 6, nos. 193, 198, 215, 275. On Ottoman bluster about seizing Danzig and advancing all the way into Prussia, see Kołodziejczyk, *Podole*, 48; Wagner, *Wojna polsko-turecka*, 2: 219.

233 Bruyninx, Bestanddeel 6, 1 January 1673; Turcica I. 144/3, fol. 36, Kindsberg (12 January 1673); KA AFA, 1673, fasc. 1, no. 1, fol. 1 ("Spargebantur pessimi quique rumores sine enim fundamento").

234 Turcica I. 144/2, Leopold to Kindsberg (30 December 1672), fols. 135v–136 (Kindsberg is to tell Köprülü that imperial troops deployed to Germany would not fight the French and could easily be returned); I. 145/1, fol. 128, Leopold I (23 April 1673); Bruyninx, A2, 2 October 1672; Bestanddeel 6, 25 December 1672. Cf. KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fol. 216, Kaiserliches Schreiben an den König in Frankreich (24 September). The Ottoman threat explains why the Habsburg army on the Rhine did not intervene in the Netherlands, in Redlich, *Weltmacht des Barock*, 112; Panhuysen, *Rampjaar 1672*, chapter 16 ("Verraden en verlaten"), esp. 316.

235 Turcica I. 144/2, fols. 39, 103, 107, 138, Leopold to Kindsberg and General Cobb (13 October, 4 and 8 November, 30 December 1672); Bruyninx, A2, 20 November, 15 December 1672 ("Wervinghe"); KA AFA 1672, fasc. 13, no. 2, Aus den Mährischen Statthalterei Acten (n.d.); no. 1, Zuvorgreiflicher Entwurf, was von dem Kays. Exercitu im Königreich Hungarn auch denen anderen Erblanden gelassen und zu veld geführt werden könnte (1673, n.d.); KA Exp. Prot. 1672, fols. 773–5v, nos. 84–5, 87 ("Musterung," "Werbegelder," "Regimentsversorgungsquota"); 89–90, 93, 95, 103 (Bohemian Court Chancellery: recruitment, defense measures in Silesia and Moravia, provisions), 98–9, 106 (Komárom, Győr, Neusohl) (November); KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fols. 595, 606–7, 627r–v, nos. 34, 50, 101–4, 181 (border fortresses, provisions, payment, recruitment, repositioning of the Starhemberg regiment in Lower Austria and Moravia) (December). Cf. ibid., fol. 629, no. 185, HKR to Leopold and Bohemian Court Chancellery (30 December): "Daß an der resolvierten werbung kein zeith mehr zuverliehren, umb die Länder zu disponieren … Guttmachung denen sambentlichen Völckern, sonderlich denen in Hungarn stehenden, daß ihrige monatlich anticipate [sic]."

CHAPTER EIGHT

1 Hungarica 328 B (ex fasc. 288), fols. 43–52v, Protocol of Secret Council meeting (24 February 1673), esp. 43r, 44r. The councilors likely had in mind the 1627–28 (or 1632) Bohemian revolt which, unlike the elite revolt of 1618, involved signifi-

cant popular participation. On the Bohemian revolts, see Koči, "Klassenkämpfe," esp. 342, 347–8; on the Naples revolt, see Duggan, *Concise History of Italy*, 74–5.

2 Hungarica 328 B, fols. 44r–v, 46v, 47v–48v, 50r.

3 Ibid., fols. 45r, 47r ("Ihnen das compelle zuzaigen und zu solchen end zimblich armiert zustehen … Die Regimenter wären zu complieren … und die haltbare plätz mit leidentlicher guarnison zu besetzen"), 49v, 51r. Interestingly enough, the council urged replacing German troops with Croats and Hungarians (ibid., fol. 51r).

4 Ibid., fols. 43r–v ("Die gehorsambiste conferenz hat befunden, daß Euer Kaÿ. Maÿ. und der ganzen Christenheit daran gelegen, das Königreich Hungarn omni possibili modo in eine ruhe und tranquillitet zusetzen").

5 Montecuccoli, "Ungarn im Jahre 1677," in Veltzé, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 3: 421–72, esp. 461, 464, 467, 469.

6 Ibid., 447–8, 462–4, 467.

7 Hungarica 328 C, fols. 15–23v, Bársony to Leopold I (26 March 1677) (in German and Latin), esp. 17v–18 ("[Turca] dat iisdem libertatem et facultatem excurrendi, et depopulandi ditionem M. V., quo nefario illorum facto postmodum de die in diem numerus eorundem in tantum excrevit"). Cf. KA AFA 1673, fasc. 8, no. 1, Tamás Pálffy to Montecuccoli (10 August).

8 On "the common man," see Hungarica 328 C, fol. 15r.

9 Montecuccoli, "Ungarn im Jahre 1677," 459–61, 465–7, 469–71.

10 Hungarica 328 C, fols. 20, 22; 328 D, fols. 13–26v, 3tes Guetachten und Vorstellung des [sic] H. Baron Zehetner und H. Baron von Wallsegg: welcher gestalten die Rebellen in Ober Hungarn am besten in der guethe oder mit der schärpffe gedämpfft und zum gehorsamb gebracht werden möchten (December 1676, n.d.), esp. 17v.

11 The sultan and his grandiose visions of turning Poland into an Ottoman vassal state provided the initial impetus for the war: "Außer des Sultans alle Türkhen den Krieg wider Pohlen scheühen, und so viel ich in gehaimb vernimbe … [inclinieren sie] sich auf alle mügliche waiß des Polnischen Kriegs zuentziehen" (Turcica I. 145/2, Kindsberg [2 June 1673], fols. 5v–6); Baer, *Honored by the Glory of Islam*, 163–4; Doroshenko and Rypka, "Hejtman Petr Doroshenko," 36, 38; Wagner, *Wojna polsko-turecka*, 1: 207–8. On discontent at the Porte and in the Ottoman army, see Turcica I. 145/2, fol. 21v ("Hörte man von den vornehmen Türkhen große lamentationen"); Gergely 6, no. 305 (Janissary deserters hiding in Transylvania in April 1673); Woliński, "Wojna polsko-turecka," 353–5; Kołodziejczyk, *Podole*, 73–4 (complaints by Anatolian troops), 78 (hungry soldiers). *Kaymakam* Kara Mustafa played a major role in getting the Ottomans embroiled in the Polish war despite Köprülü's purge of the *kaymakam*'s clients after Candia, in Wasiucionek, *Ottomans and Eastern Europe*, 145–6;

Kołodziejczyk, *Podole*, 48, 50–1, 53; Wagner, *Wojna polsko-turecka*, 1: 128–9; Kochegarov, *Ukraina i Rossiia*, 10, 12, 27. Köprülü was eager to end the Polish war and launch an invasion of Hungary (as argued here and confirmed by evidence cited in Wagner, ibid., 1: 319; 2: 51, 65, 219, 228–9; Kochegarov, ibid., 28). Too little is known about the Ukrainian-Polish-Russian-Ottoman nexus under Köprülü, as noted in Kochegarov, ibid., 9 ("The history … remains insuffiently researched mainly due to the absence of a … systematic source base").

12 For the main events of the Ottoman-Polish war, see Davies, *Warfare*, 155–9. For a dissenting view urging study of Russian archives, see Smirnov, *Rossiia i Turtsiia*, 2: 38, 57 (calling for studies of Russia's role in diminishing the Ottoman Empire's military strength).

13 KA AFA 1673, fasc. 4, no. 7, Rom to Montecuccoli (Warsaw, 12 April); no. 7b, Unnamed Lithuanian dignitary (*judex Orshensis*) to Montecuccoli (Moscow, 18 March); fasc. 5, no. 3, Consiglio di Guerra (4 May), fol. 176; Turcica I. 145/1, fols. 12–36v, Kindsberg to HKR (10 April 1673), esp. 17–19 (including spy reports and letters intercepted by Doroshenko). Cf. Smirnov, *Rossiia i Turtsiia*, 2: 11–14 (citing unstudied archival evidence).

14 Turcica I. 145/4, fols. 176–83 (18 June 1674), esp. 178. On French intrigues and Köprülü's distrust of the French, see ibid., I. 145/1, fols. 142r–v, 173v–174; I. 145/2, fols. 81v–82; I. 145/3, fol. 61v; NA, Algemeen Rijksarchief, Eerste Afdeling, Legatie Turkije, Bestandeel 1, fols. 109–11, 117–19, 125, 127 (March 1674–January 1675). For an introduction to the French strategy in East Central Europe, see Bérenger, "Louis XIV, l'Empereur et l'Europe de l'Est," esp. 188. On Habsburg efforts "to torpedo" Polish-Ottoman peace negotiations, see also Kołodziejczyk, *Podole*, 81; Wagner, *Wojna polsko-turecka*, 2: 220.

15 KA AFA 1673, fasc. 5, no. 3, Consiglio di Guerra (4 May), fols. 76r–v; fasc. 6, no. 1, Consiglio di Guerra (12 June), fol. 92; Turcica I. 145/4, fol. 179; Smirnov, *Rossiia i Turtsiia*, 2: 10–11. On the anti-Muslim and anti-Swedish character of the Polish-Russian alliance and its threat to the Ottoman Empire, see Wójcik, *Rzeczpospolita wobec Turcji*, 15, 17–18.

16 Turcica I. 145/1, fols. 127–8v, Leopold to Kindsberg (24 April 1673), esp. 127; 139–47v, Kindsberg to HKR (1 May 1673), esp. 145 ("Sie haben auch der Zeith keine ander intention alß die Polnischen und Moscovitischen händl duch güttlichen Vergleich, oder mit dem Schwerdt in ruhe zu bringen, nach welchen allen im fall sonst kein andere weithere Hinderung vorfallen, möchten sie ihre waffen unterm praetext der Rebellen wider umbzuwenden gedenkhen"). Similarly, see KA AFA 1673, fasc. 3, no. 1, Cobb to Montecuccoli (22 March); fasc. 4, no. 5, Cobb to Montecuccoli (11 April) ("Erwarten alle tage [gewissheit] … wo der Marsch der Türken hingehen soll. Vor gewiss aber wirdt angesagt, daß sie nacher Deutschland, vorhero aber die Gränitz posta angreifen werden"); fasc. 7, no. 6, Consiglio di Guerra (6 July).

17 KA AFA 1673, fasc. 4, no. 3b, Extractum ex literis … Gabrielis Perenii (7 April); no. 6, Cobb to Montecuccoli (12 April); no. 7a, Relatio nobilis cuiusdam Potuszinski qui venit ex Turcia (March–April, n.d.); fasc. 5, no. 7, Cobb (15 May) ("Turchi di Warad ed altri hanno ordine di tenersi pronti a marciare").

18 Ibid., fasc. 5, no. 3, Consiglio di Guerra (4 May), fol. 176 ("Extradirung dei rebelli non puo succedere. Turchi non vogliono acquietarsi al dovere. Tengono la pace per forza contra loro voglia, per l'impegno in Polonia"). Cf. ibid., fasc. 7, no. 6, Consiglio di Guerra (6 July) ("Polacchi potriano aggiustarsi col Turco, nel caso, potriano i Turchi vogliersi contra l'Ungheria mal soddisfata per la religione et per li tribute").

19 And when the "fake war" (*Scheinkrieg)* finally turned into a hot war in September 1673 Emperor Leopold remained eager "to arrange and stabilize a permanent universal peace [of Christian Europe] as soon as possible" to confront the Ottoman danger, in Turcica I. 145/3, fols. 58–61v, Leopold to Kindsberg (16 November 1673), esp. 60; I. 145/4, fols. 56–7v, Leopold to Kindsberg (21 February 1674), esp. 57. Cf. Redlich, *Weltmacht des Barock*, 112–14, 120–2; KA AFA 1673, fasc. 7, nos. 1–2, 6, Consiglio di Guerra (1, 6 July).

20 Ibid., no. 6, Consiglio di Guerra (6 July 1673); Turcica I. 145/2, fols. 1–6v, 13–17v, Kindsberg to Leopold (2 June 1673), esp. 4–5; I. 146/1, fols. 23–32v, Kindsberg to Leopold (6 August 1674), esp. 24r–v; I. 147/1, fols. 21–2v, 27r–v, Kindsberg to Leopold (11 January 1676), esp. 21. On meetings missed by Habsburg intelligence, see Bethlen, 522–5 (night 4–5 January 1673); Gergely 6, no. 364, Fábián Farkas to Teleki (10 November 1673).

21 Turcica I. 145/1, fols. 171–5v, Kindsberg to Leopold (14 May 1673), esp. 172r–v; I. 145/2, fols. 1–6v, 13–17v, Kindsberg to Leopold (2 June 1673), esp. 4v–5, 13 (based on the eyewitness report of Szepessy's translator György Brankovich). Szepessy was accompanied by Miklós Forgács, Gábor Kende, László Kubinyi, and Gáspár Péchy. Another noble identified as "Georgius Tiak" fell ill en route to Edirne (ibid., I. 145/1, fol. 171).

22 Turcica I. 147/2, fols. 1r–v, 4r–v, Kindsberg (2 July 1676), quotation 1v; Gergely 7, no. 202, Wesselényi to Teleki (29 July 1676), p. 277 (András Radics). On earlier meetings with the *kiaya*, see Turcica I. 145/2, fol. 96v, Kindsberg (12 September 1673); I. 145/4, fols. 155v–156, Kindsberg (6 May 1674); I. 146/1, fols. 11r–v, Kindsberg (3 July 1674); I. 146/2, fol. 18v, Kindsberg (7 February 1675); Gergely 6, no. 308 (7 May 1673); Gergely 7, nos. 103, 109 (13, 20 January 1676).

23 Cf. Turcica I. 145/1, fols. 1–2; I. 145/2, fols. 5, 13, 56v (food and drink), 86v, 87v (fodder, food, and other provisions for rebel army), 88v; I. 145/3, fol. 59v (food supplies, munitions, gun powder, and lead); I. 145/4, fol. 89 (money); Gergely 6, nos. 350, 354, 417; Gergely 7, nos. 63, 179.

24 Turcica I. 145/2, fols. 86–7v, HKR to Kindsberg (26 August 1673) with the attached testimony of a captured rebel. Cf. similarly Hungarica 177 A, fols. 45r–v,

Cobb to Colonel Schmidt (10 May 1673); KA AFA 1673, fasc. 6, no. 5, Schmidt to Montecuccoli (30 June), fol. 105 ("1,000 Rebellen sambt 100 Türkhen").

25 Turcica I. 145/3, fols. 8–9v, Leopold to Kindsberg (18 October 1673); I. 145/4, fols. 56–7v, Leopold to Kindsberg (21 February 1674); 91v, Commander of Diósgyőr to HKR (September 1673, n.d.); 91–2, Spankau to HKR (27 September, 29 October 1673).

26 Turcica I. 145/4, fol. 91v, no. 6, Commander of Kálló to HKR (22 September 1673).

27 Turcica I. 146/1, fols. 44r–v, Opinio des HKR (September 1674, n.d.); 68–70, HKR to Kindsberg (14 October 1674) (both texts take Schmidt's report at face value). For Schmidt's colourful report, see Hungarica 177 A, fols. 101–3v, Extractus [des] Schreibens von H. Obristen Schmidt (28 September 1674); KA Exp. Prot. 1674, fols. 623–4v, Spankau to HKR (17 September–2 October), esp. 624v (28 September).

28 Turcica I. 145/4, fols. 54–5v, Leopold to Meninski (21 February 1674); 56–7v, Leopold to Kindsberg (21 February 1674); 88–9v, Ad Supremum Vizierium Excelsae Portae Ottomanicae (12 December 1673), no. 6; 91–2v, Ad Supremum Vizierium (25 January 1674), nos. 3, 7. The Hungarian Chancellory was compiling lists of villages that had recognized the sultan's authority on both sides of the Vág River, in Turcica I. 145/4, fols. 144–5v, Leopold to Kindsberg (26 April 1674), esp. 145; KA Exp. Prot 1674, fols. 294v, no. 317, Pál Esterházy to HKR (12 May); 117, 313v–314, 337v–339, 406, *Huldigungen* by the pasha of Uyvar in February, May, and June 1674 (including intercepted *Huldigungsbriefe*).

29 Turcica I. 154/4, fols. 88r–v, nos. 2–3, 7 ("Strictissimam exigant decimam: immo aperte dicunt Imperatorem Turcicum potiorem esse Dominum Hungariae, quam sit Caesar"). Cf. Gergely 6, no. 434, Apafi to Teleki (27 August 1674), p. 329 ("Kiknek szándékok az volna, hogy – a mi nem volt soha ennekelőtt s meg sem engedtetett eddig nékiek – a hodoltságon a dézmát felszedjék"); KA AFA 1673, fasc. 6, nos. 1–2, Consiglio di Guerra (12, 15 June) about Turkish tribute imposed in Pozsony, Komárom, and Trencsén counties. *Decima* (*dézsma*) signified both the *Königszehnt* and the church tithe which was often claimed by county nobles after the Reformation, in Benczédi, "Predigerprozesse," 277; Tóth, "Old and New Faith," 212.

30 Turcica I. 145/4, fols. 78–80v, HKR to Meninski (28 February 1674); I. 146/1, Kindsberg (8 July 1674), fol. 19v. On Neutra's precarious situation, see ibid. I. 145/4, Kindsberg (22 March 1674), fol. 99v (*Huldigungen* nearby); KA AFA 1673, fasc. 10, no. 2, Letter to Montecuccoli (Neutra, 16 October). On Gutta and Lewenz, see Turcica I. 146/1, fols. 42–3v, Kindsberg (13 August 1674); I. 147/1, fol. 71, Kindsberg (2 April 1676). On Ottoman troops outside Leopoldstadt, Korpona, Kistapolcsány, and Sempte (Schinta), see I. 145/4, fol. 88v, Ad Supremum Vizierium (12 December 1673), nos. 5, 8; KA AFA 1673, fasc. 7, no. 2, Consiglio di

Guerra (1 July). On similar operations near Pápa, Győr, and Komárom, see Gergely 6, no. 330 (15 August 1673).

31 KA Exp. Prot. 1674, fols. 433r–v, no. 234, Spankau to HKR (4 July); 536, no. 12, Spankau to HKR (22, 25 August) ("Die Türkhen hörten nit auf mit der Huldigung in der Gespanschaft Zoboszlo [Szabolcs]"); 624, István Csáky to Spankau (22 September) ("Daß sie beide Gespanschaften Szatmar und Szoboszlo von denen Türkhen für ihr quartier erhalten"); 624v, Spankau to HKR (26 September) (*Huldigungsbriefe* dispatched from Varad); Turcica I. 146/1, fols. 44r–v, Opinio des HKR (August 1674, n.d.); I. 146/4, fols. 74r–v, HKR to vizier of Buda (12 December 1675); I. 147/1, fols. 23r–v, Strassoldo to HKR (7 December 1675) reporting the almost complete Ottoman takeover of Szatmár and Szabolcs counties.

32 Turcica I. 145/2, fols. 55–7v, Leopold to Kindsberg (9 July 1673), esp. 56 ("Daß gedachte Graniz Türkhen in Ober Ungarn ein gravamen darauß machen wollen, wan unsere soldatesca in denen moistens wider klaren friedenschluß in die Huldigung gezogenen, auch unseren plätzen nachendt gelegenen orthen ein stück brodth suchen").

33 Turcica I. 145/3, fols. 8–9v, Leopold to Kindsberg (18 October 1673); I. 145/4, fol. 91, Ad Supremum Vizierium (25 January 1674), no. 1; I. 146/1, HKR to vizier of Buda (4 December 1674), fol. 143v; Borovszky, *Szatmár*, 479–81. The reference in the original text to "Horna in Gömör County" must be a mistake. There is no such entry in Lelkes, *Magyar helységnév-azonosító szótár*, a comprehensive reference work on Hungarian placenames and their historical variants.

34 KA Exp. Prot. 1674, fol. 412v, no. 86, Court Chamber to Spankau (2 July) ("Bittet die fiscalische Unterthanen zu Enitzka [Enyicke, Kassa district] von der Türkhen forderenden Tribut und antwesende abbrenner zu schützen)"; Turcica I. 147/2, fols. 38r–v, HKR to Kindsberg (26 September 1676).

35 KA Exp. Prot. 1674, fols. 443, no. 234, Spankau to HKR (4 July); 489–90v, Spankau to HKR (8 August), esp. 489v; Turcica I. 147/1, fols. 112r–v, HKR to Kindsberg (24 April 1676). On the imperial fiscus's confiscation and administration of the Thököly estates in Árva and Szepes counties, see Kubinyi, *Árva vára*, 145–7; NRA, fasc. 132, Elenchus bonorum Thokolyanorum (1671–74).

36 For Leopold's letters to Kindsberg on these and related matters, see Turcica I. 145/2, fol. 56 (9 July 1673); I. 145/4, fols. 56–7v (21 February 1674), 144–5v (26 April 1674); I. 146/1, fols. 73–4v (17 September 1674), esp. 74.

37 Turcica I. 145/3, fols. 58–61v, Leopold to Kindsberg (16 November 1673), quotation 59r; I. 145/4, fols. 54–5v, Leopold to Meninski (21 February 1674), quotation 55; 75–6, Meninski to HKR (February 1674, n.d.); 93v, Kindsberg to HKR (22 March 1674) ("Abermahlige sincerationen und gewöhnliche friedensbezeugungen").

38 Turcica I. 145/4, fols. 178–9v, Leopold to Kindsberg (18 June 1674), quotation 178;

I. 146/1, fols. 73–4v (17 September 1674), esp. 73 ("Weillen bekandt ist, daß ihre intention allemahl dahin gezihlet sich des Königreichs Ungarn völlig zu bemächtigen, undt ihren Dominat zuerweittern")

39 Turcica I. 146/3, fols. 143r–v, Heister to vizier of Buda (29 October 1675); I. 146/4, fols. 31–3, Gravamina contra Turcas (19 October–20 November 1675); 42–3v, János Esterházy to HKR (20 November 1675); 61–3, Meeting of General Heister with Ottoman emissary (2 December 1675), esp. 61 ("Pulchra … verba, sed iis facta non usquequaque respondere").

40 Turcica I. 146/4, fols. 96–100v, Leopold to Kindsberg (24 December 1675), esp. 98v–99. Cf. also ibid., fols. 80–1v, HKR to vizier of Buda (24 December 1675); I. 147/1, fols. 40–1v, Memorandum to Köprülü (26 January 1676). The attack occurred on 6 December 1675, see Gergely 7, no. 80, p. 98.

41 Turcica I. 147/1, fols. 1r–v, Leopold to Kindsberg (5 January 1676); 56r–v, 59–61v, 63v, Kindsberg to HKR (20 March 1676); 70–84v, Kindsberg to HKR (2 April 1676), esp. 71 ("Tyrannische proceduren und wider allen gränizbrauch gegebene Schläge"); I. 147/2, fols. 50d–72, Kindsberg to HKR (21 October 1676), esp. 50d; 120–1, Leopold to Kindsberg (28 October 1676); KA Exp. Prot. 1676, fol. 849, no. 22, Obrist Graff Keri auß Neutra (30 November 1676) ("Schliesst bei den erbahrmlichen standt seiner zu Szezin gefangenen Croathen").

42 Deciphering Köprülü's intentions became much more difficult after the mysterious murder of his confidant Panaiotti, the Habsburg master spy, in early October 1673. Two days before his death Panaiotti reported that Köprülü had two top priorities: first, to keep the Habsburgs entangled in war with France; second, after disengaging from Poland to seize Transylvania and Hungary "without having an obstacle in the Germans" (Turcica I. 145/3, fols. 4–7v, Janaki to Kindsberg [9 October 1673], esp. 6v–7). Cf. ibid., Leopold to Kindsberg (16 November 1673), fol. 60v (lamenting Panaiotti's untimely death which "has caused quite a bit of thinking").

43 Turcica I. 147/1, fols. 98–9v, Leopold to Kindsberg (8 April 1676) commenting on the delayed receipt of reports from 18, 24 December 1675 and 11 January 1676; I. 147/2, fol. 61v ("Daß die feindtseligkeit von denen Türkhen täglich zunembe"). Cf. Turcica I. 146/4, fol. 80 (report from 18 December 1675 discussed 4 April 1676); I. 147/1, fol. 63v (report from 20 March 1676 discussed 22 June 1676); I. 147/2, fol. 122 (report from 6 November 1676 arrived 23 February 1677; original dispatched via Venice lost). Cf. Turcica I. 147/1, fol. 21 (18 January 1676) ("Albereith sieben monath [!] verstrichen, daß kein Kurier von Wien kommen").

44 Turcica I. 147/2, Kindsberg (21 October 1676), fol. 53r ("Der Vesier seye unversehens von dem Sultan in erhöblichen Geschäften occupiert").

45 Leopold I considered this long waiting period a bad sign (*schlechtes Zaichen*), contradicting the official rhetoric of "good friendship and neighbourliness," in Turcica I. 145/4, fols. 144–5v, Leopold to Kindsberg (26 April 1674), esp. 144v.

46 Turcica I. 146/3, fols. 19–26v, 35r–v, 38–44v, 53r–v, Kindsberg to HKR (17 June 1675), esp. 22–5.

47 Ibid., fols. 82–101, Kindsberg to HKR (15 September 1675), esp. 91v; 123–6v (4 October 1675), esp. 123v; I. 147/1, fols. 70–84v, 96r–v, 100–1v (2–3, 16 April 1676), esp. 77v, 84v. Kindsberg urged Leopold to make peace with France, in ibid., I. 146/2, fol. 25v (7 February 1675); I. 146/3, fol. 41 (17 June 1675).

48 On the intense lobbying of pashas and border commanders "against the German" after the Debrecen raid, see Gergely 7, nos. 109, 117 (20, 23 January 1676), esp. pp. 148–9, 157; Turcica I. 147/1, fols. 70v, 73v–74, 80–1, 83v. One might add French efforts to incite the Porte against Vienna, in ibid., fols. 72v, 96; I. 147/2, fols. 41, 125r–v, 127, 128v–129, 146v.

49 Turcica I. 147/1, fols. 21v (11 January 1676), 70–1v (2 April 1676), 107 (20 April 1676); I. 147/2, fol. 9 (9 July 1676). On alleged military disasters in the Reich and Montecuccoli's death on the battlefield, see Turcica I. 145/1, fols. 21v–22 (13 April 1673); I. 145/2, fol. 96 (2 September 1673); I. 145/3, fol. 60 (16 November 1673); I. 146/1, fol. 12 (3 July 1674). Cf. Gergely 6, no. 273, Teleki to Apafy (11 December 1672); Gergely 7, no. 60, István Baksa to Teleki (28 October 1675); no. 202, Wesselényi to Teleki (29 July 1676), p. 277.

50 Brosch, *Geschichten aus dem Leben dreier Großwesire*, 150, 178, 184, 186–7. Kindsberg described Köprülü as a systematic planner, careful tactician, and geopolitical chess player, in Turcica I. 146/2, fols. 18v, 25r–v (e.g., logistics, blueprint for Hungary, and neutralization of Persians by Mughals); I. 146/3, 123–6v (4 October 1675) (a temporary cessation of raiding after the plague killed large numbers of Janissaries); I. 147/2, fols. 67r–v (21 October 1676) (disciplining of overzealous Hungarian pashas). The Englishman Paul Rycaut had numerous meetings with Köprülü and praised him as a "prudent and politic person," cited in Yılmaz, "Grand Vizieral Authority Revisited," 30.

51 Turcica I. 147/1, fols. 102–10, Courier Adam Schönberger (20 April 1676), esp. 107v–108, 109r–v; I. 147/2, fols. 30–1v, HKR to Kindsberg (31 August 1676) (major Ottoman attacks on Windische Grenze, Croatia, and Carinthia; pasha of Bosnia fielding 18,000 troops); 34r–v, HKR to vizier of Buda (16 July 1676); 38r–v, HKR to Kindsberg (26 September 1676), esp. 38v ("Vor kurzer zeit hero vast aus allen orthen im Ober: und nider Hungarn auch auß Ir. Ö. [sic] und Kroaten wegen der Türckhen continuierlicher Straiffereyen … beschwärdten eingelangt"); 41–2v, Leopold to Kindsberg (12 October 1676) signed by both Leopold and Montecuccoli; KA Exp. Prot. 1676, fols. 750v, no. 44 (Hofexpedition, 30 July); 771, no. 197, Esterházy (11 October); 783, no. 291, Kollonitsch (October, n.d.); 809, no. 71, Strassoldo (1 November); 813, no. 85, Strassoldo (14 October). On Belgrade logistics and other war preparations (which started in 1675), see I. 146/2, fols. 18r–v, 25–7v, Kindsberg (7 February 1675), esp. 25v; 42–5, Rudolph Dane to HKR (26 February 1675), esp. 42v, 44v; I. 146/3, fols. 11–14, Johann F. Wolfram to HKR

(July 1675, n.d.); 19v, Kindsberg (17 June 1675) ("Alles zue einem Türkhen Krieg wider Hungarn conspirieren thuet"). The designation "Inner Austria" then referred to the Austrian hereditary lands of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola (Evans, *Making of the Habsburg Monarchy*, 159).

52 Turcica I. 147/1, fols. 77, 84v (2 April 1676). For Kindsberg's many other warnings, see Turcica I. 145/1, fols. 20r–v (13 April 1673), 145 (1 May 1673); I. 145/2, fols. 6 (2 June 1673), 21v (19 June 1673), 119 (23 September 1673); I. 146/2, fols. 25r–v (7 February 1675); I. 146/3, fol. 93 (15 September 1675). See also very similar concerns voiced by Leopold I and the Aulic War Council, in Turcica I. 145/2, fol. 81 (August 1673, n.d.); I. 146/1, fol. 73 (17 September 1674); I. 147/1, fol. 1 (5 January 1676); I. 147/2, fol. 127 (18 November 1676).

53 Turcica I. 147/1, fol. 76 (2 April 1676).

54 On preparations for a combined Transylvanian-Hungarian invasion, see Gergely 7, XXVII–XXVIII, and Trócsányi, *Teleki*, 182–4. By late summer 1676, 6,000 Transylvanian troops had joined the rebel army.

55 Deák, *A bujdosók levéltára*, 18–20 (28 April 1674) from Poroszló (Heves County) in the Eger *vilayet*. Cf. similarly, ibid., 6–18 (9 March, 11 and 23 April 1674), esp. 11 ("Nevezetesen a fényes portán annak utját készítette volna meg … az succursnak kiküldésére"); 20–8 (31 May, 23 August 1674), esp. 21 ("Ha ennyi költsége s fáradtsági utan az fényes portától lehetett volna ő ngának annuentiája"); 29–31 (10 October 1675).

56 Ibid., 32–6 (13 April 1676), quotation 36; Gergely 7, no. 179, Teleki to László Bálo (30 May 1676), p. 240.

57 The French plot generated fear in Vienna because of suspected Ottoman involvement: see Turcica I. 146/3, fols. 26r–v, 38–9, 40v–41, 86–8, Kindsberg (17 June, 15 September 1675); 122r–v, 135, Opinio des HKR (24 December 1675); Benczédi, *Rendiség*, 81–2 ("It remained without any practical consequences"); Trócsányi, *Teleki*, 169–70. Köprülü strictly forbade the enlistment of French military help, in Angyal, *Thököly*, 1: 97.

58 Gergely 7, nos. 63, 86–7, Kende, Kubinyi, and Wesselényi to Teleki (1 November, 14–15 December 1675); no. 202, Wesselényi to Teleki (29 July 1676), p. 276.

59 Ibid., no. 55, Kubinyi to Teleki (25 October 1675), p. 65 on the importance of the Köprülü estates (*a fővézer jószági*) in Bihar County for the exiles' sustenance.

60 Undated letter probably written after Szepessy's meeting with Köprülü during the night of 4–5 January 1673, in Maurer, *Kollonitsch*, 75–6.

61 Gergely 7, no. 179, Teleki to László Baló (30 May 1676), p. 241.

62 Ibid., no. 196, Wesselényi to Teleki (27 June 1676), p. 269 ("Nem tudom mit csináljunk, ha az török vagy Kegyelmetek meg nem segít").

63 Ibid., nos. 63, 79, 86–7, Kende to Teleki (1 November, 13 and 15 December 1675), esp. pp. 76, 97, 114. László Kubinyi also had close ties with Ottoman dignitaries in Varad, in ibid., no. 169, Kubinyi to Teleki (12 May 1676); no. 196, Wesselényi to

Teleki (26 June 1676), p. 267. On István Petrőczy and Menyhért Keczer, see Angyal, *Thököly*, 1: 121.

64 Gergely 7, no. 18, Szepessy to Teleki (Edirne, 31 March 1675), p. 29 ("[G]yőzhetetlen császárunknak … igaz és tökéletes hive").

65 Turcica I. 146/2, Kindsberg (7 February 1675), fol. 19 ("Pregiamo ingenocchioni Iddio per la salute del nostro Imperatore che li dia lunga vita, e vittoria contro li suoi Nemici supplicando anco Vestra Illma di degnarsi aggiuttare noi altri poveri Ungari allontanati dalla nostra Patria e sottoposti alla protettione del Potentissimo Imperatore et intercedere di nuovo per noi appresso il Gran Vizier di consolarci, mentre più tosto d'inclinare la testa all' infideli Tedeschi, che per forza ci vogliano far adorare li Idoli, vogliamo sagrificar [sic] le nostre teste al nostro invincibil Imperatore; li Ungari sono tutti pronti di venire appresso di noi, et tutti gl'altri Principati vicini, subito che noi altri saremo ricevuti, ci seguiteranno per esempio, et veniranno tutti alla protezzione del Potentissimo Imperatore"). Signed "Fideli [sic] servi. Li Nobili della Ungaria Superiore alienati dalla Patria" (n.d., hand-delivered by Fábián Farkas and leaked to Kindsberg by an unknown Ottoman informant).

66 "Strasoldo levele," 452; Acsády, *A Magyarország története*, 328 citing a proclamation dated 20 February 1676 according to which thousands had already converted to Islam due to religious persecution. Spankau died on 13 July 1675, in Szabó, 333n523; Bruyninx, Bestanddeel 7 (no pagination), 28 July 1675.

67 Turcica I. 147/1, fols. 23–5, Strassoldo to HKR (7 December 1675); 40–1v, HKR to Köprülü (26 January 1676).

68 Cf. Gergely 7, no. 86, Wesselényi, Kende, Kubinyi to Teleki (14 December 1675), esp. p. 112.

69 Hungarica 180 D, no. 6, fols. 19–22v, Ádám Czobor to Szelepcsényi (19 December 1672), esp. 19v; no. 9, fols. 26–7v, Translatio Fassionis Martini Ibranii alias Kiss (n.d.), esp. 26v; Katona, 34: 123; Bethlen, 521.

70 Hungarica 177 A, fols. 46r–v, Aussag des von Wardein zurückgekommenen (4 May 1673); Hungarica 180 D, no. 4, István Barkóczy to Szelepcsényi (28 November 1672), fol. 11v; Gergely 7, no. 77, Kende to Teleki (1 December 1675); Turcica I. 146/4, fols. 31–3, Gravamina contra Turcas (November 1675, n.d.), esp. 32 v ("Theten täglich Pribecken auslauffen, undt auf diesen unsern granitzen schaden verursachen"); 80–1, HKR to vizier of Buda (24 December 1675).

71 Takáts, "A pribékek," 329.

72 Gergely 6, no. 346, p. 508. Cf. letters by Szepessy, Szuhay, Wesselényi, Gábor Kende, and Menyhért Keczer, in ibid., nos. 177, 194–5, 206, 363, p. 534 ("De ez Isten munkája"); 379, p. 553 ("Isten hadaink"); nos. 18, 109, p. 148 ("Az jó Isten szent rendelése"); 118, 129.

73 Ibid., no. 344, Hungarian troops to Teleki (10 September 1673), p. 506.

74 Ibid., no. 346, Hungarian exiles to Teleki (18 September 1673), pp. 508–9. It ap-

pears that some nobles participated in this assembly but the petition was hand-delivered by a delegation of soldiers. The petitioners wrongly assumed that Apafi had already ordered Teleki to join them.

75 Ibid., no. 394, Hungarian exiles to Teleki (8 March 1674).

76 S. Varga, *Az 1674-es gályarabper jegyzőkönyve*, 39–40; S. Varga, *Vitetnek ítélőszékre*, 210; Makkai, *Galeria omnium sanctorum*, 47–109; Rylands Library, Special Collections, R78329, *Short Memorial*, esp. 6–9. For an indictment of the tribunal by Hamel Bruyninx, see NA, Staten-Generaal, IIB 2, Bestanddeel 8583, Veritas et deductio nuda et conspicua sive vera et clara deductio … pro innocentibus in Hungaria Praedicantibus (25 January 1676).

77 OSZK, Manuscript Repository, Fol. Lat., no. 2309, vol. 3, fols. 145r–v, Patens levél (15 July 1674). Cf. KA Exp. Prot. 1674, no. 118, Spankau (7 September), fol. 551 ("Was die Rebellen … wider die verwittibte Fürstin Ragozin für ein patent ausgehen lassen, so selbige allein eine Verfolgerin ihrer Religion seie, und was sie für betrohungen einführen").

78 Hungarica 180 D, nos. 12, 14–16 (20–4 May 1675).

79 Ibid., no. 15, fols. 1–2v, Joannes Lingory (24 May 1675) confirmed by Chaplain András Sartoris, parish priest of Rozsnyó, who noted "that priests everywhere are trembling with fear and we do not know if we can stay" (ibid., no. 16, Sartoris [24 May 1675], fols. 43–4v, quotation 44r). Lingory bought protection from the pasha of Eger (ibid., no. 15, fol. 1v). On Hunkay's martyrdom, see also Fazekas, *Pazmaneum*, 106, no. 522 ("In odium fidei occisus gloriose"); Šimončič, "Správa," 393. For the term *martaloczus (martalassus, martalócs, Martalose)*, see Bartal, *Glossarium*, 410; Seiz, *Ungarischer Simplicissimus*, 121 ("Und ist sonderlich wegen der Martalosen – das sind abtrünnige Christen, so zum Türken gelauffen – sehr unsicher").

80 Hungarica 180 D, no. 19, fol. 50r, Extractus literarum Fratris Ludovici Paulini Superioris Terebesienis (30 May 1675).

81 Ibid., fols. 50r–v, Extractus literarum Fratris Andreae Hanlovicz Superioris Uyheliensis (24 May 1675).

82 Ibid., fol. 50v, Item tertiarum Michaelis Horvath ad eundem (1 June 1675).

83 Ibid., fols. 51r–v, Translatio literarum Episcopi Corbaviensis (late May 1675, n.d.). Mocskay had been provost of the Eger Cathedral Chapter (Kassa), held the honourary title "Bishop of Corbavia," and became Catholic bishop of Transylvania in 1676 without, however, being able to assume his office (he died in 1679). Cf. Nagy, *Magyarország családai*, 4: 538–40; Fazekas, *Pazmaneum*, 332, no. 2052; Galla, *Ferences misszionáriusok Magyarországon*, 257–8. Cf. a similar attack on a prominent Catholic noble's wedding that involved stripping everyone naked, in Haraszy, *Az Ungi református egyházmegye*, 159, 162, 165–6.

84 KA Exp. Prot. 1674, fols. 162, no. 139, Spankau to HKR (14, 17 February); 355, no. 171 (June 6); Hain, 449 (30 September, 11 October 1676); Tóth, *Relationes missionariorum*, 195, 198 (28 May 1674); Szabó, nos. 449, 454.

85 Galla, "Magyar tárgyú pápai felhatalmazások,"162, Ferdinand Alberty to Modesto di Roma (27 October 1675). Spankau suspected the Hungarian garrison of Fülek of colluding with the fugitives, in KA Exp. Prot. 1674, fols. 293v–294, no. 314, Spankau to HKR (2–23 May).

86 Galla, "Magyar tárgyú pápai felhatalmazások," 111, Bársony to Congregatio de Propaganda Fide (5 October 1676); 162, Bishop István Sennyei of Veszprém to Congregatio de Propaganda Fide (16 March 1677) accusing Turks of murdering priests (for which I have found no evidence). For specific cases, see Tóth, *Relationes missionariorum*, 200, 203, 205; Szabó, nos. 255, 348, 365, 398; Adriányi, "Intoleranz," 111; Šimončič, "Správa," esp. 392–7.

87 On Bársony's plight, see Kollányi, *Esztergomi kanonokok*, 269–70 (letter to Szelepcsényi dated 15 December 1676). On the procession, see Vanyó, no. 119 (4 February 1674).

88 Gergely 7, no. 197, Strassoldo to Teleki (29 June 1676). On Szelepcsényi's estates, see MNL OL, E254, June 1673, no. 21; July 1673, nos. 143, 203; KA Exp. Prot. 1676, fol. 670 (*salvaguardia*). The Kassa Jesuits had been among the principal targets of the 1672 revolt, in EKPS, Series Q, nos. 137 and 148, fols. 498a, 500, 507; EKPES, Series AH, no. 10, Relatio attestationis pro parte Collegii Societatis Jesu Cassoviensis (22 April 1673). They sought in vain to retrieve their assets (esp. stolen cattle) and asked for money and confiscated estates as compensation, in MNL OL, E254, January 1673, no. 51; April 1673, no. 32; July 1673, no. 26. Cf. a similar request by the Kassa Franciscans, ibid., July 1673, no. 38.

89 On Báthori, see KA Exp. Prot. 1674, fols. 551, 624; on Joanelli, see Hain, 448. On Károlyi and Perényi, see Turcica I. 146/3, fol. 10, László Károlyi to HKR (21 June 1675); Károlyi and Géresi, *Károlyi család oklevéltára*, 4: 500–1, 503–5, 511–12, 518; KA Exp. Prot. 1674, fol. 764v (Gábor Perényi); Gergely 7, no. 140, p. 187; KA AFA 1673, fasc. 7, no. 12, Károlyi to Hocher (29 July). On Ferenc and István Barkóczy, see MNL OL, E254, July 1673, nos. 120, 181; Hungarica 328 D, fol. 81v. On the Habsburg army, see Hain, 447, 452, 454 ("Vill wackere deutsche Officire und Herrn gespiszet"); Hungarica 326 A, fol. 67; Óváry, nos. 2099, 2117; Maurer, *Kollonitsch*, 100; Gergely 7, nos. 56, 60, 74 (capture of officers), 144. On the precarious position of Kassa and border fortresses, see Turcica I. 145/4, fols. 88–92; I. 146/1, fols. 112–14, 143–4.

90 Károlyi and Géresi, *Károlyi család oklevéltára*, 4: 503; KA Exp. Prot. 1674, fol. 166, no. 154, Spankau to HKR (3 March 1674); Benczédi, *Rendiség,* 79, 161n81–2 (Ferenc Sennyei). On abductions of nobles, see Hungarica 180 D, fol. 51v; 328 B, fol. 44v; KA Exp. Prot. 1674, fols. 172v, no. 201; 764v, Spankau to HKR (14 March, 10 November 1674) ("Dem Bassa zu Wardein wegen entfihrter Leuth … geschrieben"); Óváry, nos. 2061, 2065, 2133–4.

91 Hain, 449–50 (11 October 1676); Gergely 7, no. 81 (9 December 1675); KA Exp. Prot. 1674, fol. 412v (1 July); 1676, fol. 545v (3 August); OSZK, Manuscript Repository, Quart. Germ., no. 94, Chronicon Eperiesiense, fols. 4–5 (1673, 1676); MNL

OL, E254, May 1673, nos. 89, 110; June 1673, nos. 2, 36, 55; July 1673, nos. 73, 75, 118, 199; E23, May 1673, fol. 80; June 1673, fols. 1, 24; July 1673, fols. 60–3v; August 1673, fols. 55–6v; November 1673, fols. 40–1v; December 1673, fols. 39–42v.

92 On Ónod, see Hungarica 177 A, fols. 37, 45 (3 December 1672, 10 May 1673); Hungarica 180 D, no. 4 (28 November 1672); Óváry, nos. 2082, 2105, Chiaromanni (28 May, 3 December 1673); Maurer, *Kollonitsch*, 76 (1673, n.d.); Gergely 7, no. 55 (25 October 1675), p. 66; no. 85 (13 December 1675), p. 111. On Szatmár, see Óváry, nos. 2082, 2099, Chiaromanni (28 May, 13 August 1673); KA Exp. Prot. 1676, fol. 810, La Borde (October, n.d.). On Szendrő, Putnok, Diósgyőr, and Kálló, see MNL OL, E23, May 1673, fols. 28, 60; KA Exp. Prot. 1674, fol. 354, no. 171, Spankau (30 May); 1676, fol. 809, Strassoldo (1 November). On Károly, see Turcica I. 146/3, fol. 10; KA Exp. Prot. 1676, fol. 565, no. 35 (9 June) ("Der Rebellen Überfall zu Caroli"); Gergely 7, no. 140, p. 287; Károlyi and Géresi, *Károlyi család oklevéltára*, 4: 518 ("Oppido Caroliensi aliisque pagis ruinatis atque expilatis").

93 On Kassa, see Óváry, nos. 2060, 2105, 2137, Chiaromanni (11 February, 3 December 1673; 3 June 1674); KA Exp. Prot. 1676, fol. 745, no. 21, Strassoldo (18–22 September) ("Das di [sic] Pass hinter Kaschau von denen Rebellen intercipiert worden"). Cf. Hungarica 177 A, fol. 102 (28 September 1674); Gergely 7, no. 70 (17 November 1675); no. 144 (4 April 1676); KA Exp. Prot. 1674, fol. 433, no. 234 (4 July).

94 KA Exp. Prot. 1674, fols. 162, 166–7, 172v, 354v; 1676, fols. 574, no. 63 (7 August); 763v, no. 132 (October, n.d.); 810, no. 71 (1–12 November); Turcica I. 145/4, fol. 91, no. 2; Hain, 447, 450; Gergely 7, no. 174, János Daczó to Teleki (16 May 1676).

95 On Pethő, see Óváry, nos. 2061, 2065, 2070, 2133, 2143; Gergely 6, nos. 290, 293, 306; KA AFA 1673, fasc. 6, no. 1, Consiglio di Guerra (12 June), fol. 92v. On Strassoldo see, Gergely 7, no. 144, p. 197 ("Kassa táján a Strasoldo öcscsét ennehány német nagy urakkal együtt elfogták").

96 For an astute analysis of this guerrilla warfare and the Habsburg army's failure, see Hungarica 326 A, fols. 52–53v, Ehrenfeld to Hocher (10 July 1676), esp. 52v.

97 Hain, 448–50, esp. 448.

98 KA Exp. Prot. 1674, fols. 624r–v, no. 70, Spankau to HKR (26 September). Cf. KA AFA 1673, fasc. 6, no. 5, Schmidt to Montecuccoli (30 June).

99 KA Exp. Prot. 1674, fols. 550v–551, no. 118 (7 September 1674), Pasha of Eger to Spankau (summary). Spankau carefully debated whether or not to pursue rebel contingents into Ottoman territory; he eventually decided there was no other alternative, in ibid., fols. 162v, 478, 490v, 764, 765v.

100 Gergely 6, nos. 324, 330 (9 July, 4 August 1673); Óváry, no. 2105 (3 December 1673); KA Exp. Prot. 1674, fols. 166–7, no. 154, Spankau (3, 6 March); 1676, fol. 690, Strassoldo (15 September) ("In die 7,000 starkh"); 745, Strassoldo (18–22 September) ("Sollen die Rebellen 8,000 starkh sein"). I have included here

rebels in the disputed Szilágy district (Transylvania) which the pasha of Varad considered part of his *vilayet*.

101 On Mozik and his soldiers, see Hungarica 180 D, no. 5 (14 December 1672), fol. 15; Gergely 6, no. 379 (30 January 1674), p. 553; Hungarica 328 D, fols. 74r–v (21 January 1677). Cf. Coward, *Cromwell*, 61–3, 73–4, 79, 92.

102 Cf. Benczédi, *Rendiség*, 80; *EOE* 15: 413-14, Anonymous letter from Debrecen (21 August 1674), esp. 413 ("Az talpasokat mind egyig [kik még hitesek nem voltak addig] mind a török császár hűségére eskette meg őket"); Gergely 7, no. 83, Kubinyi to Teleki (11 December 1675).

103 On Szőcs and Harsányi, see Hungarica 328 D, Zehetner and Wallsegg (December 1676, n.d.), fols. 16r–v; Gergely 6, nos. 379, 414–15; Gergely 7, nos. 74, 85, 140; KA Exp. Prot. 1676, fol. 785, no. 295, Strassoldo (25 September).

104 Angyal, *Thököly*, 1: 132–3; Hungarica 326 A, fol. 52v; KA Exp. Prot. 1676, fols. 573, Schmidt to Strassoldo (16 July); 656v, no. 39, Strassoldo to HKR (22 August) ("Die Rebellen nemen überhandt"); 678v, no. 146, Strassoldo (September, n.d.) on his lucky escape from an ambush ("Da die Gefahr am größten ziehe er den Kopf aus der Schlinge"); 689v, no. 224, Strassoldo (15 September) on great dangers lurking outside Tokaj, Szatmár, and other fortresses; 810v, La Borde (November, n.d.) on the impossibility of collecting the *repartitio* outside Szatmár.

105 On the misery of the soldiers, see KA Exp. Prot. 1676, fols. 572v ("Die große Noth der soldatesca"), 590v–591, 656v ("Die ganz desperate soldatesca lasse sich mit der vertröstung nitmehr contentieren"), 745v–746, 749v, 783 ("Viele kranke Officier"). On efforts to procure money and provisions, see ibid., fols. 649, 689v, 744v, 747r–v, 748v, 749v–750, 783, 784v, 814, 848v.

106 On desertions, see KA Exp. Prot. 1676, fols. 573r–v, 680v, 689v, 744v–745, 748v ("Das Außreißen der Velkher continuiere einen weg wie den andern"). On efforts to make up for losses and desertions with new recruitments, see ibid., fols. 542, 679, 689v, 690v, 744v, 747v, 764, 812v.

107 Ibid., fols. 557v, Montecuccoli to HKR (August, n.d.); 572, no. 59, Szelepcsényi to HKR (14 July); Szabó, no. 423 (28 July 1676).

108 Turcica I. 145/4, fols. 176–7v, Leopold to Kindsberg (18 June 1674), esp. 176; I. 147/2, fols. 109–10v, Leopold to Kindsberg (23 October 1676) (signed by Leopold and Montecuccoli).

109 KA AFA 1673, fasc. 7, no. 1, Conferenza (1 July); nos. 2, 4, 6, 8, Consiglio di Guerra (1, 4, 6, and 14 July); Turcica I. 145/1, fols. 177–80v, HKR Opinion (presented to emperor on 9 July 1673), esp. 178, 180v (1, 9 July 1673).

110 Ibid., Kindsberg (14 May 1673), fols. 171v–2r, 173, 177, 179; I. 145/2, Kindsberg (2 June 1673), fols. 4v, 13.

111 KA AFA 1673, fasc. 7, nos. 1–2, 4, 8, fols. 107, 110, 115, 125. On the counties' reluctance to deliver the *repartitio*, see Hungarica 326 A, fol. 61, Report by Thomas Petersen, Kayl. Oberungrischer Proviantbuchhalter (6 December 1676) showing

drastic declines for 1675 and 1676 (eleven of the thirteen counties provided nothing at all!). Cf. MNL OL, G13/2, fols. 33–8, Leopold to Upper Hungarian commissars (Laxenburg, 19 May 1674). On the rebel takeover of Korpona, see Szabó, nos. 289–90 (18 June 1673).

112 KA AFA 1673, fasc. 5, no. 5, Cobb to HKR (written on 6 May, discussed on 15 May); Szabó, no. 335, Spankau to HKR (18 April 1674); Hungarica 328 D, fols. 13v, 14v, 15r, 16r.

113 Turcica I. 145/1, fols. 177, 179; I. 145/2, fols. 55–7v, Leopold to Kindsberg (9 July 1673), esp. 56.

114 Ibid., Kindsberg (2 June 1673), fols. 4v–5r, 6. On Köprülü's dispatch of a fact-finding delegation, see Turcica I. 145/1 (14 May 1673), fol. 173 ("Zu vernehmung der Sachen eigentliche beschaffenheit eine Abordnung in Ober Hungarn gethan").

115 On Catholic nobles, see MNL OL, E254, May 1673, nos. 54, 57; July 1673, nos. 196, 209; E23, June 1673, fol. 58. On Catholic clergy, see ibid., May 1673, no. 1; June 1673, nos. 53, 62; July 1673, no. 26; E23, September 1673, fol. 60.

116 MNL OL, E23, November 1673, fols. 14–17v (patrician Johann Weber and family); December 1673, fols. 5–6v (András Pap), 15–24v (Sebastian Sáarossy); 46–8v, 52–3v (Zsigmond Thököly and client), 54–5v (town magistrates); E254, May 1673, no. 3 (Weber); Kónya, *Prešov, Bardejov a Sabinov*, 50 (Eperjes), 57 (Bártfa), 63 (Kisszeben).

117 These nobles faced the constant threat of confiscation. Cf. MNL OL, E23, November 1673, fol. 40 ("Multorum antesignatorum rebellium … necdum occupata esse bona").

118 For examples of obstruction, see MNL OL, E254, June 1673, no. 36, Georg Mercz to ZK (17 June); Hungarica 328 C, fols. 24–38v, Referat deß Baron Zehetner und Wallsegg bericht (15 November 1677), esp. 37–8 (Sáros and Szepes counties, Jolsva, Nagybánya, and Ungvár; December 1675–February 1677). For interventions on behalf of pastors, see ibid., fols. 35–6v (October–November 1675); MNL OL, E254, May 1673, no. 30, fol. 69v; no. 51, fols. 114–15, Gömör County to ZK (5, 30 May 1673); Bruckner, *Reformáció és ellenreformáció*, 350–1; Michels, "Az 1674. évi Pozsonyi prédikátorper történetéhez," 63, 69–70, 72–5.

119 Benczédi, "Predigerprozesse," 280, 282, 285; Benczédi, *Rendiség*, 67–8, 71.

120 Note the language of extermination employed by the primate of the Hungarian Church in a report to the pope (28 March 1676): "Centurias aliquot pestilentium rabularum, vulgo Lutheranorum Calvinistarumque ut vocant praedicantium … e variis ditionibus exterminaverim" (cited in Meszlényi, "Szelepcsényi primás," 224).

121 MNL OL, E254, November 1672, Báthori to ZK (12 November), fols. 85–6v; Haraszy, *Az Ungi református egyházmegye*, 50; Zoványi, *Magyarországi protestáns egyháztörténeti lexikon*, 222; OSZK, Manuscript Repository, RMK III. 3030, Novack, *Ungarische Avisen*, pp. M–MIII.

122 Kubinyi, *Árva vára*, 131 ("Irtó háború … legvadabb kegyetlenséggel"); Hajnóczy, *Intoleranz*, 46–7, 49 (reference to Nero's persecution of early Christians), 216.

123 Hain, 413; Szabó, nos. 239–43; Kubinyi, *Árva vára*, 129–30; OSZK, Manuscript Repository, Quart. Germ., no. 94, Chronicon Eperiesiense, fol. 3 ("An der Straßen am Spieß gezogen worden"); Plath, *Kaschauer Chronik*, 153 ("Die kleine Anzahl der eingebrachten Gefangenen ließ der Neudinger Cob[b] spießen"). Pika and several others were impaled on 25 November 1672. On the next day the Aulic War Council issued an order not to impale them, in KA Reg. Prot. 1672, fol. 575v, no. 161, HKR to Sporck (26 November) ("Solle die Execution mit dem Pika suspendieren, die Execution mit braten und spissen seie etwas crudeles"). It appears that the harsh punishments were advocated by the Hungarian chancellor, Bishop Tamás Pálffy (ibid., fol. 595, no. 48, HKR to Hungarian Chancellery [12 December 1672]), and the president of the Hungarian Chamber, Bishop Leopold Kollonitsch (Szabó, no. 240, p. 164n321; Maurer, *Kollonitsch*, 69). The Aulic War Council's hesitation did not mean that impalements were no longer used by local commanders – just the opposite. Cf. Plath, *Kaschauer Chronik*, 154 ("Mit Pferden schleifen, Riemen aus ihnen schneiden, braten, spießen") [General Cobb]; Krones, "Zur Geschichte Ungarns," 455 on the execution of twenty-two rebels in April 1675 ("Alle lebenndig gespiesst, vorher aber … gleichsamb lebendtig gebraten worden") [General Spankau in Kassa].

124 Hungarica 328 B, fols. 45, 49v–50; Szabó, no. 333 (26 March 1674). On the summons, see OSZK, Manuscript Repository, Fol. Lat., no. 2309, vol. 3, fols. 125, Citatio ministrorum Neosoliensium, ut personaliter coram iudicio extraordinario Posonii se sistant (15 August 1673); 127–30, 139v and Maurer, *Kollonitsch*, 78–9 (Pozsony, 25 September–6 October 1673); S. Varga, *Vitetnek ítélőszékre*, 44–6, 54–65 (Pozsony, 5 March–7 April 1674); Bruckner, *Reformáció és ellenreformáció*, 335–40; *Historia Ecclesiae Evangelicae*, 160–3 (Szepesváralja [Spišské Podhradie, Kirchdrauf], April 30–3 May 1674).

125 S. Varga, *Az 1674-es gályarabper jegyzőkönyve*, 174–6, 178.

126 Bruyninx, Bestanddeel 6 (no pagination), 5 July 1674; Miklós, "Houding der Nederlanden," 22–3. According to Tibor Fabiny, 284 Lutherans and 52 Calvinists appeared in Pozsony while 24 Calvinists and 18 Lutherans were sent to the galleys, in Fabiny, "Religio és rebellió," 152.

127 On memoirs, treatises, letters, and other sources produced by these exiles, see Kowalská, *Na ďalekých cestách*, esp. 71–132, 215–44 (list of texts); Pukánszky, "A magyarországi protestáns exuláns irodalom"; Fabiny, "A gyászévtized evangelikus emlékeirói"; Szimonidesz, "A Protestáns gályarabok könyvei"; Murdock, "Responses to Habsburg Persecution"; Kowalská, "Z vlasti do exilu"; Bujtás, "A pozsonyi vésztörvényszékről és a gályarabságról szóló szövegek sorsa."

128 Pauliny, *Dejepis superintendencie nitranskej*, 39–40; Szabó, no. 227n304; Stromp, "Pilárik István élete," esp. 703.

129 Pauliny, *Dejepis superintendencie nitranskej*, 40–1; OSZK, Manuscsript Repository,

RMK III. 2954, Pilárik, *Currus Jehovae*, sect. I, pp. IIv-III. On Pilárik, see Drobný, *Evanjelickí Slovenskí martyri (mučeníci)*, 62–5; Stromp, "Pilárik István élete."

130 MNL OL, G10, fols. 42–9v, Testium inquisitio per nos Ioannem Abrahamffy judlium et Emericum Jelenffy jurassorem Comitatus Nittriensis (5 July 1673), esp. 43v–44. Cf. the following unverifiable horror story related in an indictment from late 1673, in OSZK, Manuscript Repository, Fol. Lat., no. 2309, vol. 3, fol. 137v, no. 16 ("The Catholic priest was stripped naked, thrown into a bed of thorns, and rolled around for such a long time that the flesh came off his body; one of the pastors, as he himself confessed, took pity on the miserable priest and shot him").

131 MNL OL, G10, fols. 43v, 44v, 45v–46v, 47v, 48v; OSZK, Manuscript Repository, RMK III. 2954, Pilárik, *Currus Jehovae*, sect. E, p. I ("Sich fast männlich verhalten").

132 Davis, "The Rites of Violence," in eadem, *Society and Culture*, 152–88; Holt, *French Wars of Religion*, 1–6 (survey of scholarship).

133 Pauliny, *Dejepis superintendencie nitranskej*, 41–2 with an excerpt from Isaiah Pilárik, *Dissertatio theologica de persecutione verae ecclesiae* (Wittenberg, 1676). Cf. Klein, *Nachrichten*, 1: 272, 274; OSZK, Manuscript Repository, RMK III. 2954, Pilárik, *Currus Jehovae*, sect. I, pp. IVr–v; sect. K, pp. I–II, esp. Ir ("Viel ärger als die Tartaren und Türken gehauset"); Pilárik, "Turcico-Tartarica crudelitas"; Zoványi, "Valami a Pilarikok családjáról," esp. 275–6.

134 Cf. the Kremlin's slaughter of religious rebels, see Michels, *At War with the Church*, 146 (mass hangings and decapitations) 156–7, 186, 296.

135 Cf. S. Varga, *Az 1674-es gályarabper jegyzőkönyve*, 83, 178. On the deployment of troops in Lower Austria and Moravia, see Szabó, no. 227, pp. 159–60n304.

136 Óváry, no. 2090, Chiaromanni (9 July 1673); Vanyó, no. 117 (9 July 1673). On troubles brewing in and around Szakolcza after the expulsion of pastors, see Szabó, nos. 236, 238, 245–6.

137 On Trencsén, see Óváry, no. 2089, Chiaromanni (2, 23 July 1673). On peasant revolts in Trencsén County (in the vicinity of Lednic [Lednica] and Kiszuczaújhely [Kysucké Nové Mesto]), see KA AFA 1673, fasc. 7, no. 1, fol. 107; Szabó, no. 293, HKR to Starhemberg (1 July 1673).

138 KA AFA 1673, fasc. 7, no. 2, Consiglio di Guerra (1 July), fol. 110 ("Senza nome ribelli formati qui. Doveria finirsi appresso Abaffi") with reference to Apafi as a proxy for the Hungarian exiles.

139 On the impalement, skinning alive, breaking on the wheel, and quartering of peasants in nearby Turaluka, see Klein, *Nachrichten*, 1: 273; Stromp, "Pilárik István élete," 705; Szabó, no. 296, Colonel Collalto to HKR (27 July 1673) on summary executions ("Die übrigen, so sich nicht salviert, nidergemacht").

140 On Nyitra and Trencsén counties, see Szabó, nos. 365–9, 372 (November–December 1674); Vanyó, no. 117 (9 July 1673). Cf. Óváry, no. 2132, Chiaromanni (15 April 1674) without identifying where this happened.

141 Križko, *Dejiny banskomestského seniorátu*, 259–60.

142 Cf. the systematic intimidation of peasants and miners in and around Neusohl, in Vendelín, *Dejiny jezuitov*, 85–7.

143 NRA, fasc. 1731, no. 14, Relatio Commissariorum super occupationem bonorum … et praedicantium expulsionem (30 July 1673), esp. fol. 12; Kónya, *Prešov, Bardejov a Sabinov*, 50 (confiscation of weapons).

144 MNL OL, G10, fols. 67–88, Sopron investigation (4 March 1674), esp. 70–3, 75v–76v, 79, 84, 87; E210, cs. 45, t. 9, no. 47, fols. 188–91v, Gravamina Romano-Catholicorum L. R. civitatis Soproniensis (after 6 August 1681), esp. 189–90; Payr, *A Soproni Evangelikus Egyházközseg története*, 432–9.

145 Felhő, "A szabad királyi városok," 257–65; H. Németh, "A szabad királyi városok," 233–4. On Kisszeben and Sopron, see Kónya, *Sabinov*, 61, 63; H. Németh, "Az állam szolgái," 130–4.

146 ÖNB, Codex N. 12070, fols. 72–85 ("Abducti a variis erroribus"); Codex N. 12072, fols. 42–55; Vendelín, *Dejiny jezuitov*, 85; Maurer, *Kollonitsch*, 81. Cf. the greatly inflated numbers reported to Rome by Szelepcsényi, in Meszlényi, "Szelepcsényi primás," 326–31.

147 Cf. OSZK, Manuscript Repository, RMK III. 2745, Guenther, *Christianus persecutionem patiens*, 14 ("Geduldig leiden und willig sterben"), 36 ("Auf Erden müssen sie leiden/im Himmel sollen sie gecrönet werden"); no. 3030, Novack, *Ungarische Avisen*, p. MIII4 ("Scheußlich war'n anzuschaun erschossen und zerhaun so manche fromme Herzen. Derer Fall bracht viel Schmertze Ihr'n Kindern und auch Frau'n").

148 Ibid., RMK III. 2845, Fidicinis, *Eine Feste Burg*, 2, 6 ("Melancholische und schwermütige Leute"); Hain, 425–8.

149 Genersich, *Merkwürdigkeiten der königlichen Freystadt Késmark*, 196–9, 201; MNL OL, E23, September 1673, fols. 7–10, ZK to MK (2 September); Hain, 417–18. Cf. a similar incident involving women in Altsohl (Zólyom, Zvolen) in Maurer, *Kollonitsch*, 80.

150 Weber, *Historischer Geschlechtsbericht*, 168–70; OSZK, Manuscript Repository, Fol. Lat., no. 2309, vol. 3, fols. 148–51, Petitions by Neusohl Lutherans to Leopold I and Szelepcsényi (1674, n.d.); RMK III. 2745, Guenther, *Christianus persecutionem patiens*, 18, 26.

151 Michels, "Az 1674. évi Pozsonyi prédikátorper történetéhez," esp. 69–70, 72–3; MNL OL, E254, July 1673, no. 96, Ciprianus to ZK (14 July), esp. fol. 189.

152 MNL OL, E254, July 1673, nos. 122–3, Chaplain Augustin Langner to ZK (18 July); no. 188, Eperjes Magistrate to ZK (29 July), esp. fols. 187r–v.

153 Ibid., no 146, Chaplain Joannes Húgolin to ZK (Eperjes, 23 July), fols. 100r–v.

154 Ibid., no. 114, Priest Mátyás Nagy to ZK (Gyarmath, 16 July), 2nd pagination, fols. 31r–v.

155 Hörk, *A Sáros-Zempleni ev. esperesség története*, 318, 324, 330, 340, 365, 368, 382. The names of these pastors do not appear in the summons to the Pozsony trial,

in S. Varga, *Az 1674-es gályarabper jegyzőkönyve*, 249–69 ("Névmutató"). Others who were summoned stayed with their communities (ibid., 262, 334, 346).

156 MNL OL, E210, cs. 45, t. 9, no. 49, fols. 197–204, Szepes Cathedral Chapter investigation (8 March 1674), esp. 200v (Witness 2), 201v–202 (Witnesses 7–8). August Serpilius was summoned by the Pozsony Tribunal but never appeared. He left for Breslau on 26 April 1674. On the pastor of Vel'ká, see ibid., E254, December 1672, no. 52, Gábor Berthóty to ZK (21 December), esp. fol. 117; Esze, "Bársony György 'Veritas'-a," 680.

157 MNL OL, E210, cs. 45, t. 9, no. 46, fols. 180–7v, Questatoria pro Parte Fisci Regii ex Capitulo Wesprimiensi [sic] (6 October 1674), esp. 182v–185.

158 The examples cited here are from Upper Hungary, but the same phenomenon can also be observed in Lower Hungary. On the presence of pastors in Trencsén County, see EPL AEV, Sect. 1/7, fasc. 149, no. 1792, Parish priest Stephanus Kostka of Zsolna (Žilina) to Kollonitsch (15 January 1675), fol. 373 ("Contra … mandatum [homines] eosdem recipiunt in domibus propriis occultantes").

159 EPL AEV, Sect. 1/7, fasc. 149, no. 1795/2, fols. 411–17, Die katholische Religion und Geistliche betreffend (1677, n.d.), esp. 415; MNL OL Filmtár, X832, fols. 121–6. Cf. the citation of Szabolcs pastors by the September 1676 synod of the Upper Hungarian Calvinist church in exile for "hav[ing] disgorged [*evomuerunt*] against the General Synod and the superintendent" (ibid., fol. 125). Cf. ibid., fol. 132 ("Ministri non pauci in tractibus Ugocsa, Bereg, Szatmar, Nagybanya, Maramaros iam per aliquot annos absque ordinatione in omnibus ministerii partibus, magno cum scandalo fungantur: ab administratione sacramentorum [non verbo] ad futuram usque ordinationem arceantur"). Cf. Csáky's letter from January 1676 and a report by a fiscal administrator from January 1677, in Benczédi, "Predigerprozesse," 287; on Csáky's reluctant toleration of a Calvinist pastor in the suburbs of Nagybánya, see MNL OL, G13/4, fol. 6v, Conditiones ab Illmo Comite Stephano Csaky ut commissario S. S. M. (4 November 1675). The Calvinist pastor of Szatmár never left the town, see Buda, "Jezsuiták," 26.

160 Hungarica 180 D, no. 16, Parish priest of Rozsnyó to Szelepcsényi (24 May 1675), fols. 43r, 44r. Cf. similar letters by Joannes Lingory of Jolsva, ibid., no. 15 (24 May 1675), fol. 1v and Benczédi, "Predigerprozesse," 287 (20 November 1675); Szabó, no. 385, Spankau to HKR (8–29 May 1675), p. 328 ("Wie die Praedicanten in der Gespannschaft Göme[r] hausen").

161 The six active Catholic parishes are listed in EPL AEV, Sect. 1/7, fasc. 149, no. 1795/2, fol. 415.

162 OSZK, Manuscript Repository, RMK III. 2732, *Hungarische Praedikanten-Unschuld*, 60–1, 107. Cf. a proposal to bribe the Porte into abandoning the protection of fugitive pastors, in Hungarica 328 E, fols. 16–19v, Wie die Religion und Rebellions Seich [sic] in dem Kenigreich Hungarn am besten zucuriren (1674, n.d.), esp. 18v–19r.

163 Szabó, no. 337, HKR to Spankau (29 March 1674) in response to Spankau's dispatches (14–15, 20 March 1674) concerning "the complaints of evangelical border soldiers regarding their pastors." Cf. soldiers' petitions, ibid., nos. 330, 336, 343, 351–2, 356–7, 370, 389–94; KA Exp. Prot. 1674, fols. 172v, no. 201, Spankau to HKR (14 March); 674v–675, Hoffman to HKR (25 November).

164 Szabó, nos. 311, 315, 383 fn. 496. On Szentgrót, see ibid., nos. 237, 255, 257, 261, 266–7, 348. On the abduction of a Catholic priest from Gutta in August 1676 and a deadly riot on Pentecost 1677, see Turcica I. 147/2, fols. 27–9v, HKR to vizier of Buda (17 August 1676), esp. 29r; Szabó, nos. 463–4. The soldiers of Gutta were hardly in a position to defend their dilapidated fortress; this likely contributed to their unwillingness to cooperate with the Aulic War Council, in KA Exp. Prot. 1674, fols. 478v, no. 98, Hofkirchen to HKR (31 July); 550, no. 115, Hofkammer to HKR (18. September). In 1674 Ottoman soldiers also abducted a prominent Catholic layman from Gutta; he later converted to Islam and became a translator at the Porte – see Turcica I. 147/2, fol. 61v, Kindsberg (21 October 1676).

165 Szabó, no. 383, Spankau to HKR (4–5 May 1675). On rebel detachments from Ónod and Szendrő, see Hungarica 326 A, fols. 77–8, Nomina praecipuorum rebellium (1676, n.d.).

166 Hungarica 326 A, fols. 21–2v, Leopold (26 April 1674); Szabó, no. 342, HKR to Spankau (26 April 1674).

167 Cf. Szabó, nos. 375–6, 380, Correspondence Spankau and HKR (January–March 1675), p. 326 ("Wann disser Szobonia sein versprechen nachkommen solte, wehre der Mihe wol werth") and warnings not to trust Szobonya (ibid., nos. 386, 388, 398 [May–June 1675]); KA Exp. Prot. 1674, fol. 536v, no. 12, Spankau to HKR (22, 25 August); Gergely 6, no. 309, Bánffy to Teleki (9 May 1673), p. 462.

168 Szabó, no. 375; KA Exp. Prot. 1674, fols. 354v, no. 171; 433, no. 234; 693v, no. 83, Spankau to HKR (2 June, 14 July, 12 October 1674). On Szőcs' popularity among runaway peasants and soldiers, close association with Ottoman troops, and cross-border raids, see Hungarica 328 D, fol. 16v, Zehetner (December 1676, n.d.); Gergely 6, no. 322, Szepessy to Teleki (4 July 1673); Gergely 6, nos. 273, 379, 414–15; Gergely 7, nos. 91, 140.

169 Vanyó, no. 122 (1 September 1675).

170 Szabó, nos. 377–9 (5, 13 February 1675).

171 KA Exp. Prot. 1674, fols. 162v, 316–17, 490v (including disciplinary problems with the Hungarian vice-captain); Exp. Prot. 1676, fols. 689v, 745v–746 ("Teuerung"), 747v, 810v (discovery of rebel plot to attack Szatmár); Gergely 7, no. 179, Teleki to László Baló (30 May 1676), p. 240 ("Szatmárra igyekezik Strasoldo … félvén rebelliótól … azért jőne Szatmárra, hogy megváltoztatná az ott való praesidiumot").

172 Hungarica 326 A, fols. 64r–v, György Kőkényesdy to Szelepcsényi (8 December

1676). Cf. Gergely 7, no. 219, Teleki to István Naláczy (16 November 1676), p. 299 expressing his conviction that the entire garrison – presumably both Hungarians and Germans – could be bought for 40,000 Reichstaler.

173 According to Commissar Zehetner, Szatmár and other Upper Hungarian fortresses were in extreme danger due to the lack of provisions, in Hungarica 326 A, fols. 74–5 (20 December 1676).

174 Cf. KA Exp. Prot. 1676, fols. 537v–538, Montecuccoli to HKR (4 August) emphasizing the key role of Lewenz Fortress for "the public well-being of the Kingdom" (*publica Regni salus*).

175 Cf. Szabó, nos. 343, 351, 356–7, 370. Péter Czeglédi likely was the son of the well-known Upper Hungarian pastor István Czeglédi, in S. Varga, *Az 1674-es gályarabper jegyzőkönyve*, 187n80.

176 Rácz, *A pozsonyi vésztörvényszék áldozatai*, 46–7.

177 EPL AEV, fasc. 149, Sect. 1/7, no. 1791, fols. 370–2, Letter to Szelepcsényi (1676, n.d.), esp. 371. Cf MNL OL, E211, Lymbus, cs. 113, t. XXXIII, fols. 14–27, Inquisitio contra praedicantem Levensem (1677, n.d).

178 EPL AEV, fasc. 149, Sect. 1/7, no. 1795/2, fols. 410–16v, Die katholische Religion und Geistliche betreffend (22 June 1677), esp. 412; 417–29, Extract aus der Oberhungarischen Herren Commissarien Baron Zehetner und Walsegg relation (31 May 1677), esp. 418; Hungarica 180 D, no. 15, fol. 1; no. 16, fols. 43–4. Cf. the fugitives' role in the troubles engulfing Nagybánya and environs, see KA Exp. Prot. 1674, fols. 490, 694v, 765r–v; Szabó, nos. 363, 412, 416–17; Gergely 7, nos. 51, 57, 81. On the requested abduction of the parish priest of Szepsi (Abaúj County), see KA Exp. Prot. 1674, fol. 355, no. 171, Spankau to HKR (6 June) ("Den Pfarrer alda von den Rebellen wegnehmen lassen").

179 Turcica I. 146/3, fol. 21, Károlyi to Hungarian Chancellor (Szatmár, 21 June 1675).

180 KA Exp. Prot. 1674, fol. 293v (Gönc); Exp. Prot. 1676, fols. 783r–v, no. 292, Strassoldo to HKR (20 October 1676); Szabó, no. 335, Spankau to HKR (28 March 1674), p. 315 ("Die Eperieser undt Leutschauer correspondirten stetig mit denselben"); no. 335 (18 April 1674), p. 315 ("Wie die Caschauer … mit denen Rebellen sich vereiniget"). On Kassa, see also ibid., nos. 467–8, 477, 480, 483. The Aulic War Council's orders to disarm the Protestant burghers of Kassa and other Upper Hungarian towns must be seen in this context. On these orders and Spankau's efforts to implement them, see H. Németh, *Várospolitika*, 2: 328–9.

181 Gergely 7, no. 60, Baksa to Teleki (28 October 1675).

182 MNL OL, E210, t. 9, no. 49, fol. 202 ("Praedicantes vicini contribuerint et congregaverint a plebe certam pecuniam et rebellibus transmiserint"); Gergely 7, no. 171, János Sárosi to Teleki (13 May 1676), p. 230 (Felsőbánya). Unknown numbers of market towns paid protection money, in Hain, 457.

183 Szabó, nos. 425–6, Correspondence János Esterházy and HKR (20 October 1676).

184 Cf. intercepted memoranda to the Porte, in Turcica I. 146/1, fols. 21–2v, Proposizioni fatte dal Farkas Fabian et un altro rebelle Ungaro al Grand Vezier (20 July 1674); I. 146/2, fols. 21r–v, Proposizione delli rebelli Ungari fatta a boca al Kihaia del Vezier et poi data in scritto (February 1675, n.d.). Cf. spy reports cited by Kindsberg in Turcica I. 145/2, fols. 4v, 13 (2 June 1673), 96 (12 September 1673); I. 145/3, fol. 4 ("Sia tempo opportuno per sottomettere tutta tutta [sic] Ongaria") (9 October 1673); I. 145/4, fol. 155v ("Bey erscheinung [der Hilff] alle Unterthanen zulauffen und dem Sultan die lang erwünschte Huldigung ablegen werden") (6 May 1674); I. 146/1, fols. 18r–v (7 February 1675); I. 147/1, fol. 73 ("Bey Erscheinung der Türkhen an ungarischer Gränitzen, wenigst 25,000 Mann in devotion des Sultans und alle diejenigen einstellen werden, die sich anjetzo mit Gewalt gegen denen Teutschen Treue erzaigten") (2 April 1676). Cf. MNL OL, G13/2, Leopold to commisars (19 May 1674), fol. 37v ("Quod Turca comitatuum officialibus palam minitetur, et per hoc rustici refractarii facti non obtemperarent").

185 Hungarica 180 D, no. 12, fols. 33r–v, Menyhért Keczer to Nagy Leszenyei (12 May 1675), quotation 33r ("Et hodie illas partes versus ampla excursio movit, et indesinenter it, quia cum vere et vermes exurgunt"). On the accelerating flight of peasants, townsmen, and petty nobles, see NRA, fasc. 1744, nos. 68–71, Investigations conducted in Ung County (July–August, October 1673).

186 On Mozik's origins, see Hungarica 180 D, no. 10, Szelepcsényi to Nagy Leszenyei (14 March 1675), fol. 28v. On futile efforts to win Mozik over, see Hungarica 293 E, fols. 106–9v, Litterae gratiae … pro Ioanne Moisich [sic] (Vienna, 28 February 1675) initiated by Leopold I with instructions (fol. 109v) to act secretly and fast ("In secret et cito, damit es zeitlich zur Unterschrift khomben möge").

187 This incident occurred apparently in Mezőtúr (ca. 120 km southeast of Buda) shortly after news of Ahmed Köprülü's death had reached the fugitives, in Hungarica 328 D, fols. 73r–v, Schmidt and Ehrenfeld to imperial commisars (22 January 1677); 74r–v, Aussage zweyer Pauern (21 January 1677). On the killing of other "traitors," see Óváry, no. 2147, Chiaromanni (7 October 1674); Benczédi, *Rendiség*, 80, 161. On the takeover of the rebel army by "the common man" (*Gemeiner Mann*), see also Hungarica 326 A, fols. 67–8v, Aussag des beÿ den Rebellen gefangenen … Captain Kerekes Jurtky (13 December 1676), esp. 68v.

188 MNL OL Filmtár, X832, fol. 123. Cf. ibid., fol. 121 on a synod held in Bihardiószeg (30 September 1673).

189 Turcica I. 146/1, fols. 52–5v, Courier Schönberger (10 October 1674), esp. 54v–55.

190 Redlich, "Tagebuch Pufendorfs," 592 (entry of 5/15 November 1674).

191 Acsády, *A Magyarország története*, 335 (3 June 1673), 336 (1676, n.d.); Óváry, no. 2096, Ampringen to Lobkowitz (29 July 1673); Hungarica 293 E, fols. 118r–v, Ampringen to Leopold (12 November 1675), quotation 118v ("Si insequatur timenda totalis et integra, vae toti Ungariae et Christianitati"). Cf. Óváry, nos.

2106–8, 2121, 2129, Ampringen to Lobkowitz (December 1673–April 1674); no. 2109, Chiaromanni (17 December 1673).

192 Hungarica 180 D, no. 10, Szelepcsényi to Nagy Leszenyei (14 March 1675), fols. 28r–v; nos. 17–19, Szelepcsényi to Hocher (31 May, 1 and 9 June 1675), esp. no. 19, fol. 48v.

193 Miklós, "De Houding der Nederlanden," 59–63, Memorie van de pointen aen … den Heere Baron Hoogher hoffchancelier (4 September 1676), esp. 61–2; Bruyninx, Bestanddeel 6, 24 June, 5 July, 7 and 11 October 1674.

194 KA AFA 1673, fasc. 4, no. 13, Casanova discorse … delle cose della Turchia (25 April); Angyal, *Thököly*, 1: 106 (Francesco Michiele of Venice, spring 1675); Turcica I. 146/3, fols. 31–4v, 45–7, Information touchant les affaires de Hongrie (French assessment intercepted and dispatched to Vienna on 17 June 1675).

195 Gergely 7, no. 188, p. 257, Bishop Gáspár Kornis (8 June 1676); Levinson, "Nuntiaturberichte Teil II," 688, papal nuncio (27 December 1676); Hungarica 328 C, fol. 20, Bishop Bársony (26 March 1677); Benczédi, *Rendiség*, 79, 161n82 (citing István Barkóczy [2 August 1674]); Turcica I. 146/3, fol. 10, László Károlyi (21 June 1675); KA AFA 1673, fasc. 7, no. 12, Károlyi to Hocher (29 July).

196 Hungarica 180 D, no. 12, fol. 8, András Hartyányi (23 November 1672); Gergely 7, no. 57, Hartyányi to Teleki (27 October 1675). On the powerlessness of Zipser Kammer officials, see MNL OL, E23, August 1673, fols. 55, 102; E254, May 1673, nos. 25, 110; June 1673, nos. 21, 30 (flight), 89. On commissars, see Hungarica 326 A and 328 D passim (as cited above).

197 KA Exp. Prot. 1676, fol. 678v, no. 146, Schmidt to HKR (1 September 1676); Hungarica 326 A, fol. 55, Trobuthal to Hocher (23 July 1676); Gergely 7, no. 197, Strassoldo to Teleki (29 June 1676); "Strasoldo levele."

198 Hungarica 180 D, no. 3, Kászonyi to Szelepcsényi (24 November 1672), fols. 9–10v summarizing a conversation with a Transylvanian emissary to Vienna, esp. 9v ("Contingere etiam posse affirmabat id ipsum in Ungaria, quod in Belgio tempore Albani Ducis contigit, ubi ob varias contributiones et exactiones ac Hyspanorum sevitiam Pulcherrimae illae Provintiae a Corona Hyspanica recesserunt").

199 Angyal, *Thököly*, 1: 53 (emperor's resolution of 18 March 1675).

200 Hungarica 326 A, fols. 44–7v, Extractus resolutionis Suae Majestatis … circa reductionem rebellium (16 January 1676); 48r–v, Extract … in puncto unterschiedlicher Rebellen (15 February 1676); 49r–v, HKR to Strassoldo (1 June 1676); 57, 59, Strassoldo to Ádám Semsei (3 September, 9 November 1676); 62, Kollonitsch to Strassoldo (8 August 1675).

201 KA Exp. Prot. 1676, fols. 731, Bishop of Veszprém to HKR (6 October); 731v, Hoffmann to HKR (24 October) ("Hostiles contra Turcam excursiones … universae militiae confiniariae sub gravi poena sunt inhibitae nec ul[l]atenus conceduntur"); 749, 771, Strassoldo and Esterházy to HKR (25 September, 11 October).

202 Montecuccoli co-signed two pivotal instructions by Leopold I to Kindsberg, in Turcica I. 147/2, fols. 42 (12 October 1676), 110v (23 October 1676). Cf. KA Exp. Prot. 1676, fols. 537v–538, 557v, Montecuccoli to HKR (4 August; August, n.d.).

203 On the constantly growing number of troops in Lower and Upper Hungary, see Turcica I. 145/4, fols. 144–5v, Leopold to Kindsberg (26 April 1674), esp. 144v ("[Wir] sorgfältig darauf gedecht dieses unser Königreich mit allen Kräfften zu manutenieren, maßen wann de facto in Ober und Nieder Ungarn, ausser den Gränitzer und ordinari Besatzungen 14,000 Mann extraordinari Teutsche sich befinden, welche wir auf 16,000 zu verstärckhen bevohlen haben, auch wann es von nöthen ganz kein mangel sein wirdet, ohne abbruch unserer Kaiserlichen Armada in Reich, mehrere Mannschaft dahin zu commandieren"); I. 147/2, fols. 1, Kindsberg (2 July 1676); 110, Leopold (23 October 1676); Óváry, nos. 2138, 2140 (9 June, 14 July 1674). On ongoing recruitments, see KA Exp. Prot. 1676, fols. 542, 558–60, 572v ("Verlangt Völkher und succurs in Oberhungarn"), 679 ("Urgiert seine Recroutierungsgelder"), 690v, 764 (2,000 Croats).

204 KA Exp. Prot. 1676, fols. 537v–538, 542, 546v–547, 557v, 566v, 649, 656v, 679, 680v–681, 746, 747v, 751, 763v, 783 (100,000 Reichstaler to pay soldiers, 10,000 Reichstaler for munitions in Upper Hungary), 813–14, 863–4 (August–December 1676).

205 Hungarica 328 D, fols. 13–26v, Memorandum of Barons Zehetner and Wallsegg (December 1676, n.d.), esp. 14v, 17v, 25 ("In einem lande Krieg zu führen, alwoh der landmann dem feind affectioniert und zugethan ist"). Cf. similar observations in ibid., fols. 53–8v, 78–83, Zehetner and Wallsegg (17 January 1677; 5 April 1677).

206 Hungarica 326 A, fols. 74–5v, Zehetner to HKR (20 December 1676), esp. 75 ("Ein so geringer Proviant vorrath … daß in besorgenden fall eines Türkhenkriegs, und einig erfolgender belägerungen, oder auch ferners continuieren undt mehrerer zunehmung dieser Rebellion, die meisten Posten deßwegen in höchster gefahr sein würden"); KA Exp. Prot. 1676, fol. 871v, no. 119, Zehetner to HKR (20 December 1676) "in puncto der bißhero vernachläßigten und retardierten Repartitions einbringung."

207 Hungarica 326 A, fols. 52–3v, Ehrenfeld to Hocher (10 July 1676); 72r–v, Ehrenfeld to Upper Hungarian commissars (19 December 1676) ("Eiligst umb 3. Uhr nachmittag … per staffetam Calo Caschau").

208 Turcica I. 147/2, fols. 122–3v, Kindsberg to Leopold (6 November 1676), esp. 122v; 127–33v, Leopold to Kindsberg (18 November 1676), esp. 127, 132v on the dangers of the Polish-Ottoman peace, French efforts to push Köprülü to attack, and the urgent need to intensify espionage at the Porte to uncover Ottoman intentions ("Solltest auf das genaueste nachforschen, waß die Türkhen, jetzo nach geschlossenen frieden mit Pohln für consilia führen, auch ob und was darauf von einer oder andern seithen, wider unser Erb Königreich undt Landte machiniert

werde"). About a secret meeting of a French undercover agent with Köprülü, see ibid., fols. 125–6v, HKR to Kindsberg (9 November 1676); for the Polish court's view that Köprülü's death prevented war in Hungary, see Angyal, *Thököly*, 1: 134–5; Wagner, *Wojna polsko-turecka*, 2: 229 (similar assessment by French ambassador in Poland). On the peace agreement, see Wójcik, *Rzeczpospolita wobec Turcji*, 74–5. A communication blackout imposed by the Porte after Köprülü's death initially caused great apprehension at the Vienna court (Kindsberg's letter of 6 November 1676 did not arrive before 23 Februrary 1677), in Turcica I. 147/3, fols. 2–3v, Leopold to Kindsberg (3 February 1677), esp. 2 ("Es thuet uns nit unbillich höchstens befremden, daß nunmehr eine so geraumbe Zeith, in die vier monath lang … keine brieff eingelangt").

209 On the altered atmosphere at the Porte and the reshuffling of personnel after Köprülü's death, see Turcica I. 147/2, fols. 145–8r, Kindsberg to Leopold (25 November 1676) generating a visible sense of relief in Vienna, ibid., fols. 148r–v, marginal comments from 8 March 1677 ("Relatum Suae Majestati Viennae … an der Porten die Sachen nit so arg gewesen, als mann sich einbilden könnte"). On the new optimism in Vienna, see I. 147/3, fols. 4–5v, Leopold to Kindsberg (8 March 1677).

CONCLUSION

1 Turcica I. 142/2, fol. 127r (Residentia Caesareana, 2 January 1671).

2 Cf. Köpeczi, *Tanulmányok a kuruc szabadságharcok történetéből*; Köpeczi and R. Várkony, *II. Rákóczi Ferenc*, esp. 76–82, 113 ("Hogy felszabadítsák az országot az idegen államhatalom igája alól, és biztosítsák a magyar nemzet jövőjét"); Hanák, *One Thousand Years*, 70–2 ("Onwards, Kuruc, Onwards!"). On the *kuruc*-oriented school of Hungarian historiography, see Vardy, *Modern Hungarian Historiography*, 37, 43, 46, 87–8, 122–3. For Slovak critiques, see Dangl, *Slovensko vo víre stavovských povstaní*, 140–2; Suchý, "Úlohy," 96, 98.

3 Hungarica 179 D, no. 15, fol. 1 (24 May 1675) ("Insanus kuruczorum furor"); Plath, *Kaschauer Chronik*, 154 (13 July 1675) ("Die Mißvergnügten, sich Kurucsen nennend, genossen schon kurz Zeit des Schutzes der Türken"); E190, doboz 33, no. 8241, Gregor Beberi to Peter Kazinczi (23 October 1675), fol. 292 ("Egi csoport gialog kurucz … atalment Vasarheli hidon, adgion Isten hogi jo mennien vegbe"); Hain, 447–9 (May–September 1676), esp. 449 ("Huben die Curotzen … Pfaffen und Richter in der Gräntz auf"); 485 (September 1681) ("Rauber [sic] so sich vor Curotzen ausgaben"); Berey, "A reformátusok üldöztetése," 519 (Zsófia Báthory, 5 October 1678).

4 Hungarica 179 D, fol. 1v ("Kuruczii, quos Szalona [sic] Török Turcae ipsi vocitant"). Hungarian historians tend to derive the term *kuruc* from early-sixteenth-century peasant warriors, the so-called *cruciati*, *cruciferi*, or *Kreuzritter*, who fought against the Turks. Cf. Benczédi, *Rendiség*, 63, 155n42 (calling for further

investigation of the term's origins); Szűcs, *Nation und Geschichte*, 101. It makes more sense to look for the term's origins in Ottoman Turkish, as suggested by Nagy, "*Kuruc életünket megállvan csináljuk*," 96–7. It is perhaps derived from the verb *kurmak* which can mean "to plot and scheme," "to ambush," and "to hatch a plot," according to Steuerwald, *Türkçe Almanca sözlük*, 566. The term *kuruc* was adopted as a self-designation by rank-and-file fugitives to Ottoman territory after the 1672 revolt, but I have not found any clues what it might have meant to them. Use of the term became widespread during subsequent decades and eventually assumed the connotation of "popular patriotism" (especially in writings of educated elites), in Szűcs, *Nation und Geschichte*, 18, 128–9.

5 Montecuccoli, "Ungarn im Jahre 1677," in Veltzé, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 3: 460.

6 Fodor, *Quest of the Golden Apple*, 45–69; idem, *Magyarország és a török hódítás*, 149–52; Tóth, "Alternatives in Hungarian History," 175 ("[Köprülü] desired to finish the never completed project of Sultan Suleiman and to conquer the whole of Hungary").

7 Wasiucionek, *Ottomans and Eastern Europe*, 186. I thank one of the manuscript reviewers for calling my attention to this volume.

8 Papp, "Szabadság vagy járom?," 647–56; Papp, "Ottoman Accounts," 39–46; Varga, *Válaszúton. Thököly Imre és Magyarország*, 11–12, 119.

9 Tóth, "The Protestant Rebels of a Catholic Prince." I thank the author for sharing this manuscript with me shortly before his death.

10 Heckenast, *Ki kicsoda?*, 223, 416–19.

11 Tóth, "The Protestant Rebels of a Catholic Prince." For a synopsis of recent elite-centered approaches to the Thököly revolt, see Illik, *Történészek*, 121–43 with a discussion of Varga, *Válaszúton. Thököly Imre és Magyarország*.

12 Such documents may well be located in the Austrian and Hungarian archives, as demonstrated by Papp's recent discovery of a Turkish-language petition of Hungarian rebel leaders, in Papp, "Petition," 437, 454.

13 On Uyvar, see the recent Şimşirgil, *Slovakya'da Osmanlılar*, esp. 19–28.

14 I thank one of the manuscript's reviewers for raising this question.

15 Zajcev, "La politique Turque de Petro Dorošenko," 516–19, 523–6; Ostapchuk, "Cossack Ukraine," 142. On visits by Cossack emissaries, see NA, Algemeen Rijksarchief, Erste Afdeling, Legatie Turkije, Bestanddeel 1, no. 1, fols. 1–94 (January 1669–June 1672); Kochegarov, *Ukraina i Rossiia*, 9–32 with the caveat that "too little is known" (*izvestno sovsem nemnogo*). Hungarian visits typically occurred in secret and therefore remain very difficult to track. On Köprülü's overarching powers, see Yılmaz, "Grand Vizieral Authority Revisited," 29, 35–6.

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